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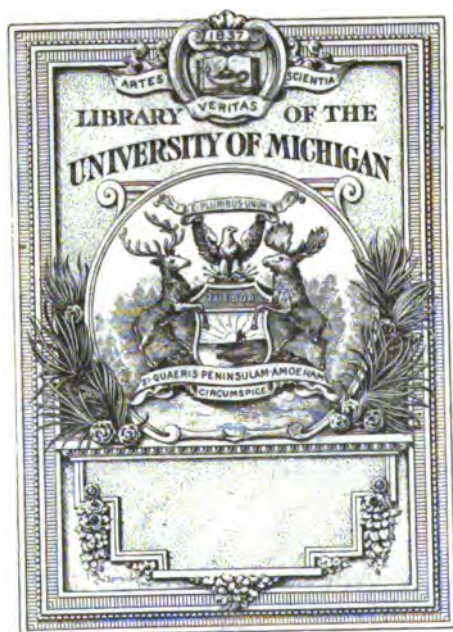
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Review of Theology and Philosophy



Review **of** **Theology & Philosophy**

Edited by
Professor ALLAN MENZIES, D.D.

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Review of Theology and Philosophy

SURVEY OF RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

SYNOPTIC GOSPELS AND LIFE OF JESUS

Principles of Literary Criticism and the Synoptic Problem,
*by Ernest De Witt Burton, Professor of Biblical and
Patristic Greek. University of Chicago Decennial
Publications, Vol. V. Chicago University Press, 1904.*

Ur-Marcus, *by Dr Emil Wendling. Tübingen : J. C. B.
Mohr, 1905. Pp. 73. M. 1.50.*

Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien, *by J. Wellhausen.
Berlin : Georg Reimer, 1905. Pp. 115. 3 M.*

The Prophet of Nazareth, *by Nathaniel Schmidt, Professor
of Semitic Languages and Literatures in Cornell Uni-
versity. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1905.
Pp. x., 422. 10s. 6d. nett.*

Das Berufsbewusstsein Jesu, *von Lic. Theol. Volkmar
Fritzsche. Leipzig: Dürr'sche Verlag, 1905. Pp. 56.
M. 1.20.*

Jesus, *by W. Bousset, Professor of Theology at the University
of Göttingen. Crown Theological Library. London :
Williams & Norgate, 1906. Pp. vi., 211. 4s.*

How did the first three Gospels come to be written, and how are we to interpret the figure which they place before us? These are inquiries of the deepest interest. That they attract the attention of many devoted scholars the above list of books shows clearly.

R. OF T. & P. VOL. II. NO. I.—A

The two placed first deal with the literary genesis of the Synoptic Gospels. If we conceive the process wrongly by which these books arose, or if we place them in the wrong order of time, the view of Jesus which we draw from them must be distorted and untrue.

Professor Burton gives us a very notable piece of work on this question. He has conceived the possibility of applying to it the method by which textual criticism fixes the relation to each other of the different manuscripts of a piece of ancient literature. Where different accounts exist of the same set of facts it should be possible to determine which of these has made use of any of the others ; and the process by which this is done must be valid for every case, and in the hands of a scholar free from prejudice and sufficiently informed, should operate with certainty. If the statistics are properly drawn up and correctly applied, the result must follow. This no doubt is what many, at least, of the writers on the Synoptic problem have aimed at, especially of late ; the books have been made to speak for themselves, apart from Church tradition about them and from preconceived views as to their contents. Professor Burton has thus isolated the problem ; the Gospels themselves are made to reveal their relation to each other. We have first a theoretical statement, showing what are the possible relations to each other of three such narratives as the Synoptic Gospels, and how the true historical relations are to be recognised. The writer then sets forth the facts of the mutual relations of our Gospels, giving in the text statistics of each resemblance and difference, and referring for details to an admirable set of tables occupying 18 large quarto pages at the end of his work. By a process of exhaustion, those possible relations of the three Gospels, each such relation being represented by a diagram, which are contradicted by plain facts, are got rid of one by one. The relation left remaining when all the others are thus disposed of is that in which Mark is a source for both Matthew and Luke. But this is not enough : Matthew and Luke have common matter in addition to what they derive from Mark. Not only one further source, however, common to these Gospels, but several, must be recognised.

Our author goes beyond the two-source theory, or rather works it out with unusual elaboration. Instead of one second common source he has two: a Perea document (P), nearly identical with Luke ix. 51-xviii. 14, xix. 1-28, and a Galilean document (G), containing the original material of the Sermon on the Mount, the address of John the Baptist, etc. A further source recognised by our author is Matthew's collection of Sayings (M), attested by Papias, and we are told of other minor sources from which were derived the pieces peculiar to Matthew and to Luke.

This book will give the student who works through it a thorough command of the Synoptic problem considered as one of documents. Every theory ever propounded of the dependence of one of the Synoptics on another can be found in the list of cases, as one brings a flower to a book of botany; and the arguments for and against it will be found to be supplied. On the other hand the book has its limits: only documents can be treated in this mathematical manner. Some will be disposed to say that Professor Burton multiplies documents unduly, that the distinction between his P and his G is not sufficiently made out, and that the material of which individual Evangelists had command may not be well described by the word document. Is the existence of M proved except from the excerpt of Papias, a mode of proof which Professor Burton rightly disclaims? That his argument does not exhaust the problem he himself tells us, when he says that the question of sources behind those above enumerated, in particular the sources behind Mark and the Perea document, remains to be investigated, and that this investigation must be carried on by different methods from those he has employed.

Dr Wendling gives us a study of a special question, just such an investigation as Professor Burton speaks of, and offers as the result of it a new theory. His method is the right one: he does not approach the inquiry into the earlier form of the second Gospel from the side of the Synoptic problem. He does not ask what was Mark when Matthew and Luke read and used him, as Dr Joh. Weiss, following many another, does in his book on the oldest Gospel, but,

like Wellhausen, lays bare the earliest elements of Mark by a process of dissection, finding in him the hands of different writers who had different aims, different styles. The author started, he tells us, by an inquiry into the composition of Mark iv. Here, as many have felt, all is not in order. The situation of the opening of the chapter is not followed up: two views appear of the nature of Jesus' parables and His object in speaking them, and these views can scarcely have come from the same writer. Dr Wendling accordingly postulates an editor, A, a dogmatist and an awkward narrator, to whom he ascribes verses 10-25, 30-32, 34; and looking backward and forward in the Gospel finds other pieces in the same stiff tone and with similar developed views. But the material left behind after the editor's additions are removed is not yet homogeneous. A narrative called M¹ is distinguished, the original part of Mark, consisting of brief and pointed stories, such as those in chapter i., with an air of immediate reality and with no recognisable tendency. A second source, M², has pieces treated in a broader style, larger and more poetical, such as those in chapter v.

Up to this point Wendling will, I think, command the sympathy of those who have worked at the second Gospel. The differences he points out are in the early chapters real and undoubted. When he goes on, however, to trace M¹ and M² all through the Gospel, and to assign large pieces to the editor, A, who is the Evangelist, we feel that more is being asked of us. In the latter part of his very modest little book, Wendling prints in full, in Tischendorf-Gebhardt's text, all the three sources he has made out. The place of honour is given to M¹, characterised as the historian. The pieces traced to him are printed in large type: they correspond to some extent, but not altogether, with what Von Soden, in his *Wichtigsten Fragen im Leben Jesu*, prints (in German) as the Peter narratives recorded by Mark. M², "the poet," is printed in smaller type where his pieces occur in the course of M¹; and A, "the dogmatist," is given separately after these two, also in small type. M³, the colourist, is made out to be the author of the representation on which so much has recently been built, that Jesus deliberately

made a secret of His Messiahship. The Transfiguration story is due to him, the triumphal entry, the preparation of the Passover, the scene in Gethsemane. The editor, A, is responsible for the opening verses of the Gospel, for the list of the disciples, for the walking on the sea, for the second feeding, for all the predictions of the Passion, for chap. xiii., except the prediction of the fall of the Temple, etc. Some of the curious results brought out are that by the removal of viii. 31, 32, as the editor's work, Peter comes to be rebuked for calling Jesus the Messiah, not for holding the old view of the Messiah against the new and true one. M¹, in fact, has hardly anything Messianic in it: xiv. 12-19 being assigned to M², M¹ comes to make Jesus' last meal take place at Bethany, and it is there that Judas arrives and that the arrest takes place. When one is distributing a book which presents many difficulties, among its various sources, there is no doubt a temptation to carry out the distribution in such a way as to remove all the difficulties of the book at once. Those who feel impelled to show us the earlier stages in in which the second Gospel existed, must not be condemned because some of their proposals appear unnecessary, or because they do not agree among themselves. Peter's confession belongs in Wendling to M¹, and he is rebuked for it; the verses which remove that impression are put down to the editor, A. The account of the Transfiguration which follows is put down to M². In Von Soden's book, viii. 27-ix. 1 are Petrine, but not the Transfiguration. In Wellhausen viii. 27-x. form the great and powerful piece in which the doctrine of a later period is dramatically set forth. Are we to say that the difficulties do not exist since the proposals for dealing with them are so divergent? That is, I fear, an impossible position. No one who has studied Mark can doubt the presence in the book of different sources which are coloured to some extent by different views. The attempt to disentangle the various threads must go on. That three different threads run, as Wendling holds, from beginning to end of the Gospel, is, I think, unlikely; the true solution seems to me to lie in another direction than this; and we are warned by one who knows the subject well

that no attempt precisely to define Mark's sources can succeed.

This remark is in Wellhausen's *Introduction to the Three First Gospels*, which is now published after his Commentaries on the individual Gospels. The *Introduction* is a thin book, but of very comprehensive scope. It deals with questions of text, of language, of literary relationship, and of history, which we are told are all intimately connected. Perhaps it does not matter much whether one reads the *Introduction* before or after the Commentaries. The views and principles it states are present in these books, though not expressly set forth. The whole forms a structure every part of which was thoroughly considered before any of it was published.

In our notice of the Commentaries (vol. i. pp. 93-102 and 155-59 of this Review) we stated these views and principles as they there appear; and it is not necessary to repeat what was then said. As for the text, we are now told what was quite plain, that only a few of the ancient witnesses have been consulted. The writer felt himself called to do pioneer work in exegesis (by this remark he no doubt intends no disrespect to those who before him have commented on the Gospels; to some of them he is much indebted), and could not spend more time on textual matters. In a few pages it is shown how fluid the text of the Gospels was in the early centuries, and how the Western text has an equal right with that of the great uncials to be considered; but no system is set up to tie the hands of the critic.

A section follows on the Greek of the Gospels. We have here, it is said, the Greek which was spoken in circles of humble people, and a number of examples are given, in words and in grammatical usage, of departure from classical form. The discussion which follows on the Aramaic basis of the language of the Gospels occupies thirty pages and is a masterly demonstration, though here also the writing is unconstrained and undogmatic. Much of what is said has been said and felt already, but many a fresh light also falls on the subject. All that stands in the grammars about the paratactic construction, the statement of the conclusion with

καί, "Make the tree good and its fruit (will be) good," the redundant pronouns, the interchange of *οἱ* and *αὐτοί*, with points the grammars do not give, is here put together in a convincing statement. Many a controversy is simply disposed of, and many a text comes to shine with a fresh light. Some of the suggestions certainly are strong. Thus, for the last clause of Luke x. 42 the translation is proposed, "from which she shall not be taken away," the closing *αὐτῆς* being the superfluous Semitic pronoun after the verb, and the opening *ἐκ* written wrongly for *ἐν*. And in Mark vi. 20 the reading of D, *ἰσθῆναι*, is preferred, and an instance seen of the Semitic usage of giving an adverbial notion in the principal verb of the sentence instead of in the participle. Herod "made much of hearing" John, *i.e.* often listened to him. We are not asked to agree with the author in every instance; all he claims is that on a general view of the language of the Gospels it must be judged to be based on Aramaic. On written Aramaic, he is himself convinced; this is demonstrable where Matthew and Luke give divergent renderings of an Aramaic form; and in Mark, though this proof cannot be had, the same is probable. In concluding this section Wellhausen assures his readers that, while the study of Aramaic must be of the greatest importance for understanding the Gospels, there need be no fear that the consequences will be very unsettling. Sensational retroversions which contradict the Greek are to be regarded with suspicion. We are to remember that the Evangelists knew Aramaic better than we do, and were able to give the proper sense of it in Greek.

On the literary question Wellhausen is practically an upholder of the two-source theory, in connection with which all the most fruitful work on the Gospels is now being done. He makes use of the same arguments as Wernle in his *Synoptische Frage*, and Burton in the work spoken of above, not to speak of older scholars like Holtzmann, to show that Matthew and Luke made use of Mark, and did so independently. He holds that Mark was not acquainted with the tradition of the Sayings (Q) common to these two. The order in which Mark set forth his

material was probably not his own, but was already present in the tradition he adopted. On the earlier form of Mark see our vol. i. p. 98, 99. A section of great interest is that in which Wellhausen sets up a comparison of Mark with Q. He finds that the two are entirely independent of each other. They began at the same point with John the Baptist, and touched on many of the same matters. But the treatment is quite different in the two, and the difference is due to their belonging to different situations in Church life and being inspired by different ideas and notions. Mark is earlier both in his narratives and his discourses.

At this point the date of the three Gospels is considered. That of Mark is determined by the text x. 39, where John is spoken of as a martyr. But from Gal. ii. 9 we learn that he was active at Jerusalem at a time seventeen years after the conversion of St Paul. If John, brother of James, is really the person here referred to, Mark's Gospel must have been written some years at least after A.D. 50. It was written at Jerusalem, where the tradition was at home, and from xv. 21 it is inferred that the Gospel was meant for Jerusalem readers. The date of Q is determined by the consideration that Jesus here has the Church before Him, which constituted itself at Jerusalem, and here appears exposed to persecution. From Matt. xxiii. 35, if this passage belongs to Q, the document is seen to have been composed after 67-68. The Gospel of Matthew belongs to Jerusalem after the siege, perhaps some time later. The third Gospel is somewhat later than Matthew, but the Aramaic colouring of the pieces peculiar to it makes us think of Jerusalem as its place of origin also.

The *Introduction* concludes with a set of historical discussions of problems of the life of Jesus. These might seem out of place in an Introduction, but the exegesis of many a passage in the Gospels depends on the views the critic has formed as to the nature of the kingdom spoken of, Jesus' claim to be Messiah, the origin of the belief in the Resurrection, and the second coming. These are the questions here discussed, under the headings "The Jewish and the Christian Messiah," "The Resurrection and Parousia

of Jesus," "The Future and the Present Kingdom of God," and "The Gospel and Jesus of Nazareth"; and in each section we see the work of one who has reached firm ground by many-sided historical inquiry. As to the Messiahship, which so many now deny that Jesus claimed, Wellhausen holds that Jesus was taken for Messiah in His lifetime. At first this was no part of His consciousness, a "sower" He called Himself, and believed Himself to be. But He did accept what was imputed to Him towards the end of His life by His disciples and by others, though with an interpretation of His own, and in that character He was crucified. As to the Second Coming, He spoke of the world Judge, as in Mark viii. 38, without identifying Himself with that personage, and He expected to sit as a guest at the coming banquet. The belief in His resurrection was confirmed to the disciples by the Christophanies, and they identified Him, starting from Mark xiii. 26, with the world Judge.

The impression left on one's mind by Wellhausen's dealings with the Gospel is that the phrase he uses, "pioneer work," well describes it. Those who learned much from the old guides, such as Holtzmann, will not wish to follow this one blindly. Many of his proposals are very speculative. That the view of the suffering Messiah found in Mark viii. 27 is purely doctrinal, and is not called for by any change in Jesus' circumstances or any danger from without, is very questionable. There is evidence of various kinds that Jesus suffered disappointment, and was led to changed views. That He felt Himself called to serve His people not only by preaching and by benefiting individuals, but in other and more perilous ways, the Gospels surely do tell us. It may also be maintained on purely historical considerations that Jesus led His followers, more clearly than Wellhausen allows, to dwell on the thought of His return after death. Of the "Son of Man" little is said in the *Introduction*; the new suggestions of Gunkel and Gressmann on this point, if discussion proves them to be substantial, may undermine Wellhausen's position with regard to it. Still, the work Wellhausen has done for the Gospels is a great one, and will, I believe, be highly fruitful. His crowning merit is that the

subject has in his hands such an air of reality and life. We feel that the Gospel tradition issues from a great living centre, and that those who carried it on were also very much alive, full of the inspiration of the Master, yet also full of new aims and enthusiasm.

We come to two attempts to define on historical grounds the view which must be taken of Jesus. What did He think of Himself? In what position does scientific inquiry show Him to stand? The answers given by our next two writers to these questions are very widely different. Fritzsche's dissertation, dedicated to the University of Leipzig on the occasion of his becoming licentiate, places the consciousness of Jesus as high as the Synoptic material treated with conscientious criticism will allow. Jesus knows Himself from His baptism onward to be called to be the absolute and final revealer of the Father. There is no development in His thought after that time. His Sonship of God differs from that of others not in degree but in kind, and lifts Him above all religious founders, and in fact above the sphere of humanity. There is no trace of conflict in His life, and the conscious Sonship of God, which finds its highest expression in the text Matt. xi. 27, is also proved by His Resurrection. The discussions on the title "Son of Man" are full and careful, and the title is found to indicate, as used by Jesus, both His life of loving service and His ultimate appearance as Judge. The pillars on which these conclusions are based appear to me unequal to the weight placed on them. The Matthew text cannot be taken as an expression of Jesus' ordinary, continuous consciousness, but is spoken, as we are told, in a mood of exultation. The interests of a true and sound Christology are not served by a view which removes Jesus out of the sphere of humanity, and the conviction which has grown stronger and stronger since the critical study of the Gospels began, that the first three Gospels do not do this, will not easily be overthrown.

The book of Professor Nathaniel Schmidt of Cornell University, now director of the American School of Archæology in Jerusalem, makes for the opposite conclusion to that of Fritzsche. The writer is well known from his *Encyclopædia*

Biblica articles on the titles "Son of Man" and "Son of God," neither of which is Jesus allowed to have applied to Himself. We learn from Schmidt in this book that he at first believed Jesus to have claimed to be Messiah, but no longer does so. We also learn that he formerly believed all the Pauline Epistles to be late and unauthentic, but that he now considers Romans, Galatians, and Corinthians to have been written by Paul between 56 and 60 A.D. He is evidently a man who is not afraid of changing views he has formed when the evidence calls for it. His change of view regarding the Messiahship came about, he tells us, from his investigations as to the title "Son of Man." These studies show very great learning in the Aramaic languages, and the conclusion Schmidt has formed that Jesus Himself never used that phrase as a Messianic title holds the field at present, though, as was said above, new evidence may very possibly come to modify it.

The Prophet of Nazareth is written, however, to prove the wider thesis that Jesus was not in His own eyes Messiah at all, but that the title "Prophet," which is often applied to Him by Himself and others in the New Testament, adequately sums up what He was and claimed to be. And we are told that the exchange of the former for the latter view of what he was will prove of great advantage not only for truth but also for religion.

Let us assume that what Schmidt thinks he has proved as to the "Son of Man" is proved—that the Aramaic word which Jesus uttered was "bar nasha," which means a man, a member of the human race. That is a term which one who taught religion could not avoid using. When Jesus spoke of the human lot, of human duties, human rights, He must have used this expression as Psalm viii. does, and Isa. lvi. 2, and Mark iii. 28. Many of these sayings in which Jesus spoke of the lot and of the privileges of man were remembered, and when the tradition was put into Greek "bar nasha" was rendered ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, and this phrase having also to do duty as the Greek for a Messianic title (cf. Dan. vii. 13; Mark xiii. 26), came to be interpreted Messianically in passages

where at first there was no such idea. Then the title came to be put in places which originally contained nothing at all like it, and Jesus appears to have been in the habit of speaking of Himself as the Son of Man, when as a matter of fact He never spoke of Himself in that way. Schmidt draws from this the further inference that Jesus did not regard Himself as Messiah at all. His words are (p. 131): "Unless it can be proved that Jesus could have used *bar nasha* as a Messianic title referring to Himself, there is no evidence that He claimed to be the Messiah."

The inference appears to me illogical and inadmissible. Wellhausen, like Schmidt, denies that Jesus ever used the term "*bar nasha*" as a Messianic title referring to Himself, but in his *Einleitung* (p. 92) Wellhausen gives a page of proofs that Jesus did accept the Messianic rôle and that He was crucified in that character. To these proofs many others of a strictly historical character could be added. Schmidt often shows himself able to get rid of passages which disagree with his theory. He, quite unwarrantably as it appears to me, puts aside the triumphal entry as spun out of the prophecy of Zechariah, and he represents Jesus' answer to Peter's confession as if He refused the character it attributed to Him. In the latter instance it must be allowed he does not stand so much alone as in the former. He allows, however, that the words "King of the Jews" were written on the cross, and to the question how Jesus came to be crucified as Messiah if He never claimed the part, he replies that it was due to the false charge brought against Him by the Jews and to the weakness of Pilate. How His followers came to ascribe to Him a character against which He had protested and which was imposed on Him by such questionable authorities is not made clear.

In support of a position so contrary to the plain intention of the Gospels and to the purport of the Pauline Epistles, which he allows to be early, our author argues in a chapter on the Jewish Messiah that the Messianic expectation of the Jews was later, less general and less exalted than has been commonly believed; while its basis in the Old Testament is altogether denied. The only Jewish Messiah of whom we

have clear knowledge, he tells us, is Simon bar Kozeba, who was killed 135 A.D. The evidence afforded by the New Testament of the Messianic beliefs of the early first century is very scantily referred to. These chapters, as well as those on the Son of God and the Son of Man, show a great variety of learning, and are in some ways very instructive; but the weakness of the thesis in support of which all this is brought before us detracts from the reader's pleasure. It is the same with the chapter on the Gospels. In Mark, Jesus acknowledges Himself Messiah to the High Priest, but Schmidt is no believer in Mark as the earliest and most trustworthy Gospel. The solid grounds on which this view of Mark are based by many scholars are not noticed. The priority is given to Matthew, on the strength apparently of the tradition in Papias that Matthew put together the Lord's discourses, that work being held to be still present in our first Gospel. In Matthew Jesus' reply to the High Priest's question is *ὁ υἱός ἐστις*, which Schmidt renders, I cannot think correctly, "You say so (not I)." The treatment of the Synoptic problem is far from thorough; one does not feel the author to have solid ground under his feet. In his dealings with individual texts also there are traces of haste and carelessness; e.g., in Matt. xi. 27 we are told rightly enough that the original form of the text was, "All things (that are hidden from the wise and revealed to babes) have been transmitted to Me by the Father, and no one knows the Father except the Son, and he to whom the Son is willing to reveal (the Father)." A few lines further down Jesus is said to claim in these words omniscience and Lordship, which the words correctly added by the author in his brackets clearly deny. And we are told that the saying casts an undeserved reflection on Jesus' character. Similar reflections on the character of Jesus, if Schmidt's theory should prove untrue, are found in other parts of the book. I refrain from saying what I think of them.

The *Prophet of Nazareth* is written with the purpose of substituting for the Christ of the Creeds the character indicated in its title. In spite of its great learning and its sincere and honest spirit it is a crude and unsatisfactory book.

The writer could do better service to the cause he has at heart if he would write a book in which affirmation should bear a larger proportion to denial, in which the Old and the New Testament should be shown to belong together, and in which the figure of Jesus should shine by its own light. The writer has changed some of his views already, as every honest theologian must. May we hope that he will yet come to see that the title "The Prophet" scarcely covers all that Jesus was ; that He was also, not perhaps in a metaphysical sense but in His experience and His consciousness, "the Son"!

The *Jesus* of Bousset, presented to the English reader in a handy form and in a version in which only a few obscurities occur, is a book written in the full light of recent study of the Gospels by one of the masters of that study, and well fitted to tell us who and what Jesus must now be thought to have been. Professor Bousset has written on the history of religion, on Jewish beliefs in the period after the Old Testament, and on the teaching of Jesus. All his books are very fresh and living as well as securely founded on learning, and his *Jesus* is so well put together, as well as so full of matter, that it is in some sense a work of art, and sure to enjoy much favour. Many scholars will hold that Bousset accepts too many sayings as authentic against which objections have been brought ; many again will think that he errs in the opposite direction. He does not profess to give us a Life of Jesus, but only a sketch of what He was and of the tenor of His mission and His teaching. He holds strongly that Jesus did accept the rôle of Messiah—the New Testament would otherwise be unintelligible ; and he shows how unavoidable it was for Him to do so. Of many interesting suggestions one may be mentioned, viz., that the calmness and evenness of Jesus' life and speech may not be due to an earlier life in which there was no conflict. His early life may have been full of conflicts in which He was victorious, and the stress of which is reflected in His vehement denunciations. His nature was full of fire, but He suppressed its heat that He might serve His brethren, as Paul tells us (2 Cor. v. 13) that he also did.

ALLAN MENZIES.

Reviews

DIE HEBRÄER KANAAN IM ZEITALTER DER HEBRAISCHEN WANDERUNG UND HEBRÄISCHER STAATENGRÜNDUNGEN, von *Wilhelm Erbt*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung (Edinburgh: Otto Schulze & Co.), 1906. Pp. iv., 236. 5 M.; bound, 6 M.

BEFORE discussing some of the details in this fresh and interesting volume it will be well to indicate in a general way the drift of the work and the aim and standpoint of the author. Erbt is a disciple of Winckler, and the present work may be described as an attempt to set forth in brief a scheme of Hebrew history based on the principles laid down by Winckler in his numerous works, but especially in his *Geschichte Israels* (2 vols.), *Altorientalische Forschungen* (vol. ii. not completed), and in summary in Winckler's important contribution to the third edition of Schrader's *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, a book written (in German fashion) on a wholly different plan, though the name of Schrader is retained on the title-page, and he has blessed the book in a dozen lines of preface. The second edition of Schrader's own production has been put into English by Dr Whitehouse, and it is hoped that the new edition by two younger and more daring, and perhaps more brilliant, Assyriologists may also soon appear in English dress.

Erbt complains that, up to the present, Pentateuch criticism has proceeded too exclusively upon linguistic and literary lines, taking small account, if any, of the contents of the writings. He himself has practically nothing to say about the literary characteristics of the sources on which our Old Testament is based, though his treatment assumes all through dependence on such sources. His method is to examine the meaning and significance of the documents, to trace them back to their origin, chiefly in legends or ancient archives, and to point out the use made of them in the various strata of the Old Testament. The writer appears to be a devout

believer in the divine origin of the religion of Israel. The Decalogue in its original form was a revelation by Jehovah to Moses; but the different stages in the divine self-manifestation were in connection with certain ancient legends embedded in city archives or in the priestly records of sacred places. These will be further referred to below. In answer to the author's polemic against the methods of recent Pentateuch (or Hexateuch?) criticism, it should be pointed out that the investigations of Reuss, Graf, Kuenen, and Wellhausen have dealt with the contents as well as with the outward form of the text, and the force of the argument for the modern critical position is that the evidence of style coincides with that obtained by an examination of the matter of the Old Testament—historical, legal, and prophetic. Erbt himself attaches great importance to what the Jewish festivals have to say concerning the rise and development of the religion and of the history of Israel (see p. 182 ff.). But Pentateuch criticism has also based much of its reasoning on the gradual evolution of law and custom with regard to Israel's festivals. Erbt has inherited his method of laying virtually all the stress on *what* documents say, and hardly any on their linguistic features, from his master—Winckler.

The author disagrees also with the evolutionary treatment of the teaching of the Old Testament—that which, in the manner of Hermann Schultz (in later untranslated editions), Stade, Rudolf Smend, Marti (Kayser-Marti), and most moderns, sees a gradual development of thought among the Hebrews, from a kind of animism to the loftiest form of monotheism. To the question, What is the standpoint from which the religion of Israel is to be believed and studied in order to understand its character and progress? the author answers: It contains in the Mosaic Decalogue a divine revelation; in the later stages this fundamental code is applied, modified, and enlarged, according to the circumstances of the nation, under the influences of prophetic and other leaders. All along it expresses the hopes and aspirations of the people, until He came, the Christ, in whom all hopes and all aspirations were more than realised.

In the Mosaic Decalogue the Sabbath is the only festival recognised. The other festivals were taken up from the Canaanites and incorporated into later codes (see pp. 183 ff.). Indeed, the religion of Israel is in large part taken from the Canaanites, and is to be interpreted in the light of the ancient East, and not by Hebrew documents, and still less by an exclusive study of the religion of Israel. Much use is made of cuneiform Assyrian literature, but Erbt seems to the present writer to ascribe more influence upon Hebraism to Canaanitism than Winckler, who refers more frequently to Babylon and its influence. Of course much which passed over from the Canaanites to the Hebrews was held in common with the inhabitants of Assyria and Babylon, and part of this at least had been borrowed from the latter peoples. But Erbt thinks that with trifling exceptions Hebraism, as represented, say, in the time of the united and separated kingdoms, can be explained by a consideration of what the Israelites brought into Canaan and what they found there.

The following are the steps by which, according to Erbt, our Pentateuch was reached, and they correspond, he thinks, with the principal periods in the history of the Hebrews from the time of David onwards. His book is, in fact, an attempt to establish and elucidate this analysis.

1. The Davidic Yahwist, *i.e.* the ancient records used by David to confirm his right to the kingdom. These have their basis in Genesis ii. ff., which is a redacted version of the original.

2. The Yahwist of B.C. 837. This consists of an enlarged and amended edition of No. 1, made by the Jerusalem priests in their protest against the action of Queen Athalia.

3. The Elohist. This document belongs to the time and kingdom of Ahaz, and consists of a compromise between Nos. 1 and 2 to suit the various parties in the Southern Kingdom. Erbt follows Winckler in making Amos a contemporary of Ahaz, a friend of the Southern Kingdom, one who opposed the war of Pekah of Israel and Rezin of Damascus, and wished the Northern and Southern Kingdoms united under the Judæan king.

It will be seen that Erbt holds with Winckler that the home of the Elohist was in the South, and not in the North, as is usually thought. I have read what Winckler and Erbt say for these new doctrines, but I remain unconvinced.

4. The Hezekiah Yahwist. By this document is meant what is usually called the Deuteronomic legislation, which by most modern critics is referred to the reign of Josiah. This Yahwist makes much use of No. 2.

5. Manasseh revoked No. 4 and returned to the earlier codes.

6. Josiah restored No. 4, adding to it.

7. During the Exile the documents of the Southern Kingdom were worked over with the view to Judah's restoration. The programme of the future was drawn out, all adapted to secure the glorification and prosperity of Judah.

The author works out this scheme with much ingenuity. Parts of the Old Testament are adduced as embodying or illustrating the several documents; but the text has to be greatly altered, and the dates of books or sections of books much changed from those currently accepted by the best scholars.

Our author assumes that the kernel of the Law of Holiness in Lev. xvii.-xxvi. constituted the main portion of the Yahwist of David's time. In its present form Erbt admits that this code is post-exilic, but its original draft goes back to David's day. When that king united the forces of Hebrewism and Canaanitism he adopted this code as the basis of his rule. In order, however, to make good his position, the author has to whittle down the text to a bare skeleton, and what remains has to be transformed almost beyond recognition. Arbitrary changes of a similar kind are made all through the volume. In such a way almost anything can be proved from the Old Testament. Apart from linguistic phenomena, it is easy to prove that the laws in the Law of Holiness are in the main later than Deuteronomy, and are, in fact, developments of laws found in the D code; for example, the laws regarding the limits within which marriage was allowed.

Erbt maintains with his master Winckler that the two

certainities in the early connection of Israel with Canaan are the ancient Jacob-el (shortened to Jacob) kingdom of Penuel, on the east of Jordan, and the ancient sanctuary of Shechem, which become later the centre of the Joseph-el kingdom. The kingdom of Israel took the place of the Jacob kingdom at Penuel. In course of time Israel sent branches across the Jordan, and Joseph-Israel became one powerful kingdom, joined from the south by Judah (who had never been east of the Jordan) and other tribes. The history of the rise of Israel is given after Winckler's scheme, and differs from that adopted by most moderns (Stade, etc.), which is based on Judges i.

The book bristles with points which arrest, and one is tempted to criticise it on almost every page; but my space is exhausted, and I must be content with one or two further brief observations. The important place allotted to the Shechem sanctuary by Winckler and Erbt reminds one of the able attempt made by Dr Archibald Duff to prove that the D code was first of all drafted by the Shechem priests for the government of the Northern Kingdom. The chosen place where alone sacrifice was to be offered was Shechem, not Jerusalem; so says Duff.¹ The Northern Kingdom has never had the attention it deserves, and it is never likely to be made to appear in its proper colours, since its history has been written or edited by prejudiced members of the rival kingdom. And it has to be remembered that Jerusalem is never once named in Deuteronomy, though many considerations prove that no other city can be meant.

Erbt thinks that in the Gideon, Jephtha, and Jerubbaal of Judges we are to recognise one original character who is made the centre of as many different legends. This is exactly what Winckler says in his *Geschichte Israels*,² but is an improbable supposition, and one "not accepted by other scholars."

The Hebrew phrase rendered "The Book of Yashar" (Book of the Upright)³ is taken by our author to be an abbreviation for "The Book of Israel," which is, as far as I am aware, a

¹ See *Old Testament Theology*, vol. ii.

² i. 140 f.

³ See Josh. x. 13; 2 Sam. i. 18.

new suggestion, and one which Old Testament students would welcome as supplying a sensible expression for one which is at least uncertain ; but against it is the presence of the Hebrew article before the second noun, and the fact that the phrase " Book of Israel " never meets us in its full form.

The author tells us that for lack of space he has not been able to give his proofs in full. In its present form the book abounds with hypotheses, historical, exegetical, and textual, for which further evidence is very desirable, though the author may, of course, have such evidence. No one who carefully reads this book will fail to be interested, though the style is generally heavy. Many will be glad to have from a devout and devoted follower of Winckler a " History of Israel " constructed on the lines first laid down by the well-known scholar, to whom our own Cheyne acknowledges so much indebtedness.

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JOHANNINE GRAMMAR, by Edwin A. Abbott. London : Adam & Charles Black, 1906. Pp. xxvii., 687. 16s. 6d. nett.

IN a series of works under the general title " Diatessarica," Dr Abbott has employed the leisure afforded him by his retirement from public work in dealing with various aspects of Gospel study. The series now numbers six stately volumes, which have appeared at very brief intervals, especially when we consider the quality of work produced. They are, *Clue: A Guide through Greek to Hebrew Scripture*, *The Corrections of Mark*, *From Letter to Spirit*, *Paradosis*, *Johannine Vocabulary*, and *Johannine Grammar*. Each volume is complete and purchasable by itself, but the whole work is numbered in continuous sections, so that cross-reference from one part to another is easy. The present part is indispensable to possessors of *Johannine Vocabulary*, because it contains the index to that work, and the two volumes together constitute the most valuable help to the study of the Fourth Gospel which exists.

The aim of the present work may be best described in the words of the author: "The First Part of this work, *Johannine Vocabulary*, dealt with characteristic, or characteristically used, Johannine words, such as 'believe' and 'authority,' with the principal Johannine synonyms, and with the relation between the Johannine and the Synoptic Vocabularies. But the words were almost exclusively verbs, nouns, adjectives, and adverbs. The article could not be represented statistically in the Vocabularies, nor could many of the pronouns and conjunctions; and only a general view could be given of the difference between the Johannine and the Synoptic use of prepositions. These words must therefore now be added to the two subjects above mentioned as remaining to be discussed—namely, inflexions and combinations of words.

"In *Johannine Grammar* it is proposed to treat of these matters with a view to two objects. The first object is to ascertain the Evangelist's meaning, the second is to compare or contrast his Gospel with those of the Synoptists. A great deal will be omitted that would be inserted in a grammar of New Testament Greek, or in a grammar that proposed to examine the differences between Johannine and, for example, Pauline style. On the other hand, a great deal will be inserted that would not find place in a treatise attempting simply to elucidate the obscurities of the Fourth Gospel. As in *Johannine Vocabulary*, so in *Johannine Grammar*, many remarks that may seem superfluous for explaining the special passage under discussion may be found to be justified hereafter by the use made of them in a commentary on parallel passages in the Four Gospels."

The present work is divided into two books, two appendices, and two sets of triple indexes. Book I. is entitled "Forms and Combinations of Words," and its contents are arranged under alphabetical headings, "adjectives," "adverbs," "anacoluthon," "apposition," "article," "asyndeton," "cases," "conjunctions," "ellipsis,"¹ "interrogative sentences," "mood," "negative particles," "number," "participle," "prepositions,"

¹ An expression of gratitude that Dr Abbott has not given his sanction to the misuse of the word "ellipse" in this sense may be pardoned.

"pronouns," "tense," and "voice." This part occupies about five-eighths of the volume, and contains exhaustive discussions of all these subjects. For instance, the author discusses the use of no less than seventeen conjunctions and eighteen prepositions. Book II. bears the heading "Arrangement, Variation, and Repetition of Words," and contains three chapters respectively entitled "Arrangement and Variation," "Repetition," and "Connexion of Sentences." The first chapter is divided into four sections—variation in repetition or quotation, chiasmus, the possessive genitive, miscellaneous: the second into twelve sections—the nature of Johannine repetition, Jewish canons of repetition, repetition through negation, repetition in the synoptists, the Johannine prologue, Johannine repetition through negation, twofold repetition in the Baptist's teaching, twofold repetition in Christ's words, twofold repetition in narrative, twofold or threefold repetition, threefold repetition, sevenfold repetition; the third into three sections—self-corrections, parentheses, instances of doubtful connexion. The two appendixes are entitled respectively "Twofold Meanings and Events" and "Readings of Codex Vaticanus not adopted by Westcott and Hort." These are followed by "Notes on Preceding Paragraphs" and "Indices" (New Testament Passages, Subject Matter (English), and Words (Greek)).

From the above enumeration it will be at once apparent that *Johannine Grammar* is a work of minute learning. This does not mean that it is a book only for the scholar who has taken prizes in Greek at school or college. The author has had in mind a much larger class, and any one who has kept up enough Greek to spell out his Greek Testament can quite well use most of this book, and use it profitably. The reader is provided with the English version throughout, and the more technical discussions are relegated to footnotes in smaller type, which the less trained scholar can avoid if he chooses. Minute grammatical discussions are apt to repel the average educated man, but we are here in the hands of a master who, by his reverent, patient, and exact investigations, makes the Greek of this Gospel yield

up its secret. The reader is interested in spite of himself as he realises the momentous issues of the contest and the consummate generalship of the leader, who marshals his forces with the skill of a veteran. Our author makes it clear that the grammatical questions which the Gospel raises are not the end, but the means to the end, the full understanding of the marvellous book, and the truth about Jesus' life. Those who know the Fourth Gospel best will most value this work, and the reader who has been accustomed to pass over its difficulties lightly or unknowingly will here find new light. Learning has not in Dr Abbott, as in too many, destroyed sanity of judgment. There is much evidence, too, that he has taken the trouble to study the documents on papyri which have been discovered and published in such large numbers during the last twenty years. Many a passage in the New Testament is incidentally illustrated here, and the splendid indexes and table of contents make the book easy to refer to.

It is difficult to select special passages to show the value of the book. After some had been selected others were found with an equal claim to be mentioned. Let me, however, mention a few of the points which the author has made clear, and express the hope that readers will go to the book itself for abundant help of the same kind. In chap. iii. 3-7, "our Lord is intended by the evangelist to mean '*from heaven*,' and Nicodemus is intended to be regarded as misunderstanding Him, or affecting to misunderstand Him, as though he meant '*a second time*.'" Chap. viii. 40 is explained thus: "Our Lord assumed a connexion, in the minds of those whom He was addressing, between '*Abraham*' and '*man*' (in the sense of '*mankind*' or '*human being*'), and also between '*Abraham*' and '*truth*,' so that Jesus might be understood to say, '*You say you are Abraham's children; but you do not act like him. He loved men and loved God's truth. I am a man, and I am telling you God's truth, and you are seeking to kill me.*'" "Chap. i. 18 should be punctuated, '*Only begotten, God, HE THAT IS in the bosom of the Father,—he hath declared him,*' the three being regarded as titles of the Logos. 'Or, in iii. 19

means 'that': 'the very fact that men love darkness is their condemnation.'" "The usage of John (and of Mark, with whom John curiously agrees in some idioms) makes it probable that in chap. xiv. 1 *πιστεύετε* is imperative, 'Believe in God. . . ." "The emphatic use of 'I' in the testimony of the Baptist has perplexed some, who have not perceived that the Baptist is intended, by the use of this pronoun, to emphasise his own inferiority to Christ, or else the spontaneousness of his testimony." "In the list of variations given below, the reader's particular attention is called to the passages marked †, where an utterance of our Lord is repeated after 'I said,' 'He said,' etc., but not with exact accuracy. It is impossible to believe that the Evangelist misquoted Jesus, or represented Him as misquoting Himself. Our conclusion must therefore be that he wished to compel his readers to perceive that they have not before them Christ's exact words, and that they must think of their spirit rather than of the letter."¹ "The number 'seven' occurs in Revelation more often than in all the rest of the New Testament taken together. In the Fourth Gospel, which was probably written by some one connected with the author of Revelation, 'seven' never occurs at all (though fairly frequent in the Synoptists). But the Gospel is *permeated structurally with the idea of 'seven.'*" The exposition of this characteristic is one of the most interesting parts of the book. In chap. i. 15 *πρῶτός μου* probably represents "in vernacular Greek the Baptist's recognition of Jesus as his Rabbi, or Superior, or Head."

One of the most interesting features of the book is the attention throughout paid to textual matters. The evidence is often given with considerable detail, and the Sinaitic Syriac readings, for instance, have been carefully studied by the author. Another important characteristic is the use made of the commentaries of Origen and Chrysostom. Perhaps the example of Dr Abbott will be followed by other expositors. The patristic commentaries are oftener mentioned than read. He appears to have used, however,

¹ On this I might remark that accuracy of quotation was not at all looked for in ancient times.

for Origen only the old edition of Daniel Huet, Bishop of Avranches. Huet was one of the best Greek scholars of his day, but it seems a pity that Dr Abbott did not use a modern edition, either that of Brooke (Cambridge, 1896) or that of Preuschen (Leipzig, 1903). This would have lent more precision to some of his statements. For example, on p. 108 Origen's reading of verse 39 of chap. viii. is referred to thus: "Origen's present text, when he is not expressly commenting on the passage, uses (Huet i. 72, ii. 96) the reading of the inferior MSS. But in his comment on the passage he agrees about six times (Huet ii. 286, 294-96) with W-H text, twice (*ib.* ii. 290, 293) with W-H marg." Leaving the passage Huet i. 72 out of account, we find that modern criticism has somewhat changed the situation. Huet ii. 96 still keeps the old reading, but all the other passages in the commentary on John, ten in number, now agree with W-H text. Again, in § 2414*d* a passage of Origen is quoted thus: "οὐδὲ αὐτὸν [τὸν κόσμον is omitted] εἶμαι χωρήσειν τὰ γραφόμενα βιβλία." But this text must be due to an error of Huet's. Preuschen reads (with no note of variant in his apparatus): οὐδὲ αὐτὸν εἶμαι τὸν κόσμον χωρήσειν τὰ γραφόμενα βιβλία: the τὸν κόσμον is therefore present. The author comes forth triumphant from a severe test of his references to the Latin version(s). Special information, which I owe to the kindness of Rev. E. S. Buchanan, enables me to add *ff.* to the authorities for "*ex*," and also to the authorities for "*cum*" (§ 2350 *c*); likewise to the authorities for "*credite* . . . *credite*" (§ 2240 *a*). On the vexed question as to the significations and uses of ἄλλος and ἑτερος (p. 317 *ff.*) reference ought to have been made to Ramsay, *Historical Commentary on St Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*, p. 260 *ff.*, who takes exactly the opposite view to Lightfoot with regard to the meaning of these words in Gal. i. 6-7, and enforces it with unanswerable arguments. The reader should now also consult Moulton's *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, p. 79 *f.* The printing of this book, the work of the Cambridge University Press, is as beautiful as it is accurate.

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ST PAUL'S VIEW OF THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST,
by the Rev. Allan Mensies, M.A., D.D., St Andrews.
(Essays for the Times, No. 1.) London: Francis Griffiths,
1905. Pp. 48. Price 6d. nett.

THIS brief essay on St Paul's view of Christ has light and guidance in it, for which every one who reads it will be thankful. It is simple with the simplicity of a master; it has the rare power of putting the mind in immediate and felt contact with the realities of a historical situation. The paper is written in view of the obvious difference in the representations of Christ given in the Gospels on the one hand, and the Epistles on the other; and its object is "to point out that the position in which we stand at present as to our information about the life of Christ is in certain respects closely analogous to that of the apostle Paul, who, when he carried on his Gentile Mission had not only not four Gospels, but probably no written work at all to refer to for the facts of the Saviour's life and death" (p. 8). The criticism which has inevitably grown up round the gospel history makes it very desirable that we should attain a view of Christ which shall be above the region of debate. Such a higher knowledge of Christ St Paul possessed, though he did not derive it from the earliest gospels; and in this path of appreciation and faith we should follow him.

The apostle's conception of our Lord is then stated under three heads: (1) Christ was a pre-existent Being; (2) Christ is the Spirit; (3) His death has affected the atonement between man and God, and this was the object of His coming into the world. These points are developed with skill and knowledge, and each of them convincingly proved from the language and argument of the Epistles. Nothing in the essay is more suggestive than the way in which, under each head, the opportunity is taken to show how the Gentile world was made ready for such a gospel as St Paul's. There were ideas and rites in the prevailing religions of the day which did much to prepare the human mind for conceptions like

pre-existence and identification with Christ. Forms of thought had been providentially supplied, into which a new content was now poured. We should value from Professor Menzies a more extended application of this *religionsgeschichtliche Methode*. He has the requisite knowledge and insight in a degree which few possess.

The concluding pages deal in a most stimulating manner with the problem of the Christ of history and the Christ of faith, and suggest that we ought to take the first step, along with St Paul, in the endeavour to answer the great questions that concern our Lord's relation to God and to mankind.

Matters on which, with some diffidence, I should tend to arrive at other conclusions than the writer are these. Must we not think that the common basis of belief shared by St Paul with the earliest believers, alike as to Christ's teaching and His person, was larger than is here represented (notwithstanding p. 16)? After all, St Paul's conception of Christ as the incarnate Son of God was never, so far as our knowledge goes, the subject of denial or controversy in the primitive Church; if it was an advance, therefore, on the first beliefs, it was such an advance as no one felt to be out of line with what they already held. If a certain view of Christ is justified, the difference in interpretation between Synoptic Gospels and Epistles is precisely what we should have anticipated; and we may not assume that one picture is less real or less in accordance with fact than the other. It is going rather beyond the facts, I submit, to say that "the Christ whom St Paul preached was, in many important respects, a different being from the Jesus of the early tradition and the Gospels" (p. 15). The identity was far more central than the difference; or the apostolic gospel lost its point. Again, it is difficult to believe that the earlier apostles, once they became convinced of Christ's divine exaltation, did not also begin to feel after the idea of pre-existence, although it may not come out in the speeches given in Acts. I venture this assertion, simply because the idea that the Jewish mind could entertain the conception of a *gewordene Gottheit*

appears to me untenable. In general, too, I should be inclined to take a less antithetic view of the types of Christology in the New Testament, and to regard them as parts of an advanced and unified series. Is it not possible that what we have is less an antithesis than a process with a difference in accent: the Synoptics giving the Jesus of history, St Paul grasping the living Christ, St John fusing both together in an anti-docetic way?

The luminous and vital quality of this brief writing ought to secure wide attention for it, Prof. Menzies being one of those teachers from whom you learn to think whether you agree with them or not. For getting behind the definitions of the creeds, for placing the mind right in the centre of a great system of thought, for rousing one to a fresh orientation in New Testament religion, it is singularly helpful. It ought to be read by any one who desires to see how interesting modern theology can make St Paul.

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שֶׁחַר. THE NEW-HEBREW SCHOOL OF
POETS OF THE SPANISH-ARABIAN EPOCH,
selected texts with Introduction, Notes, and Dictionary,
edited by H. Brody, Ph.D., Rabbi in Nachod (Bohemia)
and K. Albrecht, Ph.D., Professor in Oldenburg. London:
Williams & Norgate, 1906. Pp. x., 218. 7s. 6d.

THE new-Hebrew poetry sprang up in Spain about the middle of the tenth century, and continued to flourish there for more than two hundred years. It owed its existence partly to its environment. Under the enlightened rule of the Western Omayyad Chalifs the Jews enjoyed a liberty and security which were denied them elsewhere. The greatest of the Omayyads, Abderrahman III., employed as one of his principal ministers, although without official recognition, Hasdai ibn Shafrut of Cordova, who used his position and influence for the advantage of his compatriots. The voice of the Hebrew muse, which had been silent for more than a thousand years, was heard once more. Two poets vied with one another for the patronage of Hasdai—Menahem ben

Saruk, the grammarian of Tortosa, and Dunash ben Labrat, who first made use of metre—and thus the new poetry began with panegyric of this Mæcenas and with satire of the two poets in which their disciples carried on the rivalry of their masters.

A position similar to that occupied by Hasdai at Cordova was held by Samuel ha-Najid in Granada at the beginning of the eleventh century. By conforming and persuading his brother Jews to conform in outward things to Muslim practice, he rose to be virtual master of the country. A writer of lyrics himself, he became the centre and patron of a school of poets which numbered among its members the elegiac poet and philosopher, Ibn Gabirol, better known under his Latinized name, Avicbron, whom Graetz calls the Hebrew Plato. The best friend and protector of Ibn Gabirol, however, was the poet and statesman Jekutiel of Saragossa, who lost his head during the political troubles of the year 1039.

Among the poets of the twelfth century the most eminent were Moses ibn Ezra of Granada, the first great secular poet, who sang of wine and love and country life; the famous Abraham ibn Ezra, who, although his grammatical and exegetical works were written during fitful residences in Italy, France, and England, is believed to have composed most of his poems before he left Spain about the year 1140; and the greatest poet of all, Jehuda ha-Levi, who made the pilgrimage to the Holy Land and, according to the tradition, was ridden down by an Arab as he was about to set foot in Jerusalem.

The volume under review contains selections from the verses of these and others of the Hebrew poets of Spain. Much of the poetry is devotional in character, being taken from the rites in use in the various communities. Of the secular, many consist of panegyric, composed by a client in praise of his patron, or by a disciple in honour of his master. The naturally joyous spirit of the Jew, which the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune could not wound, finds expression in many odes, epigrams, and riddles. Many pieces, again, reflect events in the lives of the poets, such as that of

Ibn Ezra upon his apostate son, whom he left Spain to find and bring back to the faith ; or those of Ha-Levi on his voyage to Palestine and the storm at sea. The satire of Ibn Gabirol upon the niggardly host who restricted the wine supplied to his guests, which is believed to be the earliest secular poem in Hebrew, has been omitted ; but the names of the editors are sufficient guarantee that the selections here given fairly represent the poetry of the time, as well as for the accuracy of the text. The work would make an excellent text-book for advanced reading in Hebrew, and form an admirable introduction to the literature of the period. The book concludes with selections from the makamas of Harizi.

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE UPANISHADS, by
Paul Deussen. Translated by Rev. A. S. Geden, M.A.
Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906. Pp. ix., 429. 10s. 6d.

THIS book represents the second half of the first volume of the *General History of Philosophy*, begun by Professor Deussen in 1893. His earlier essay on the *System of the Vedānta* (1883) had given ample proof of his scholarship, as well as of his sympathies with Hindu idealism ; and it was not unnatural that he should take up the development of philosophy in the schools of India as actually prior to those of Greece. The treatise opened with an exposition of the philosophical hymns of the Rig Veda ; and this was followed by an account of the doctrines of the Upanishads. This is contained in the volume now before us, and its relation to the larger work explains the awkward beginning, "It will be remembered." The separate publication is not without its drawbacks, as the fundamental conceptions of the Brahman and the Ātman are practically taken for granted, and appear without any adequate exposition of their meaning and history, the reference on p. 86 only tantalising the reader who has not access to the preceding volume. It is to be regretted that some summary could not have been included by way of introduction. The

translator may be sincerely congratulated, on the whole, upon his work. Dr Deussen is not an easy writer, and his long sentences have sometimes been judiciously divided. But many difficulties remain, especially in the use of single words. For instance "were published" is an injudicious rendering of "hervorgingen" (p. 8), in case of works which, like the Upanishads, had no written origin, but grew up out of oral traditions. The theological idea of inspiration is altogether out of place in the extract from Kaush. iii. 8 (p. 176), where Deussen and Max Müller both have "make," and Mr Geden translates Deussen's rendering by "inspires."¹ Students will do well to compare the translations of Max Müller in the *Sacred Books of the East* (vols. i. and xv.), and they will get some idea of the difficulties of the task. Mr Geden has added to his volume a valuable index of passages quoted or discussed, and the reader can thus use the book to some extent as a commentary.

A brief sketch of the origin of the Upanishad literature is of course prefixed to the philosophical exposition. It is, however, much to be wished that this could have been more fully elaborated, especially with reference to what we now know of Buddhism. The absence of any attempt to put the movement of ideas represented in the Upanishads into any relation with the wider process of Indian thought, in which Buddhism came to play so large a part, betrays a limitation which a "general" historian might have been expected to transcend. The picture of society presented in the early Buddhist texts, with its itinerant teachers, its variety of speculations, its bold denials of received doctrines, its extraordinary eagerness for discussion, only brings into clearer view the phenomena already noticeable in the Upanishads, where some of the profoundest truths are taught by kings instead of Brahmins, and even women take part in great philosophical debates. The question

¹ "He is not exalted by good works, nor degraded by evil works, but it is he who inspires to do good works the man whom he will lead on high," etc. Exception might further be taken to "exalting" and "degrading," which imply moral relations, whereas the original seems concerned only with magnitudes of greater or less.

becomes urgent as soon as any attempt is made to determine dates, or, at least, chronological priority. The difficulties, as every student of Indian literary history knows, are enormous. Dr Deussen, with his profound knowledge of the texts, can again and again distinguish different elements, and show the dependence of one Upanishad upon another. In this way among the oldest group of eleven, attached to the three Vedas, a relative order may be established. But to what period may the several documents be ascribed? Older historians used to place them in the centuries following the composition of the hymns, and preceding Buddhism, *i.e.* between 800 and 500 B.C.¹ Much uncertainty, however, now hangs over this attribution. Early lists of Vedic literature, for instance, in the prior *Bṛhadāraṇyaka* (*S.B.E.*, xv. p. 111), and the later *Chhândogya* (*S.B.E.*, i. p. 109), include Upanishads among the products breathed forth from the great Self. They have already a divine authority. But the Buddhist lists of Brahmanical lore (*Dīgha Nikāya*, vol. i. pp. 88, 114; *Dialogues of the Buddha*, vol. i. pp. 109, 146) are much shorter and simpler, and omit the Upanishads altogether. Are they, then, older? The question is not easy to answer, but it at once involves the whole theme of the chronological relation between the literary deposit in our existing Upanishads, and the early Buddhist books. And on this topic Dr Deussen is silent.

Once more, the student soon finds that his guide is not interested in the curious survivals from the lower culture of which these ancient works are full. The author is absorbed with the great philosophical problems; his eye ranges from India to Greece, and from Greece to Germany. If he leaves Yājñavalkya (whose name the translator persists all the way through the book in spelling Yājñavalkhya), it is only to find momentary fellowship with Plato or Kant. The incalculable cycles of preceding time have done nothing but produce "superstitions." Yet our author's study of the conception of the Self (or soul) and its destiny reveals many

¹ Mr Geden has dropped his author's phrase (p. 3 of the original), "bis circa 500, A.C."

points of contact with the anthropology of the savage peoples. On this side, also, the writer forgets that he has set himself a "general" task ; and he passes on without notice. The curious reader has only to compare Dr Deussen's exposition of the doctrine of the soul with that of Professor Rhys Davids in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* to realise the difference of treatment. Here, perhaps, it must be enough to note that Dr Deussen's point of view is throughout metaphysical rather than historical. Western religion is judged under the same category, and Christianity, strangely enough, is represented "in its purest form" by—the philosophy of Schopenhauer (p. 140).

It is in accordance with this mode of thought that Dr Deussen commences his exposition from the ontological rather than the psychological side. Three great topics are continually occupying the mind of man—God, the world, and the soul. What is the nature of God, and how is He related to the scene of our life in time and space? What kind of reality belongs to the world? In what sense can it be said to be produced and maintained by a creative Providence? How is the soul connected with the body, what are its functions now, and what will be its destiny after death? These are the questions of perpetual interest which man will never cease to ask, and, somehow, to answer. The ancient Hindu teachers were afraid of nothing. Gotama the Buddha rejected the belief in God and the soul. Others went further, denied moral distinctions altogether, and repudiated all idea of future consequences of reward or retribution. To these deep scepticisms the Upanishads contain little reference, though the opening of the *Svetâsvatara* shows that they were not wholly out of sight. The texts are concerned with three or four great problems—the Being of God ; the origin and nature of the external world ; the constitution and destiny of the soul. And these are so inter-related, that when the answer to the first is set forth, all the rest follows with a certain sense of inevitableness. The clue to the whole is found in the Idealism of Yājñavalkya. Who this great teacher was, and in what age he lived, remains

obscure; but his doctrines are introduced in the *Bṛihad-āraṇyaka* (placed by Deussen at the head of the series) 'with a daring and abruptness' which stamp them as original. With bold intuition the seer endeavours to penetrate to the ultimate reality behind the worlds of sense and thought. This is the Self of all seeming separate selves, enfolding all opposites, like subject and object, in one all-embracing unity. Here there is no hearing or smelling *something else*, or addressing or comprehending *another*. The dualism of the *ego* and the *non-ego* is abolished, and there is but one universal Self (*Ātman*). As there is nothing external to it, it cannot be known as an object of thought. No predicates can be affirmed of it; these would only limit that which transcends all bounds; it can only be described with "no, no"; definition is impossible, and in this sense the Absolute remains unknowable. But what cannot be apprehended by inference or reasoning, may be realised by the inward eye, which discerns the unity of the self within and the universal Self. True wisdom beholds the *Ātman*, but not by outward sight or spoken word. It is not even reached by a process of thought. The eternal is known through a perception of spiritual identity, according to the famous formula *tat tvam asi*, "that art thou." Religion naturally accounts for the difference between believers and unbelievers by declaring that this priceless perception is after all a *donum*, it is a gift of revelation to him whom the Self has chosen for his own. This doctrine of election is curiously parallel to some Western forms of Christianity, but it remained, like so many other of the ideas of the Upanishads, a casual utterance, never worked into any coherent, dogmatic, or ecclesiastical scheme. It belonged to the theistic type of Hindu mysticism; it is after all only a symbol, an explanation of a fact rather than the fact itself. None of Dr Deussen's pages are more interesting than those in which he traces the perpetual conflict between the absolute idealism of the highest *Ātman-Brahman* doctrine, and the world of our common experience, of personality, of space and time. Here his unrivalled knowledge of the text combines with

a fine philosophical insight. Various forms of theism and pantheism mingle side by side, and doctrines of creation and providence spring out of the great illusion. The forest-teachers were not systematic thinkers. They were feeling their way to great truths, and the records of their speculation are naturally not always consistent.

The last section of Dr Deussen's treatise is occupied with the doctrines of eschatology. He traces the literary transition from the simpler forms of Vedic expectation into the later conception of the Deed (*karma*), and the consequent scheme of transmigration. Here again we are made to feel the want of the comparative method. Philosophy can account for the strenuous ethical passion which controls the presentation of the whole series of successive existences. But it is less successful in explaining how an individual soul can get into plants and trees, worms or apes. It appears to us impossible to regard the great doctrine which has swayed so many thousands of millions of lives as a pure product of Hindu speculation ; it is the result of various factors, in which the current beliefs of the people among whom it was formed, doubtless helped to give imaginative shape to the philosophical and moral demands. The exposition concludes with a delineation of the goal of "emancipation," the life of the "deathless," where ignorance has been conquered by vision, and the practical disciplines which make for its attainment :—

"The man who has beheld God
As his own self face to face ;
The Lord of that which was and is to be,
He feels no fear nor hides himself in dread."

All students will rejoice to have this book in English. It is an indispensable aid to the comprehension of the higher Hindu theology. Let our missionaries, above all, read and understand it, if they would sympathise aright with the people whom they seek to instruct.

Oxford.

J. ESTLIN CARPENTER.

**LE PROBLÈME DU DEVENIR ET LA NOTION
DE LA MATIÈRE DANS LA PHILOSOPHIE
GRECQUE, par Albert Rivaud. Paris: Alcan
(Edinburgh: Otto Schulze & Co.), 1906. 10 fr.**

THE main thesis of this book is a paradox. M. Rivaud maintains that *le problème de la matière n'existe pas dans la philosophie grecque ancienne*. By this he does not mean that the term "matter" has acquired a connotation in modern times which makes it inappropriate when applied to the simpler speculations of the Greeks. He actually means that there was no problem corresponding to that of matter. The place occupied in modern science by the idea of matter was occupied in Greek philosophy by *certaines images du changement ou du devenir*, and the question of what changes, or becomes, only arises incidentally, if at all. To find evidence in support of this remarkable view, M. Rivaud has consulted a large number of modern books, the titles of which make a brave show in the footnotes, though it must be said that his account of what he found in them is "subject to caution."¹ It must also be said that he has failed to appreciate the bearing of certain recent researches, especially those of Diels.²

In order to make out his case, M. Rivaud is bound first of all to destroy the distinction between the cosmogonists or "theologians" and the cosmologists or "physicists." This distinction was clearly made by Plato (*Laws*, 886 C-D) and Aristotle, and is quite fundamental. The rise of the

¹ For instance, on page 202 I am credited with the extraordinary view that in primitive Pythagoreanism we have to do with psychological and moral distinctions gradually transferred to the domain of metaphysics. This is accompanied by a precise-looking reference to *Early Greek Philosophy*, 1899, p. 306, where there is certainly nothing of the sort. This does not inspire me with confidence in M. Rivaud's report of other people's views. As I am on the subject of accuracy, I may say that misprints like *paysage* for *passage* (p. 29) and *beau* for *blanc* (p. 334) do not make a good impression.

² This is shown by his exaggeration of the uncertainty attaching to our knowledge of early philosophy (p. 267). Diels has reconstructed for us the great work of Theophrastus on the subject, and we are by no means dependent on "mutilated fragments." In the sixth century A.D. Simplicius had still most of the complete texts, and has preserved the essential portions of several.

Milesian school marks the birth of science, and is therefore one of the most important events in the history of mankind. It almost disappears in M. Rivaud's account, and we are told that, so far as the Ionian cosmologists spoke of the primary substance at all, they were only carrying on the cosmogonical tradition with the irrational elements left out; their real interest was in the explanation of particular phenomena like eclipses and thunder. "Matter" had not even a name in Greek till the time of Aristotle.

This way of looking at it makes the whole history of philosophy before the time of Plato incoherent. As M. Rivaud says himself (p. 267), we can find no *liaison* between the doctrines of the different philosophers. In itself that surely raises a *prima facie* presumption against the theory. A movement of thought which ended in so definite a view of the world as Atomism must surely have had some sort of unity, and it ought to be possible to read its beginnings to some extent in the light of its end. But we can get something more than a presumption from M. Rivaud's own admissions. He accepts (p. 262) a view which he attributes to me, that, in certain cases, the word *φύσις* may be exactly translated by "substance." In any case there can be no doubt what the early philosophers understood by it; for Plato tells us (*Laws*, 892 C) that they meant "the origin of the first things" (*γένεσιν τῶν περὶ τὰ πρῶτα*),¹ giving as examples fire and air. Now, M. Rivaud also admits that the works of the early philosophers were entitled *Περὶ φύσεως*, and he must therefore suppose that these books received their titles from something in them which was of secondary importance. So long as we have the term *φύσις*, we need not trouble about the want of a word for "matter"; what is really remarkable is the absence of any word for *devenir*. M. Rivaud himself points out quite rightly that *γένεσις* had not this sense till the time of Plato.

¹ The word *γένεσις* is used here in its old sense, duly noted by M. Rivaud (p. 261), and *περὶ τὰ πρῶτα* is the usual periphrasis (very common in the *Laws*) for *τῶν πρώτων*. Just as Ocean in Homer is *θεῶν γένεσις*, so *φύσις* in the cosmologists is *γένεσις τῶν πρώτων*.

As is natural, the great Parmenides fares worst at M. Rivaud's hands, while Zeno and Melissus are roundly called "Sophists." It would be fatal to the thesis to suppose that the Eleatics meant by *τὸ ὅν* what every one else meant, and so we are presented once more with the unhistorical picture of a Parmenides who revels in logical abstractions like *l'être*, "being," long before there was any logic. Like so many questions in philosophy and theology, this is really a matter of grammar. The French term *l'être* is ambiguous, like the English "being," though German can distinguish *das Seiende* (*τὸ ὄν*) from *das Sein* (*τὸ ἵσθαι*). Parmenides says nothing whatever about the latter, and could not have done so; for the use of the articular infinitive for an abstract noun did not exist in his day. I do not suppose that the French language could bear the strain of saying *l'étant*, but *ce qui est* is a tolerably accurate rendering of *τὸ ὅν*. Its adoption would, however, destroy M. Rivaud's interpretation altogether.

When we come to Plato and Aristotle, M. Rivaud's thesis is not so misleading, though it obscures the fact that Plato was really the first to raise the question of "becoming" in earnest. The chief fact about the history of Greek thought is just that it has two starting-points, one the Milesian school and the other Plato. M. Rivaud has done his best to obscure this fact, but it emerges in spite of him, even in his own book.

St Andrews.

JOHN BURNET.

SOCRATES, by the Rev. J. T. Forbes, M.A. ("The World's Epoch-Makers"). Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1905. Pp. x., 282. 3s.

THIS little book deals with a good many things besides Socrates, and that in a way which, if not startling by its originality, is always interesting and sound. It gives us first a sketch of Greek religious reflection before Socrates, especially as seen in the tragedians. This is illustrated by extracts from the best English translations, and it is pleasing to note that something like justice has been done to Euripides. Then we have a sketch of pre-Socratic philosophy, which is in some ways a model of lucid com-

pression. It may be that all this is not very relevant to the main subject of the book ; but it will certainly be of use to the type of student for whom it is clearly designed.

Coming to Socrates himself, we naturally turn first of all to the pages where Mr Forbes discusses the relative worth of our authorities. It is satisfactory to find that Grote's formula of "the historic Socrates, as reported by Xenophon," is left far behind. Mr Forbes is no dupe of the "plain, blunt man" theory of the literary soldier of fortune. He is quite clear that there is a "tendency" in the *Memorabilia*, and that Xenophon is a writer "with a thesis." He is aware that, if we wish to get the real Socrates, it is above all to Plato's earlier dialogues that we must go, and he makes a very judicious use of these in drawing his picture. There is only one point which seems to me to call for criticism. Mr Forbes takes for granted that the statements of Aristotle with regard to Socrates are absolutely trustworthy, and that they are the final court of appeal. Others before him have said the same thing ; but I have never been able to see how Aristotle can have known very much more about Socrates than we do. After all, his chief source of information would be the dialogues of Plato, and the rest would be mainly gossip. I quite agree that Mr Benn is wrong in attributing Socrates's confession of ignorance to Plato, who is supposed to have drawn "a discreet veil over the positive side" of his master's teaching, for which we must resort to Xenophon. That is only the old superstition, based upon a fanciful analogy of the relation between the Synoptics and the Fourth Gospel, in a new dress. But I do not think that the remark of Aristotle to which Mr Forbes appeals (p. 111) has any bearing on the matter. It surely refers primarily to the Platonic Socrates ; and if Aristotle was conscious at all of the difference between the Platonic and the historical Socrates, there can be little doubt that this would seem to him a small matter in comparison with the more fundamental difference between the Platonic Socrates, even at his highest point of development, and Plato himself.

Every account of Socrates must necessarily be more or less coloured by the personal interests of the writer. It is impossible to give definite grounds for accepting this trait and rejecting that, and we can only judge the success or failure of the portrait by its general credibility and agreement with the few things we may be said to know. Mr Forbes's personal interests seem to be mainly theological, but I do not see that this fact has unduly influenced his picture. Indeed, I rather miss the element of mysticism in the character of Socrates, which I cannot believe was the invention of Plato. It was, I fancy, very real, and accounted for much of his influence, though it was always kept in check by a wholesome sense of humour. The discussion of the trial and its political aspects (pp. 247 *sqq.*) seem to me particularly good. On the whole, this little work may be recommended heartily to all who are tired of the "historical Socrates," whom the text-books continue to serve up to us.

JOHN BURNET.

St Andrews.

THE RELIGION OF NUMA, by *Jesse Benedict Carter*.
London: Macmillan & Co., 1906. Pp. viii., 189. 3s. 6d. nett.

IN her little book, recently published, on the *Religion of Ancient Greece*, Miss Harrison refers to the inanities of the older dictionaries designed to impart an "understanding of classical allusions," and marvels that the human mind should have descended to such puerilities. The times of this ignorance are passing, though it is very doubtful whether the newer light has penetrated into all the corners of classical teaching. Even yet there are in our hands reputable translations of Greek authors which give us such wonders as "Minerva" for "Athena" and "Diana" for "Artemis." Books like the present, which attempt to trace within a moderate compass the connection between the Roman cults and the historical development of the people, are to be welcomed.

Mr Carter's five essays are intended to serve the purpose of introducing the English student to the subject of Roman

religion, and more especially to Mr Warde Fowler's book on *Roman Festivals*. But those who do not desire to enter upon a minute study of the religious history of Rome will find here a very useful sketch of the general development down to the establishment of the Empire under Augustus, when the old religion survived only in the simple rites of the family worship.

Roman scholars were not in a position to unravel the very difficult history of their own religion. The mass of materials before them was exceedingly complicated, for the Roman people were exposed to external influences from the very outset, and exhibited along with their conservatism an extraordinary power of incorporation and assimilation. "This unravelling," says Mr Carter, "has been the tedious occupation of the last half-century in the study of Roman religion ; and so patiently and successfully has it been accomplished that, although we would give almost anything for a few books of Varro's *Divine Antiquities*, it is tolerably certain that the possession of these books would not change in the least the fundamental concepts underlying the modern reconstruction of ancient Roman religion ; though it is equally certain that these books would emphasise just so much more strongly, what we already realise, that this modern reconstruction is in distinct contradiction to many of Varro's favourite theories."

Modern inquiry has endeavoured to keep in view the fundamental fact of the expansion of Rome, and to read her religious history in the light of it. In 1902 Wissowa published a systematic account of the whole subject in his *Religion und Cultus der Römer*. Mr Carter, who, as a pupil of Wissowa, acknowledges great indebtedness to his writings and his teaching, has appended to his essays an exceedingly useful index, containing references to the recent literature of the subject.

The arrangement followed by Mr Carter is naturally suggested by certain well-marked stages in the historical development of Rome. There is, first of all, "the simple religion of an agricultural people still strongly touched with animism," which, as Rome expands, is found to absorb new

elements from her Italian environment with the growth of political interests, trading relations, and the practice of the arts. Then came the Greek divinities, some indirectly, some directly, till even the Oriental goddess of Pessinus finds her way in. During the last two centuries of the Republic we find several forces at work, a tendency to find satisfaction in orgiastic cults, a philosophic scepticism, the practice of using the machinery of state religion for purely political ends. Yet Mr Carter is justified in reminding us that beneath this decay, and the attempt of Augustus to strengthen his position by giving the old a fresh content or fostering new growths, there lived on in the country districts an element of genuine and simple faith of which we catch glimpses, and without which the reconstruction of Augustus could never have been attempted.

St Andrews.

R. K. HANNAY.

**THE RELIGION OF ALL GOOD MEN, AND
OTHER STUDIES IN CHRISTIAN ETHICS,**
*by H. W. Garrod. London: Archibald Constable &
Co., 1906. Pp. 229. Price 5s.*

It is not quite easy to find the right tone for criticising this book. For, on the one hand, there is manifest in it throughout a great deal of strong feeling and sincere conviction, which one cannot but welcome and respect. And the author writes as one to whom the problem of the sufficiency of Christian ethics is a very real and vital problem indeed. But, on the other hand, many of his views fail to carry conviction, partly because there is evidence that the author is not thoroughly master of some of the theological problems with which he attempts to deal, partly because, by the side of passages full of beauty and power, there are others in which the arguments are set forth with a captiousness and superficiality that tax the critic's patience.

The book consists of five essays, entitled respectively: 1, "Christ, the Forerunner"; 2, "Christian, Greek or Goth"; 3, "The Religion of All Good Men"; 4, "Hymns"; 5, "Some Practical Aspects of the Problem of Free Will."

Loosely connected with each other as they are, their central theme is the same: the inadequacy of Christ's ethical teaching under the conditions of modern life; the reasons for that inadequacy; and the ways in which Christian ethics might be corrected and supplemented.

As a College-tutor in Oxford, Mr Garrod has come into contact with large numbers of young men, and has been deeply impressed by the fact that their difficulty in accepting Christianity is "not intellectual but moral." And it is abundantly clear that he feels the same difficulty himself. Hence he makes himself the mouthpiece of a generation, "which is calling *ethical* Christianity into question, just as the two preceding generations called in question *historical* Christianity" (p. vii.). To judge from a footnote (p. 59), Mr Garrod regards Haeckel as his only forerunner in this field. We may infer, then, that he has not read Nietzsche. And yet when Mr Garrod speaks of the "gentleman" as the ideal of the "northern races," one is faintly reminded of Nietzsche's "blonde Bestie," which was also a Teutonic ideal, and when Mr Garrod explains that a thorough Christian life is fatal to a gentleman's proper pride, and honour, and self-respect, and that "Christianity teaches a relation [to God] of self-abasement" (p. 148), there comes to one's mind Nietzsche's doctrine that Christianity is but a revolt of the *φύσει δοῦλοι* in this world against the strong and the virile, the aristocrats, the gentlemen.

This indeed is the main burden of Mr Garrod's dissatisfaction with Christian Ethics: consistently carried out, it destroys the ideal of gentleman, and a "Christian gentleman" is a contradiction in terms. Is it replied that most gentlemen *are* Christians? Then Mr Garrod retorts: That is pure self-deception. They profess Christianity with their lips, but not with their lives. Examine their actual conduct and you will find that they are guided by the ideals of honour and of chivalry (p. 138 and *passim*). They have no desire to be "fools for Christ's sake," or to become "as the filth of the world and the off-scourings of all things." And adapting a phrase of Emerson's, Mr Garrod advises his gentlemen: "Let God be to you a kind of beautiful enemy,

untameable. Do not lose your independence, courage, self-respect, in presence of this unknown and unknowable power" (p. 149). Excellent advice, if it meant no more than "we must never carry worship to a point where we lose self-respect" (*ibid.*); if it were but a protest against cringing fear and superstition. But in Mr Garrod it means more. It is a protest against the "self-abasement" before God which he holds Christianity to demand. It seems a strange way of describing a religion of *love*, which regards the relation of men and God as that of sons to a father, and the relation of men to each other as that of brothers! These are Mr Garrod's comments on the "gospel of love" in this latter aspect: "In such a universal extension of it as Christianity proposes this gospel of love is impossible of acceptance. Not only is it not possible to love everybody, but the more we love everybody the less we are likely to love those to whom our love is in the first instance due. There are, moreover, some injuries which men, who are men, cannot forgive, as, for example, some wrongs done to a parent, or a sister, or an insult offered to the dead. There is also a something called 'self-respect' or 'honour' which, though it be responsible for many follies, is yet a most 'subtle master' to teach many virtues. A universal charity which would have us 'turn the other cheek' abolishes this self-respect or honour" (pp. 74, 5). In setting itself into opposition to these "instincts" of "self-respect" and "honour," Christianity dooms itself. And there are other instincts against which it is at war with results equally fatal to itself: "The world and the flesh are two things which mankind will never consent to do without. The essence of life is that it should be lived naturally. The instincts of the average man are healthy, I will even say holy. No religious or moral organisation which sets itself in opposition to these can hope ultimately to succeed" (p. 143). And yet there are other passages in which Mr Garrod says things which (one would have thought) should have saved him from the futility of such arguments, and suggested a clue to the problem of flesh and spirit. Thus in a very beautiful and eloquent passage about Christ's personality (p. 69) he says: "In no

other great man do we find the effort of the spirit towards good so intense, so pure, so constant as in Christ, and this not so much on account of what He brought with Him as because of what He left behind Him. He so left behind Him all that was alien and hampering that He saw all things with the 'single eye' and the whole of Him was 'full of light.' Pureness of purpose and freedom of spirit were His shield and buckler." This is well said. And it is just because the undisciplined flesh is "alien and hampering" to the freedom of the spirit that the battle between them must be fought. And fortunately we are spared here that talk about opposition to the "healthy, human instincts" which is "pusillanimous" and "impossible" (p. 143). I doubt if Mr Garrod's "natural man" would ever learn to see things with the "single eye," or ever deserve to be described as "full of light."

The last charge which Mr Garrod brings against Christianity is that it is "unserviceable for life," that it would destroy society if it were consistently carried out. "The moral judgment which, as men, we pass upon men, is that which holds society together. This moral judgment cannot co-exist with universal love" (p. 75). "Many things in Christianity which we do accept are bearing us rapidly along to social dissolution: I will only instance here that 'fostering of the feeblés' against which the best voices in the land have been lately, but perhaps too late, loudly raised" (p. 61 *n.*). I suspect a confusion of thought in these arguments. What is meant by the "dissolution" of society which Mr Garrod predicts from a consistent application of the Christian ideal? In a sense, every reform dissolves and destroys. It is true that the average conduct of men in society is far from conforming fully to the Christian standard. But is Mr Garrod going to assert, that it is just in so far as society falls short of the Christian ideal that it holds together as society? And that Christianity consistently carried out would make society *in any shape* wholly and utterly impossible? For to say merely, that it would make the *present* condition of society impossible, is an argument that obviously appeals only to those

who assume to start with that present society is better than the carrying out of the Christian ideal. Which is just the point to be proved. If then it be meant that Christianity is inconsistent with *all* society—that is a huge and altogether unprovable assumption. It certainly cannot be settled by an appeal either to past or to present experience; for though it might be fairly argued that a religion which has conquered so large a part of the world cannot be destructive of social life, and that the very organisation of congregations and churches shows Christianity to have been a society-forming force, Mr Garrod might still captiously insist, that Christianity achieved this success only by inconsistency, by falling away from its own ideal. And we should be back at the point from which we started. The dilemma—either society, or Christianity—is, therefore, a thoroughly false and vicious one.

The fact is, that Mr Garrod's method of argument obscures rather than reveals the fundamental problem with which he is really concerned. Let us grant for a moment Mr Garrod's contention, that Christianity is untrue to the "deepest instincts of mankind," that it is incompatible with the ideals of honour and of chivalry. By what method of reasoning does it follow, that Christianity is the inferior ideal? Mr Garrod all along *assumes* that it is. He *assumes* that the discrepancy between our instinctive lives and the ideal set before us by Christ condemns that ideal, at least so far as we do not carry it out. And on this assumption rests the whole plausibility of Mr Garrod's argument. He construes the conflict of ideals at once into a verdict against Christianity. He never really tackles the question of *right* involved in it. Are those "instincts" with which Christianity is said to conflict themselves beyond question and criticism? Or is the criticism which the Christian ideal itself passes on those very instincts wholly mistaken? And granted that the "northern races" have enriched our morality with new elements by adding their own ideals of honour and chivalry, may it not be, that these elements have been essentially transformed by their contact with Christianity? And if they conflict on some points, may this not be due to the

fact, that this transformation has not yet been wholly completed? And if there is a give-and-take in the process, is not the Christian element the stronger, the one which is, and ought to be, leavening and transforming the other? Mr Garrod of course denies that. To him the northern ideal is the stronger. It selects out of Christianity what is compatible with itself, and denies the rest. And Mr Garrod preaches a more frank and thorough-going extension of this process in the future. And in any case, as I understand him, he would argue, that a Christianity which has admitted additions into itself, which has adapted itself to new conditions, has ceased to be Christianity in the strict sense of the word. In short, he denies that a religion can develop except by ceasing to be itself. "We are being told that 'Christianity is progressive' (which means that the mind of man is progressive and has grown out of a good deal that is in Christianity)" (p. 84). The problem involved here is certainly both important and difficult. That Christ's life and teaching are, from one point of view, historical phenomena, and thus historically conditioned, no modern critic will deny. But we must not make an idol of historical facts. Mr Garrod attempts to fix down Christianity within the four corners of Christ's sayings as reported in the three synoptic gospels. Hence his insistence on the need of taking all sayings of Christ *literally* (cp., *e.g.*, p. 61). If this be pressed, then certainly Christ Himself was the only Christian that ever lived. St Paul was not a true Christian, for does not Mr Garrod himself enumerate four points in which he "developed" Christianity (pp. 100-110)? Or if St Paul could develop Christianity without destroying it, why not others? Where is the line going to be drawn? It is, no doubt, perhaps the most difficult of all problems to decide how far a thing may change or develop without losing its identity. And the difficulty is especially great in dealing with the historical development of spiritual ideas and forces. For they seem capable of appearing in a greater variety of forms than other things. And certainly in the case of Christianity the situation is particularly complex. It is quite true, as Mr Garrod urges, that no attempt is

made by us to carry out literally many sayings of Christ. Are we then so far untrue to Christ's ideal? And is a Christianity which does not follow these sayings no longer a true Christianity? Or has Christianity in its development "grown out" of these things? And, if so, would it not show both more intellectual honesty, and greater moral courage, to reject these sayings openly, instead of professing them with our lips, whilst disregarding them in our lives? Or lastly, do none of Christ's sayings profess to be precepts literally to be followed, but rather hints indicating a certain spirit which under different conditions is free to manifest itself in a different way? And if that be the true solution, is it not also an exceedingly dangerous one, opening the door to all manner of disingenuous compromise and moral weakness, that shrinks from all those sayings that are "hard"? And to escape this danger, would it not be better, if we select, to confess to ourselves honestly the ideals which guide us in selecting? And if we hold that Christianity has developed beyond Christ's statement of it, should we not say openly which part of that statement is inadequate, and in which points we have gone beyond it? It is in raising or suggesting these questions that the greatest merit of Mr Garrod's book lies, and he certainly deserves the gratitude of every thoughtful reader for forcing him to reflect on these problems.

There is only one last point with which it is necessary to deal. Mr Garrod not merely tries to prove the "unserviceableness" of Christianity by showing that it conflicts with the ideals which we actually follow, but he has also a kind of *a priori* argument to the effect that Christianity *must* be unserviceable, because its precepts were framed in the expectation of an "immediate end of all things." The proof of this thesis (cp. the first essay) rests mainly on two arguments: (1) In the first place Mr Garrod holds that the "kingdom of heaven," the coming of which was announced by John the Baptist and Christ, means the "end of the world" in the sense of "the complete disruption of all the ordinary relations of life" (p. 113). I will not urge against this view that it is very far from being universally accepted

by competent authorities (cp., e.g., N. Schmidt, *The Prophet of Nazareth*, p. 32), nor that Mr Garrod hardly considers sufficiently the arguments for giving the "kingdom of heaven" a *spiritual* interpretation. It is possible to meet Mr Garrod on his own ground, to accept his premise and yet to deny his conclusions. Granted even that Christ looked forward to a speedy end of the world, and that His precepts outline the manner of a life of preparation for that end, it does not follow that such a life is not the best kind of life. The Sermon on the Mount certainly gives precepts for men to live by. And whether that life be short or long, does not touch the question of the *value* of the ideal suggested for it. Οὕτω πειρῶ ζῆν ὡς καὶ ὀλίγον καὶ πολὺν χρόνον βιωσόμενος (Bion). (2) Secondly, Mr Garrod adopts the theory that Christ never claimed to be the Messiah, and never arrogated to Himself the title "Son of Man." This theory, which has been keenly debated amongst theologians within recent years, without, apparently, to any extent attracting the notice of the public at large, has been stated far more cogently and scientifically than by Mr Garrod in his recent book, *The Prophet of Nazareth*, by Professor Schmidt, who was one of the first to put forward this view. However, it is only fair to notice that Mr Garrod does not seem to be acquainted with Professor Schmidt's writings, and that Mr Garrod's statement of the theory differs in some important particulars from that of Professor Schmidt. The latter denies not merely that Christ claimed to be the Messiah, but he denies, further, that the term "Son of Man" in Christ's time carried with it any Messianic significance whatever. In the few passages in which he regards the term as genuine, he interprets it as the Aramaic equivalent of the simple "man." And he dissociates Christ's message altogether from the Messianic hopes of the Jews. Mr Garrod, on the other hand, says: "Christ constantly had on His lips the phrase 'Son of Man,' constantly spoke of the 'resurrection' and the 'coming' of the Son of Man: and by the Son of Man He always meant the Messiah. Those are facts which I take to be certain, whatever else in the Gospel record may be doubtful" (p. 25). And thus Mr Garrod

comes to hold that Christ preached not merely the "kingdom of heaven," but also, not His own second coming, but the *first* coming of the *real* Messiah, whose mere *fore-runner* He believed Himself to be. It was only after His death that Christ came to be identified with the Messiah.

I do not feel competent to speak on the merits of a theory—in whichever form it may be held—on which the most competent modern critics have, so far, been unable to come to an agreement. It is, however, clear that the great difficulty of the theory consists in the impossibility of explaining satisfactorily how Christ ever came to be identified with the Messiah *unless* there was His own authority for that identification. The difficulty is serious enough in Professor Schmidt's version of the theory. But in Mr Garrod's version it seems to me insurmountable. Nor does Mr Garrod make any attempt to deal with it. In fact, there is no evidence that it has ever occurred to him. And yet we must surely ask: How could Christ ever be identified with the Messiah in the face of His explicit predictions of the coming of *another* who would be the real Messiah?

In matters of detail, Mr Garrod's exegesis is often in open conflict with the text of the passages on which he is commenting. Space forbids the mention of more than one or two examples. In Mark ix. 9-13 the disciples ask: Why say the scribes that Elias must first come? And Jesus replies: I say unto you that Elias is indeed come. . . . Mr Garrod (pp. 53, 4) takes the meaning of this answer to be that Christ identifies *Himself* with Elias. He seems to overlook that the passage goes on: "and they have done unto him whatsoever they listed, as it is written of him." How could Christ say that of Himself *at that time*? In what sense had they "done unto him whatsoever they listed?" An even more flagrant case is to be found on p. 12, where, in discussing John the Baptist's prophecy of a Bringer of Wrath "who shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire," Mr Garrod brackets "with the Holy Ghost," and declares it to be a "spurious addition." He should have noticed that Mark (whom he agrees with most critics in regarding as the oldest and most trustworthy

authority) in his version gives "with the Holy Ghost," but *omits fire*. So damaging a fact surely deserved to be explained away.

I must bring to a close a review already unduly long. There is but one thing I wish to add. I should be sorry if my criticisms conveyed the impression that Mr Garrod's book is not a good book — not a book worth reading. Sincere, earnest, and courageous criticism of accepted beliefs and ideals should always be welcome, for there is no truth which is not the better for constant re-examination. Therefore Mr Garrod's book should be read, but the reader must never forget that it is a book which demands of him that he should himself supply "the other side." And though it may seem a paradox, I would have Mr Garrod regard the very mass of my criticism as a kind of compliment, a sign that I have taken a serious effort seriously.

In the Preface, Mr Garrod contemplates the possibility that he may some day change his opinions. I for one am convinced that one who so earnestly searches after the truth will not stop long at the point where he stands now.

St Andrews.

R. F. ALFRED HOERNLÉ.

THE LOGIC OF HUMAN CHARACTER, *by Charles J. Whitby, B.A., M.D. Cantab.* London: Macmillan & Co., Limited, 1905. Pp. ix., 228. Price 3s. 6d. nett.

PERHAPS the average reader may be moved to a certain distrust by the external formalism of this book. It mainly consists of seven chapters, each divided into nine sections, in three groups of three, or sixty-three sections in all. Is it possible, one asks, a little incredulously, that human character is constructed on so frankly arithmetical a plan? Is the symmetry in the object, or only in the percipient's mind?

These are one's first impressions. Nevertheless, it is only justice to say emphatically that the formality I have spoken of scarcely affects the value of Dr Whitby's work. He is too practised an ethologist to permit anything of the kind. In one way, indeed, the very rigour of arrangement makes what he has written an excellent book of reference; a

dictionary, or reasoned catalogue, of the elements of character which it will reward every student of ethics to consult. Anyone who desires to know what place in our moral being is assigned, by a very acute and sensible writer, to such things as responsibility, prudence, tenacity, culture, detachment, and so forth, may have here in a moment what he wants. Besides that, Dr Whitby is fully aware of the disadvantage of having to treat the logical elements of character *seriatim*, and the pains he has taken to render the transitions as clear and smooth as possible have been entirely successful. It affords the reader a genuine intellectual pleasure to observe the facility and, on the whole, the real exactitude with which he passes from one point to the next. And on every page are scattered ethical reflections of admirable truth and force.

It is of importance to note clearly that Dr Whitby's theme is the logic, not the psychology, of character. "The task," he says, "of tracing, step by step, the logical sequence of those essential principles which contribute to the formation of character, is obscured by the natural tendency to test its accuracy by reference to the psychological process of development. This reference, cautiously employed, is legitimate and indeed indispensable: the errors that creep in result from the mistake of supposing that what is highest in the logical scale is necessarily the latest in the psychological and genetic series." What the writer is trying to do is to look at character timelessly, to exhibit in a rational and concatenated order all the essential principles that enter into it, no matter how early or late they demonstrate their presence. *All* such principles reveal themselves to close scrutiny in *any* cross-section of character, whether taken in childhood or old age.

The book begins with an important chapter, of an introductory kind, on the psychological elements of character. Everywhere we feel that we are in the hands of a well-informed and independent student of mind, who never forgets to correlate physical structure and physical function, and yet knows how to keep physiology in the subordinate place that is proper to it in an ethical study. The con-

clusion is put thus : "Disposition, judgment, volition : these three culminant products of the æsthetic, ratiocinative, and practical functions respectively, all contribute to the formation and development of human character." But volition is the greatest of the three ; "the determination of will is the master-key to the diagnosis of character." Now and then the writer's scientific predilections appear to lead him astray, as when he commits himself to the statement that the mathematical tests and measurements which are so successfully applied to chemistry "are beyond a doubt equally applicable, had we the means or the wit to apply them," to moral causes and effects. Surely it is obvious that so long as we cannot even conceive *a unit* of approval or pleasure or conation, it is idle to talk of the application of mathematics to moral psychology. Even as applied to simple sensations, the measurement of the intensity of psychical states—of sounds, for example—is all but impossible ; as it has been put, "the difference between two intensive quantities, in fact, differs from each as much as the difference between two horses differs from a horse." While in the domain of ethical psychology, the attempt to be mathematical becomes quite desperate.

In the six chapters which follow, the course of thought is plainly indicated by the titles. These are : The Logic of Custom, of Duty, of Action, of Piety, of Freedom, of Creation. Throughout we find Dr Whitby applying tri-logical forms of thought (with a certain resemblance to the apparatus of the Hegelian dialectic) to the various moments of man's ethical nature. Thus, for example, we are shown how pride and sympathy—the prime, but conflicting, elements of naïve and immediate character—are gradually harmonised in the higher unity of toleration ; again, the sense of obligation, and its complement, consistency, merge in a higher principle of conduct which is designated conscience ; or once more, the regulative effects of self-respect and humility are raised, in the principle of reverence, to a loftier and more positive plane. It would be a mistake, however, to imagine that these semi-Hegelian forms are violently imposed upon the facts. On the con-

trary, they are used with an ease, as well as a dexterous sureness of touch, which lend them immense plausibility. Naturally, from his quantitative turn, Dr Whitby is fond of stating ethical ratios, and he does so in a memorably epigrammatic way. Thus: "What the intellect is to belief, that the will is to character;" "Humility is to character precisely what reticence is to art—the condition, namely, of all distinguished and adequate expression;" "Enlightenment bears to culture the same relation that liberality does to prudence." Such observations are characteristic of his mind; and while we may reserve our judgment as to their strict accuracy, at all events they help to map out the field in a vivid and interesting way.

So many separate matters are treated of in these six chapters, one wishes the book had been considerably longer. The pages on perception, on the evolutionary value of pride, on ability, on common-sense, on the social nature of morality, above all on wisdom, as "a combination of the apparently incompatible elements of the personal and the objective point of view," are so good, and so crowded with valuable ethical statement, and withal the compression of matter has been so severe, that we are left with a keen appetite for more of the same quality. The chapter entitled "Fourth or Substantial Category, Social Character, The Logic of Piety," is perhaps as rewarding as any in the book, very much for the reason that it is written with a certain expansiveness, and the reader is not whirled too rapidly past the arresting features of a varied landscape. Let us hope that some day Dr Whitby will resume and fill up the programme he has given us. Quite apart from ethical psychology, he is a most competent philosopher, as may be inferred alike from his general method and from such a strongly argued passage as that (p. 135) in which he urges that the form of volition is indistinguishable from its content, maintaining that "will, as an independent faculty, distinct from character and intellect, and distinct from appetite or desire, may confidently be assigned to the category of *entia praeeter necessitatem multiplicata*." Nothing could be better, from this wider point of view, than the closing section of the book

upon the integration of character, and the possibility of moral progress.

Some of the writer's dicta cling to one's memory, and insist on being turned over in thought. I quote one or two examples: "The three principles—energy, courage, tenacity—form the groundwork of human character regarded as a practical power;" "The strength, but also the weakness, of common-sense lies in its pragmatic, utilitarian foundation on the results of a necessarily limited personal experience, which renders it blind to the claims of ideal principles of a higher kind;" "That inexplicable but perfectly realisable combination of spontaneity and method which constitutes genius;" "The moral commandments of the past assumed almost exclusively the form of prohibitions; those of the future will be mainly positive in form." One of the most suggestive and convincing passages is that in which Dr Whitby pleads that it is unjust to withhold the name "genius" from those who, like great economists, surgeons, or engineers, have helped to subdue the intractable matter of sordid commonplace actuality to human and ideal considerations.

In a word, the book is to be cordially recommended to philosophers, teachers, ministers of religion, and all who wish to have clear and serviceable ideas upon the organic relations and significance of the factors that enter into ethical life. The path by which they will be led is indicated in these words, near the close of the work under review: "Love, wisdom, genius: in these three principles culminate respectively the emotional, theoretical, and practical potentialities of human character. They are at once its flower and root, its final cause, and the end whose realisation it has, or should have, ever before it."

Edinburgh.

H. R. MACKINTOSH.

FOUNDATIONS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY, by
William Bell Robertson. London: Walter Scott, 1905.
Pp. xiii., 249. 5s.

THE object of this book is to re-define some of the fundamental conceptions of Economics. Mr Robertson begins by a detailed investigation of the standpoint of the classical economists and examines the pre-suppositions underlying their work. For this reason Mr Robertson's work will be interesting and suggestive to any one who is familiar with the views of J. S. Mill but who has not been greatly influenced by more recent writers. One can imagine that for such a reader Mr Robertson will formulate in clear language doubts already in his mind. Thus the effect will be to lead the student beyond Mill. Having said so much, it must be added that this book has no message for any one who has mastered a work such as Marshall's *Principles of Economics*. It is true that Mr Robertson alludes to Marshall, but there can be little doubt that he is not in touch with recent developments in economic theory. Much that he proposes to change in that theory has already been changed; some of his other proposals have already been suggested by others, but have failed to obtain acceptance; while for the rest, in many places unguarded statements are made which show that in one respect at least the author is still under the influence of writers of the middle of the nineteenth century.

W. R. SCOTT.

St Andrews.

HENRY SIDGWICK: A Memoir, by A. S. and E. M. S.
London: Macmillan & Co., 1906. Pp. 633. 12s. 6d. nett.

THE external events in Henry Sidgwick's life are soon told. Born in 1838, the son of a Yorkshire clergyman, he was educated at Rugby and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated in 1859 as Senior Classic and thirty-third Wrangler. For the next forty years, up to his death in 1900, he taught at Cambridge, at first chiefly Classics, later

on Moral Science, and from 1883 he held the Knightbridge Professorship of Moral Philosophy.

The present substantial volume, which has been compiled by his brother and his wife, is based mainly on private letters and on a private journal, particularly intimate and valuable, which he kept for some years, and sent to John Addington Symonds. The arrangement throughout is strictly chronological, and the result is a fairly complete and intimate picture of Sidgwick in the various activities and interests which his many-sided life embraced. Besides his strictly professional work he was much interested in home and foreign politics, he took a large share in University administration and reform, he was a strenuous supporter of University education for women, and was one of the founders of Newnham College (of which his wife was the second Principal), and he gave much time and labour to Psychical Research. All these matters are touched upon in the biography, but it is an inevitable defect of the chronological arrangement that the allusions (except in the case of Newnham) are scattered and disconnected. Of Psychical Research in particular we get glimpses which are unsatisfactory and incomplete. It may not have been feasible, but one cannot help wishing that in parts, at any rate, the chronological arrangement had given place to a treatment according to topics: for some subjects, Sidgwick's published works might have been drawn upon, and one would have been grateful for a more connected account of the genesis of his books, the influences which shaped his thinking, and the variations which his opinions underwent. One cannot but think that such a treatment would have increased the permanent value of the book, not only by its intrinsic interest, but by excluding many matters of only temporary interest, which inevitably find their way into a selection of letters. There are many allusions to events and to persons which in a few years will be obscure to any but contemporaries, and even now are provokingly fragmentary and unsatisfying. Many such passages will have lost their interest to another generation, and there are other subjects of which the same may be said, which seem to owe their

he never yielded to these hankerings ; in fact he would probably have repudiated the title of "Christian," for he confesses that "for many years I have not thought of Christianity except as the creed of my friends and fellow-countrymen" (p. 347). Yet he retained his belief in God and immortality. With regard to the latter, he wrote to Roden Noel in 1878 : "As for the great question of Immortality, there was one line of thought I wanted to suggest, in which from time to time I find a kind of repose—which, curiously enough, I find is that in which Browning's poem on the subject ("La Saisiaz") concludes. It is that on moral grounds *hope* rather than *certainty* is fit for us in this earthly existence ; for if we had certainty there would be no room for the sublimest effort of our mental life—self-sacrifice and the moral choice of Good as Good, though not perhaps good for us here and now" (p. 338).

As to Theism, he wrote in 1880 to Major-General Carey : "Here my answer will doubtless surprise you. For if I am asked whether I believe in a God, I should really have to say that I do not know—that is, I do not know whether I *believe* or merely *hope* that there is a moral order in this universe that we know, a supreme principle of Wisdom and Benevolence guiding all things to good ends and to the happiness of the good. I certainly *hope* that this is so, but I do not think it capable of being *proved*. All I can say is that no opposed explanation of the origin of the cosmos—for instance, the atomistic explanation—seems to me even plausible, and that I cannot accept life on any other terms, or construct a rational system of my own conduct except on the basis of this faith" (p. 347). Towards the end of his life in 1898 he presented the case as follows : "It seems to me then, that if we are led to accept Theism as being more than any other view of the Universe, consistent with, and calculated to impart a clear consistency to, the whole body of what we commonly agree to take for knowledge—including knowledge of right and wrong—we accept it on grounds analogous to those on which important scientific conclusions have been accepted ; and that, even though we are unable to add the increase of certitude derivable from verified pre-

dictions, we may still attain a sufficient strength of reasoned conviction to justify us in calling our conclusions a 'working philosophy'" (p. 608).

Oxford.

F. L. POGSON.

**A HISTORY OF THE COUNTY OF RENFREW
FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES, by William M.
Metcalf, D.D. With a Map of the County. Paisley:
Alexander Gardner. 25s. nett.**

THE name of the author of this book is a sufficient guarantee that it is a thoroughly honest and trustworthy bit of work. The writer has gathered together from all the available sources a vast quantity of facts, of varying degrees of interest, and bearing more or less directly on the development of the county of Renfrew; and has woven them, with the practised hand of a cunning workman, into a continuous record. His aim, he informs us, is "to tell the history of the county of Renfrew in connection with the history of the country." Some parts of it might be described rather as a history of the country, with some references to the county of Renfrew. It is difficult to draw the line of relevancy, but it is certain that there is here a good deal of general historical matter that might almost equally well have been used in telling the story of any other Scottish county. While heartily acknowledging the ability and literary skill displayed by Dr Metcalfe, the doubt grows upon one whether, politically or socially, a county, as such, has any distinctive history to record. We confess our preference for the parish as the better area for local history, and Renfrewshire already possesses many such parish histories, the number of which we hope may be increased. The value of local history consists mainly in fulness of detail, and, when the larger area is dealt with, this feature is necessarily to some extent sacrificed.

But Dr Metcalfe's book is a work of unquestionable merit and importance, and we have found it full of instruction and interest. Without any great pretension to style he yet writes with perfect clearness, and with a happy sense of proportion. His chapter on Sir William Wallace is

valuable, elucidating many points hitherto obscure in that great man's life. It is true that the doings of the Scottish hero did not bring him much into contact with the county of his birth, but no one will grudge to the historian of Renfrewshire the right to give a prominent place in his narrative to the Knight of Ellerslie. Dr Metcalfe is by no means too ready to accept tradition. Here is a good instance of his critical scepticism. After adducing the testimony of Harry and Wyntoun on the subject, he sums up thus: "The story of the marriage (of Wallace) is regarded by many as fiction, though by some it is accepted as true. The sole witness for it is the Minstrel, who in all probability invented it for the purposes of his story. It is not unlikely that the details given by Wyntoun are quite as unreliable." The early Stewarts do without question belong very intimately to Renfrewshire, their chief estates lying within, and indeed embracing nearly the whole of the county, and their influence therein being continuous and paramount for centuries. Accordingly, the author has spent much labour and research, with excellent results, in setting forth the part they took in public affairs, from the Shropshire lord, Walter Fitz-Alan, who came to Scotland with David I. in the middle of the twelfth century, to his direct descendant who succeeded to the throne in 1370 as Robert II. Good service has been done in tracing the gradual establishment of the various families that held from them under the feudal system. Dr Metcalfe's account of these families in later times, though accurate enough, is perhaps lacking in fulness, due doubtless to the limitations of space.

The Church receives its fair share of notice. From the foundation of the abbey of Paisley in 1170, down to the Reformation, it was, as Dr Metcalfe describes it, "the ecclesiastical centre of the county." All the parish churches of the county, with the exception of Inchinnan, which was the property of the Templar Knights, belonged to it, and were served, for the most part very indifferently, by the monks, or by ill-paid vicars appointed by them. Perhaps Renfrewshire was more affected by the Reformation, and at an earlier period, than Dr Metcalfe seems to suppose; but, at anyrate,

in the later struggle against Prelacy, and in the trials and persecutions of the period of Episcopal domination, from the Restoration to the Revolution, it had its full share. Here our author had abundant material from which to draw, and of this he has made good use, especially of the records of the Presbytery of Paisley, of which court we have a graphic and lively account. With more recent times he does not deal.

One chapter, all too short, but specially interesting, deals with the social and domestic condition of the people in the olden times. Another section is occupied with a brief account of the development of the various industries in the county, indicating the progress made in agriculture, spinning, weaving, shipbuilding, engineering, etc. It is interesting to learn that the manufacture of thread, with which Paisley is now identified over the whole world, was first introduced about the beginning of the eighteenth century by Mrs Millar, widow of the minister of Kilmaurs, and who as a child had achieved notoriety as Christian Shaw, the victim of the Renfrewshire witches. The rise and growth of the various burghs in the county—Paisley, Renfrew, Greenock, Cartsburn, Port-Glasgow, Gourock, Johnstone, and Barrhead—are fully described; and regarding some of these much curious information is provided, gleaned from the records of the Convention of Royal Burghs and other sources. For example, we learn that, in 1656, there was at Greenock “a mole or peere, where vessels, in stresse of weather, may ride, and shelter themselves before they pass up to Newark,” and that, fifty years later, its population has grown to 1000 persons, and it possesses a very good harbour for fishing-boats.

In conclusion, we note that there is a full index and a sufficient map. The book is sumptuously bound, and the printing is everything that could be desired. We venture to congratulate the author very sincerely on the production of a work that cannot fail to take a permanent place as the standard book of reference on all matters connected with the old-time history of the county.

Kilmalcolm.

JAMES MURRAY.

IMPORTANT ARTICLES IN MAGAZINES

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF ETHICS.

April 1906.

THERE is an interesting article in this journal on "Religious Revivals: their Ethical Significance," by the Rev. J. G. James. The author holds that every form of true revivalistic fervour is a distinct gain to morality. "Although its effects may appear to be transitory, and may be attended by unsatisfactory or even objectionable forms of excitement, yet the net result must be of value, in a greater or less degree." He allows for the possibility of hypocrisy and the dangers of backsliding, which leave the convert in a more hopeless state than before, and urges that "Christian workers who pride themselves upon the few promising converts who are gathered in and the 'one soul saved' should think of the many souls that are *lost* as the indirect result of such methods." Against this he weighs the gain from the fact that every revival, on however low a level, does present a moral ideal which influences, though it may be transiently, minds which might otherwise never have grasped an ideal at all.

Nevertheless the writer thinks it preferable that moral progress should be steady and continuous, rather than by alternations of excitement and apathy. He thinks that there has never been "a great revival of religion without a preceding period of unusual stagnation of thought and deadness of feeling, with the loss of the sense of moral responsibility"; and this is a point we should like to see subjected to research and criticism. It would have seemed more likely that any revival which was not of the most artificial nature would be found to be the culminating point of a growing interest and excitement in spiritual matters; which would naturally tend to exaggerate the sin and apathy which it found in opposition. In harmony with this view of the author's is his view of great personalities. The movement is brought about by the instrumentality of the person

most prominently associated with it, "and in no sense can the higher type of personality as manifested in the leader be regarded as the resultant of the forces and tendencies at work at the time." Such leaders have powers which transcend and outweigh "the common and tribal and hereditary characteristics," and it is through these "marvellous and even mysterious powers" that they are able to initiate a fresh impulse and influence their fellow-men so strongly. This is a somewhat startling view to take of the spiritual leaders and spiritual phenomena, unless the writer means to abandon altogether the idea of continuity in this sphere. After all, the term "revival" itself implies that the spirit to be aroused is already there, and if it is there it cannot possibly be without its influence upon the development of the leader who is to reveal it. HELEN BOSANQUET.

ANALECTA BOLLANDIANA. *Tom. xxv., Fasc. i.*
Brussels: January 1906.

THE most prominent place in this number is given to the Life of St Athanasius, the founder of the Laura at Athos, of whom the Bollandists were able to give but a meagre notice in general terms. The present text is substantially that of a manuscript in the Laura, and it is furnished with an interesting introduction and copious notes by Father Louis Petit, who has had exceptional opportunities of investigation. Mount Athos is known to modern scholars as the source of many manuscripts of the New Testament, and among the twenty monasteries that are there, that of St Athanasius is not the least important, having enriched, among others, the famous library of Bishop Coislin with manuscripts. In his introduction, which is itself an interesting exercise in historical criticism, Father Petit makes reference to the work of Porphyry Uspensky, a Russian bishop and collector of manuscripts, after whom the Codex Porphyrianus is named, who published in 1877 a history of Athos; and of Pomialovsky, who in 1895 published a life of St Athanasius, from a MS. in the Synodal Library at Moscow. With considerable skill Father Petit combats

Bishop Uspensky's conclusions as to the authorship of the "Life of St Athanasius," a fragment of which he had published; and he recounts his own labours, with the help of the librarian of the Laura of St Athanasius, in deciphering a MS. Life in the monastery there. The "Life" itself, which is furnished with textual, historical, and bibliographical notes, is of value in giving a graphic picture of monastic life in the East at the end of the tenth century, when in the West, under the rule of St Benedict, monasticism was at the height of its glory.

This number contains also an article on "Saint Expédit et le Martyrologe Hiéronymien," written by way of criticism of two articles in the *Civiltà Cattolica*. The same keen application of the principles of modern historical criticism which distinguish Father Petit's introduction to the "Life of St Athanasius" marks this article; and one is tempted to wish that those who can wield these instruments so skilfully might apply them to research of more general interest, and with results of more permanent value.

The "Bulletin des Publications Hagiographiques" occupies a large part of the number; and the reviews it contains are written in a style remarkable for its freshness and interest. An appendix contains an instalment of lists of sacred writings in Roman libraries outside of the Vatican. The magazine as a whole is full of interest, and gives one some idea of the wealth of scholarship that abroad, as well as at home, is being applied to the detailed study of sacred literature.

S. J. R. S.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR DIE NEUEST. WISSENSCHAFT. 1906. Heft 2.

KRÜGER successfully shows that the emendation of *ἰσως* into *ὅπως*, in Justin, *Apol.* 54 and *Dial.* 69, is really against the context and should be dropped. But when he goes on to use the fact that in 1 *Apol.* Justin twice omits *καὶ τῇ ἑλπίσι τὸν πᾶλλον τῆς ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ* in Gen. xlix. 10 f. (chs. 32, 54), while in *Dial.* 69 it occurs, to cast some doubt on Justin's authorship of the latter, we demur. What it *may* well prove is the

priority of the *Apology*. Justin's *Abendmahlslehre* is the starting-point of an attempt by Andersen of Christiania to show that the present text of Matt. xxvi. 26 ff., and its synoptic parallels, took shape between Justin and Apolinarius of Hierapolis, in whom he holds that "the story of the eating of a legal Paschal meal first appears in literature." The whole discussion is marked by the confident tone familiar to readers of Andersen's other utterances on this theme; but it falls very far short of proof or even probability. He overlooks the probability that the Jewish associations of the historical Last Supper would be apt to be ignored by Gentile Christians, in a period when the Jewish aspects of Christ's ministry were instinctively minimised; and that this applies particularly to a Justin, writing under the *a priori* influences of his Logos Christology.

Dr E. Ter-Minassiantz gives us as first-fruits of his forthcoming joint-edition of the Armenian version of Irenæus' lost λόγος εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος (Eus. v. 26), the welcome information that the same MS. contains also the last two books of the work *Against Heresies*. This, he says, confirms the reading of two of the three Greek MSS. in IV. vii. 1, where they assign the *Magnificat* to Elizabeth. Thus does the evidence increase that (as suggested by Dr Wordsworth in Burn's edition of *Niceta*) in early times the Christian psalm was attributed both to Mary and Elizabeth—no subject having originally stood before (she) "said" in Luke i. 46.

V. B.

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- (25) **My Brother's Keeper**, by Alfred E. Garvie, M.A., D.D.
London: Bagster & Sons, 1905. 2s. 6d.

ALTHOUGH Christian ethics as a branch of Christian theology is not immediately concerned with the ultimate problems involved in the very existence of morality, it cannot be indifferent to current speculations on the subject. Accordingly this survey of recent literature may be begun with a brief reference to a book which discusses "the essence and development of morality" (1). The author, Fuchs, is thoroughly modern in his method. He deals in the first part of his work with moral life in humanity, and in the second part with the moral life in individual man. Starting from the variety of moral standards, by their classification, he reaches what is recognised as "unconditionally valid." While actually we measure our own conduct and that of others by our sense of value for the community—commending what promotes and condemning what disturbs social life—"our deepest moral judgment depends on the capacity of a man to reproduce and appreciate in his own inmost being that of others." Society is from the moral standpoint not primarily an economic co-operation, but a personal communion. Moral life arises from the search after spiritual community. Creative personalities impress their distinctive features on this inner life of society. Germany owes its spiritual type to Luther, and Scotland to Knox; while England, not having had any such formative influence, lacks this distinctiveness. Christian morality is determined by the person of Jesus; He laid all the stress on *inner worth: love is for Him spiritual individuality*. Morality and religion at first develop together, but gradually there is a detachment of the one from the other. To-day scientific thought has detached man from religion, and an

attempt is being made to reach a world-view which does not go beyond the bounds of science. But the law of causality does not explain the whole reality of the world; for the creative power remains incomprehensible. Our own inner life reveals to us an inner life of others. This spiritual community affords us a new interpretation of the world. Our sense of the best in us and in others, and of its absolute worth for us, leads us to faith in God as the creative power in the world. Thus piety deepens our moral consciousness. The moral life of the individual man reproduces the moral life of humanity. It is the influence of others that stimulates the moral progress of each; but its goal is personal independence, an "inner life," a judgment of self, a self-condemnation (that is the meaning of "guilt") when we decline our own high and holy task. Moral life is the *deed* of the individual, work in the community appropriating from it, contributing to it, or contending with it. Humanity is developing personality, which is the guarantee of eternity.

Although Herrmann's *Ethik* (2) appeared four years ago, yet its importance is so great that it cannot here be passed over. In the first part the author discusses the problem of morality generally. He does not, like Fuchs, begin with humanity and then pass to individual man. He questions individual consciousness existing in an already moral environment. On the one hand it is by trusting other persons that the moral personality is developed, and on the other hand it is the subordination of the natural impulse of self-assertion in order that there may be moral community with others which the moral law demands. By a similar argument Herrmann is led, as Fuchs is, to the idea of God as the good which is the ultimate power in reality. This is the first religious issue of the moral consciousness. Fuchs recognises guilt also; but Herrmann goes beyond him in finding in this second religious issue of the moral consciousness the point of attachment for the Christian Gospel. From the personal misery of this sense of guilt the Gospel alone can deliver. Thus Herrmann's *Ethik* affords the basis for the *Apologetic*. In the second part of his book Herrmann expounds his distinctive view of Christian morality. Neither

derived from human nature nor imposed by divine command, it is the necessary expression and exercise of the Christian life which is evoked by the approach of the divine grace in the historical person of Jesus, and its appropriation by human faith. This grace brings not only forgiveness, but also the capacity to distinguish right and wrong, the personal freedom to realise the will of God. Thus Herrmann seeks to formulate an ethics that will be, not at all legalistic, but altogether evangelical. The practical application of these principles is, however, disappointingly meagre. The emphasis he puts on the independence of the individual conscience shows how uncongenial to him would be the task of formulating moral laws for others.

The distinctive features of Herrmann's ethical system are also exhibited in the pamphlet in which he compares *Roman Catholic and Protestant Views of Morality* (3). "According to Herrmann the fundamental wrong of Catholic morality consists in this, that it severs the moral demands, which it, even as we evangelical Christians, regards as divine commands, from the conviction, the disposition, the heart of man; by which moral conduct becomes only external submission to uncomprehended statutes, with the intention thereby to gain blessedness hereafter, as is made easily evident in probabilism." From the same standpoint he discusses the moral precepts of Jesus (4). Having indicated the contrast between the teaching of Jesus and the life Christians now live in the world in respect of labour, wealth, family, and the failure of the attempt to obey Christ's commands literally in the monastic life, he lays stress on the value, for an understanding of the ethics of Jesus, of the modern view of the life of Jesus as conditioned and limited by His age and people. A failure to recognise this temporal and local element is the root of Tolstoi's misrepresentation of the Christian ideal. The essence of Christ's teaching is the disposition He Himself showed and required in the disciples, love to God and man. This standpoint alone removes the difficulties, as well as reveals the obligations of the moral commands of Jesus.

The same problem is discussed in Harnack's *What is*

Christianity ? (5). In the section on the *principal relations of the Gospel in particular*, he deals with the questions of asceticism, social reforms, earthly institutions, and culture. His conclusions are 1. that "asceticism has no place in the gospel, but it demands a struggle against mammon, care, and self-seeking, and demands and evokes the love which serves and sacrifices itself"; 2. that "the Gospel is a social message of holy seriousness and overwhelming power; it is the proclamation of solidarity and fraternity in favour of the poor"; but it does not contain prescriptions violently to change the existing conditions; 3. that Jesus in teaching His disciples was in no way concerned with the question of the rights and duties of earthly governments, but only with the individual disposition, requiring of His disciples a readiness to forgo their own rights, and to labour for a society in which brotherliness should exclude the necessity of any external law violently enforced; 4. that His detachment from the culture of His own age has secured for His Gospel its permanence and universality, and His absorption in the concerns of the soul in relation to God has imparted to man that eternal life in God which is the inspiration of all human progress. Thus Harnack defends the Gospel both against assailants who depreciate it as unsuited to modern conditions and against exponents who would make it an unchangeable law.

The religious-historical method, which seeks to trace all ideas, even those of Jesus, to their source, has been applied to the *Sermon on the Mount* by Heinrici (6). While he recognises resemblances in the teaching of Jesus to earlier and contemporary thought, Jewish, Greek, or Roman, he agrees with Harnack in laying stress on the originality of Jesus. The religious and moral questions which are suggested by the *Sermon on the Mount* are discussed by Mr Lyttleton (7). Positively the sermon is marked by its Godwardness, and negatively by its unworldliness. It is not intended to afford us any guidance in dealing with the evils of society. The uncritical standpoint of the writer in dealing with this subject detracts in some measure from the value of his work. For the conclusions of the Higher

Criticism in relation to his subject he refers his readers to the article in the *Extra Volume of Hastings' Bible Dictionary* (8). This article deals very fully with the origin and transmission, and with the interpretation of the sermon. It is regarded as an epitome of the general teaching of Jesus about the Kingdom of God—"what it consisted in, what it brought to men, what it required of men, what relation He Himself sustained to it, and what its future was to be." Its religio-ethical character is emphasised. "The true righteousness is determined by God; as He is the source of all life, so it is He who determines what that life shall be; ethical obligations rest therefore upon religious truths."

"The teaching of Jesus in its relation to some of the Moral Problems of Personal Life" is dealt with by Dr Peabody (9). In his former volume, *Jesus Christ and the Social Question*, the author had sought light on the social problem of to-day. As he was led to recognise the supreme importance of personal character in dealing with social progress, this work may be regarded as a continuation of that. In contrast to the sentimentality which lays stress too exclusively on the tenderness, gentleness, kindness of Jesus, it is satisfactory to find that the author emphasises as the distinctive feature of the character of Jesus, *strength*; this is shown both in His sympathy and His solitude; while He gives Himself freely to others, there is an inner life He shares with God alone. From men He demands teachableness, condemning all self-sufficiency. Believing in man's moral capacity, He addresses His appeal to it for moral decision. The moral process thus begun is described by the terms "righteousness," "love," "life." In opposition to Tolstoi on the one hand, and Nietzsche on the other, the author insists that "Christian ethics is not a reiteration of the maxims of the Gospels; it is the rational inference concerning conduct to be derived from the facts of the Gospels." Christian ethics deals with duties of the body, the mind, and the emotions. The three excellences of the Christian character—balance, simplicity, harmony—can be expressed by the one word grace. The three principles on which the teaching

of Jesus may be applied to society are stated as paradoxes : the paradox of sacrifice — self-realisation through self-surrender ; the paradox of service — greatness through ministry to others ; the paradox of idealism — moral reality found only in realising the ideal. The relation of ethics and religion is discussed in the last two chapters of the book.

Passing from Jesus to Paul, we may welcome as a contribution to the understanding of Pauline ethics Dr Dickie's *The Culture of the Spiritual Life* (10). The Christian life is dealt with under the guidance of Paul's teaching in its personal, social, and domestic aspects, and the errors into which Christian morality is liable to fall are censured from this same standpoint.

In his volume on *The First Christians* (11), Mr Veitch seeks to describe Christian life in New Testament times. Assuming that we have in the New Testament not simply the ideals of enthusiasts, but also indications of the character of the recipients as well as the writers, he uses these writings to show not what the Christians were expected to be, but what in spite of their environment — the dark background to the bright picture — they actually were. With keen insight and fine feeling he deals with the characteristics of this life — joy, goodness, fulness and completeness, infinite richness, hopefulness, newness, faith, experience of inspiration and confidence in providence, spiritual freedom, watchfulness and prayerfulness, comfort and peace, humility, brotherliness, readiness to forgive, effort to redeem, courage and honour, practical charity, dependence on God. There is a lack of orderly arrangement and a tendency to diffuseness, which lessen the impressiveness of the work and conceal its undoubted value.

In dealing with the moral life of the first Christians no work can compare in value with that of Dobschuetz (12), which was translated into English within two years of its publication in Germany. His aim is to give a "picture of early Christian life on its moral side," although he fully recognises that Christianity is more than "moral renovation both of the individual and society," even "salvation by faith,

faith in God through Jesus Christ, His only begotten Son." While considerable attention has been given in Germany to Christianity on its historical and dogmatic, and more recently on its mystical and ecstatic side, the author is convinced that since in Christianity "everything is defined by the historical person of Jesus Christ," both its ideal and standards of judgment must be sought "in the doing of God's will." He is not concerned, however, with the moral teaching of Christianity itself, but with its practical results. The questions which he seeks to answer are: "How far was it found possible to realise the Christian ideal in practice? How did things look in the early Christian communities? What was their actual moral condition? What was the individual's contribution to the moral life of the community?" In this inquiry he confines himself to one century (A.D. 30-130). Recognising local differences, he does not attempt to give a picture of the Church as a whole, but rather a gallery of pictures of different churches at different stages of development. He gives the dark background of pagan life on which the Christian shines all the more brightly. The "morality of early Christianity, notwithstanding its imperfections, was unmistakably higher than all that Greek civilisation could achieve." Contrasting Aristides' glowing account in his *Apology* with the gloomy record in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, he feels justified, after a survey of the churches, so far as the extant literature affords data for it, in coming to the conclusion that the claim Aristides made was justified.

What the environment was in which this Christian ideal was in some measure realised can be learned from Dr Dill's work (13). "He presents us with a vivid and sympathetic picture of the life lived by men and women in a period of immense import to succeeding generations. He takes us through all strata of society, from the imperial palace and its inhabitants to the workman and the slave, and asks how they lived and what they thought." He describes the outward features of life in Rome and in the provinces. He expounds the philosophical teachings and the religious beliefs. He confirms the conclusion that the moral corruption of the empire was due to the lack of a religious faith which could

reach and move all classes—a need which Christianity was fitted to meet.

“Life in the Roman Empire in the second century A.D.” can now be seen with the eye of a contemporary in the translation of the *Dialogues of Lucian* (14). In the *Death of Peregrine* a lifelike picture of the brotherly love of the Christians is presented. The satire is a compliment. A work such as this offers first-hand evidence both of the world to which Christianity came and of the change which it wrought. The work to be done by the Church in the Roman Empire is sketched in Dr Bigg’s *The Church’s Task under the Roman Empire* (15). He deals with education, religion, moral and social conditions in order to show “the nature of the task which lay before the Church when she set out, in obedience to the divine call, to evangelise the Græco-Roman world, and the degree in which she was enabled to fulfil that task within the compass of the first five centuries.” It is as offering a general impression rather than as giving detailed information that this volume will be useful.

The morality which the Christian Church brought to the Roman Empire was not entirely novel; it had many of its roots in the moral life of the Hebrew nation. Nor was that moral life so absolutely unique a phenomenon as for dogmatic reasons it was formerly assumed to be. The discovery of the *Code of Hammurabi* (16) brought home the conviction that many of the moral ideas of the early Israelites were common to them and their Semitic kinsmen, although the glory of the prophetic ideal remains undimmed in solitary splendour. The work of comparison is greatly aided by a volume of “translations and interpretations of ancient Semitic and Egyptian inscriptions” (17) recently published. We can learn from these what were the ancient Babylonian customs regarding “the family, adoption, rights of inheritance, slavery, land tenure, donations and bequests, wages.” We are enabled to make a still wider comparison by Dr Westermarck’s book (18). His inductive method is universally applied to savage as to civilised races; and in some respects—as in hospitality to strangers—the savage seems to be superior to the civilised

man. While moral standards and customs present a bewildering variety, yet the moral sense is shown to be permanent and universal. It may be doubted if this is adequately accounted for as "retributive emotion," whether of resentment or of gratitude. The value of the volume lies in the facts collected rather than in any theory suggested.

A curious but interesting development of distinctively Christian ethics is traced by Zoeckler in his book on the Christian doctrine of virtue (19). In this volume the author gives the history of the groups of seven sins and seven virtues. The seven virtues were got by adding the Christian graces of faith, hope, love, to the Greek virtues of wisdom, courage, temperance, justice, although for a long time there was great hesitation about so comparing the Christian and the pagan. In the East eight vices were enumerated, but "the charm of the number seven" led in the West to the reduction to seven: this list was probably ultimately derived from monkish introspection. The author next gives an account of "the heavenly ladder" of the mystics, in which grades in virtue are recognised. The influence of this doctrine of virtue and vice on the worship and art of the Middle Ages is then fully illustrated. Modern thought in its teaching about virtue is in the last section discussed. The recognition of the Decalogue as the basis for Christian teaching in the Protestant ethics is approved by the author. This formulation of Christian ethics was intended to serve a practical purpose, to afford guidance in the moral discipline of life. That such guidance is still needed in modern society, and that the Christian Church should be better fitted than any other agency to impart it is surely indisputable. This is the conviction to which Canon Henson gives expression in his book on *Moral Discipline in the Christian Church* (20). In his preface he deplores the growing use of the confessional in the Church of England; but, recognising the need and worth of confession, he proposes that the evils of the confessional should be avoided by detaching confession from the ministry, and appointing lay confessors. In the first lecture the origin of moral

discipline in the Christian Church is traced to the need of the Church's acting through its ministry as the moral educator of the nations brought within its fold. The second lecture discusses the range of moral discipline, and asserts that only the indirect disciplinary action of the Church on the individual need be permanent, while the direct regulation of action belongs only to particular conditions. The third lecture shows that any system of direct discipline, as being due to expediency, cannot claim permanence. In the fourth lecture the Christian doctrine of forgiveness as following directly on penitence is insisted on in opposition to all sacerdotal pretensions. The fifth lecture shows that different ends have in different times been aimed at in ecclesiastical discipline, and argues that at present its aim must be to raise "its own procedure to the standard of the general conscience." In the last lecture the conviction—already referred to—that the demand for moral guidance will lead to a restoration of Church discipline is affirmed; but it is fully recognised that the Church's own ideal must be raised to the level of the most advanced conscience of the age. In seeking to give this moral guidance to modern society the Christian Church may not neglect the contribution that science, especially psychology, can offer. To indicate what this is is the aim of Mr King's *Rational Living* (21), in which he offers "some practical inferences from modern psychology." The balance between self-development and self-surrender, the limits and the value of asceticism, the central character of the will, and the necessity of society, human and divine, for moral development, are the points made prominent in the discussion. The supremacy of the teaching of Jesus is recognised, and its accord with the findings of science. That, as this conclusion shows, there is no necessary conflict of Christianity with culture is shown in Mayer's *Christentum und Kultur* (22). After a historical survey, in which the different ways in which the relation has been conceived are indicated, the position is affirmed that, as love is the foundation of Christian morality, all culture that benefits humanity is Christian.

There is no application of Christian principles which is of

such interest and importance to-day as to the social problems of modern society. For that reason a hearty welcome may be given to Dr Bruce's *Social Aspects of Christian Morality* (23). It is very disappointing, however, to find in the Prefatory Note the statement that "the subjects of wealth and poverty are not discussed." That seems like the play of Hamlet with Hamlet left out. The economic basis of modern society has so much to do with its social problems that one can hardly understand how the writer could attempt to deal with his subject at all, and leave out this essential part of it. The subjects he discusses—the family, the state, the civil power, public morality, the press, war, art, education—are dealt with wisely from the Christian standpoint; but one cannot rid oneself of the feeling that he does not himself feel the full strain of the social problem of to-day. If he had realised what the industrial revolution has involved, his attitude towards trades unionism would have been different. Every reference to it in the book is unjust. It shows a curious provincialism of thought to assume as he does that the House of Lords' decision in regard to the Free Church of Scotland finally settles the relation of Church and State, and disposes of the ideal of "a Free Church in a Free State" as a fallacy. The great lack of the book as a whole is courage. It is not by so cautious counsels as the author gives that the heroic enterprise of social reform will be effectively and satisfactorily accomplished.

The writer of this survey must crave the indulgence of the reader if he ventures in closing to refer to two slight contributions which he has himself recently made to the subject. In the one (24) he endeavours as simply as he can for the general reader to exhibit the vital character of Christian ethics as describing the development of a life from God in man, and consequently the organic unity of Christian duty and Christian doctrine. In the other (25) he seeks to enforce the social responsibility of the Christian man as defined by the Christian ideal, in relation to the social problem of modern society. The bearing of the industrial revolution on the problem receives special attention, and

the practicable remedies for many social evils are briefly discussed.

There are indications that the subject of Christian ethics, especially in its social aspects, will receive more attention in the future ; modern society needs the practical application of the Christian ideal for the solution of the social problem, and it is in this direction especially that we may hope for rapid progress.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

Reviews

DIE TAUFTE IM URCHRISTENTUM IM LICHTE DER NEUEREN FORSCHUNGEN, EIN KRITISCHER BERICHT, von Lic. Theol. F. M. Rendtorff. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1905. Pp. ii., 55. M. 1.20.

DURING the past three years there has been much controversy, both on the Continent and in this country, about two points connected with the institution of baptism in the Church. The first is whether the clause βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος (Matt. xxviii. 19) was a part of the First Gospel as originally written, and if it was not, whether Christ ever really commanded baptism ; the second is the precise meaning of the expression "in the name" (εἰς τὸ ὄνομα, ἢ ἐφ' ὀνόματι). No one suspected the authenticity of the clause in Matt. xxviii. 19 till Mr F. C. Conybeare pointed out the remarkable fact that Eusebius of Cæsarea, who quotes the verse seventeen times, invariably quotes it without this clause. The discovery of phrases in Egyptian Greek papyri, which seemed likely to illustrate the meaning of the phrase "in the name," have been a primary cause of the recent discussion as to the meaning of it.

On 6th July 1905, Professor Rendtorff read a paper before a conference in Kiel University, entitled "Die neueren Forschungen über Entstehung und erste Gestaltung der christlichen Taufe." This paper he has worked up and

published by request. It will be found a most useful guide to the progress of a controversy which is of the greatest interest to all sections of the Church.

After a few introductory remarks the author's first chapter deals with the original meaning of baptism. He points out that the authenticity of the reported command of Christ, unparalleled as it is in the other Gospels, is so suspected that one must leave it aside and start from the Epistles of Paul. In the Pauline churches the institution appears full-blown and connected with a whole world of religious ideas in which Paul knew himself to be at one with these communities. Modern scholarship has tried to discover what the origin and content of these ideas were. The greatest discovery is that baptism in Pauline circles was throughout regarded as an efficacious transaction (*wirksames Handeln*). In ordinary Greek, contemporary with the New Testament, *ὄνομα*, like *πρόσωπον*, is often simply a synonym for "person": *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ* is, therefore, "into the person of Jesus." Further, the formulæ *ἐν* and *ἐπὶ* *τῷ ὀνόματι* and *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα* were current in that Greek in the sense that something happens "under naming of a name," in the meaning "for the purpose of establishing the relation of proprietorship, of adjudication to this person."¹ *βαπτίζω εἰς τὸ ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ* means then "to baptise" on naming the name of Jesus, for the purpose of establishing "a state of belonging" (*Zugehörigkeitsverhältnisses*) to him."² Böhmer, with whom religious interest predominates, has unsuccessfully attempted to prove that the phrase is not pure Greek, but a translation of a Semitic idiom. The exegetical investigation of the Pauline utterances about baptism (1 Cor. x. ; Rom. vi. ; Col. ii. 11 ff. ; 1 Cor. vi. 11, xii. 13 ; Gal. iii. 27 ; Col. i. 13) supports the philological argument entirely. The author's definition of baptism in the Pauline sense is worth quoting (p. 15): "All that makes Christians to be Christians: the washing away of the filth of sin, the liberation from the powers at enmity with God,

¹ On page 8, note 1, for "1902" read "1892."

² The English reader should read a paper by the Dean of Westminster, "In the Name," in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for January 1906.

which rule in the world, the communication of the Spirit, the dedication and adjudication to God, the incorporation (*Einverleibung*) into the crucified and risen Christ, and more intimately the personal experience of His death and resurrection, the incorporation (*Eingliederung*) into His mystical body, the Church—all this baptism works realiter. It is not only the *symbol* which portrays these events, it is at the same time the *sacrament* which produces (*hervorbringt*) them." The further development of modern views will not command so general assent. As baptism is not derived from the Old Testament, we must search elsewhere for its origin. This origin is to be found in such religious systems as those of Babylonia and Egypt. Christianity took over from primitive religion the name-sacrament and the water-sacrament, and Paul spiritualised these ideas. Our author justly remarks that Heitmüller, the principal exponent of this theory, has through long meditation on the history of religion in general become colour-blind to the special characteristics of Christianity, and he concludes his first part with a proof that the Pauline view of baptism was not sacramental-magical. In fact, he regarded baptism as symbolising and causing the reception of divine gifts, psychologically and not magically. It was a special thing, in its inmost characteristics without any analogy in religious history, because it was an original growth on the soil of Christian revealed religion.

The second part of the pamphlet seeks to trace the origin of baptism in the Christian Church. The conclusion of the author is one with which we agree, namely, that the prevalence of baptism in the churches from the very beginning is due to their *belief that they possessed*—he does not say, to their possession of—a definite regulation from the mouth of Jesus. He then turns his attention to Matthew xxviii. He does not regard the Trinitarian formula as fatal to the authenticity of the verse containing the command to baptise, and points out that Acts xix. 2 is most easily understood if we suppose that the customary baptismal formula contained the phrase *εἰς ἄγιον πνεῦμα*. He further regards βαπτίζαν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ, not as a "Unitarian" (*unitarische*) baptismal

formula, but as an established *terminus technicus* for the idea "Christian baptism." With reference to Conybeare's attempt to prove the Matthean passage to be no part of the original First Gospel, he refers to Riggensbach's strong case for its authenticity, and supports it.¹ He is careful to point out, however, that its textual soundness does not imply its historical truth. He would trace the form only of baptism to the baptism of John.

In the third and last part he deals briefly with the form of early Christian baptism. By this he means the liturgical formulæ by which it was accompanied, and does not touch the question of immersion or affusion, which is so interestingly dealt with by Mr Rogers in the fifth volume of the Oxford *Studia Biblica*. It appears that it was accompanied by a confession of faith, a confession of sin, and a baptismal formula. The communication of the Holy Spirit followed, the outward sign of which was the laying on of hands. Later, anointing was also usual.

We have here given in outline the chief contents of this book, which for its learning and sobriety of judgment deserves to be read by all. ALEXANDER SOUTER.

Oxford.

LA MORT DE JÉSUS ET LE DOGME DE L'EXPIATION, par E. Ménégos. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1905. Pp. 43.

M. MÈNÉGOZ is best known to us as the able henchman of the late Auguste Sabatier. He it was who penned the finely sympathetic appreciation of the French savant in the *Revue Chrétienne* when the theological world was bereft of one of its most brilliant leaders. Indeed, in any criticism of the new French school of theology, one looks to M. Ménégos's *Publications diverses* to gauge the dogmatic significance of Sabatier's epoch-making *Esquisse*.

The present pamphlet is republished from the *Revue de théologie et des questions religieuses*, and its serious and

¹ The English reader should now be referred also to the article of Bishop Chase in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for July 1905.

high-minded attitude toward Christian doctrine does much to remove once and for all the oft-expressed misgiving that in the vagaries of *fidéisme* Sabatier and his disciples reduce belief to a minimum. With a full knowledge that his moorings are far from the haven of orthodoxy, M. Ménégos discusses the traditional dogma of the Atonement. He recognises that his conclusions may be a stumbling-block in the path of many an earnest and conservative Christian, but he pleads that his views may help many who shrink from a religion demanding vicarious expiation. And what are those views? They are quite frankly advanced and liberal to a degree, and are begotten of *la critique historique*. Emboldened by such auspicious patronage, M. Ménégos carries war into the enemies' camp. Not only is the dogma in question hopelessly devoid of rational import, it is not even in accordance with the teaching of Jesus Christ, traditional though that dogma claims to be. Vicarious atonement would be to the Galilean disciples as mysterious and disconcerting as would be the wisdom of a Nicean Council.

Such is the thesis, and it is advanced by M. Ménégos with copious references to the Synoptists, with scrupulous care, and with rare feeling. Were all works on doctrine written in the same judicious spirit, one would hear little of the *odium theologicum*. It may be that the main position of the booklet is more advanced than seems necessary; it may be that the conservative theology is denied its full mead of sympathetic exegesis; it may be that there are arguments which do not appeal to one; but there is much more than controversy—there is eloquence, reverent eloquence. "*Je crois en Jésus-Christ. Il est mon Seigneur et mon Maître. . . . Son enseignement est la norme suprême de ma pensée.*" Good as is M. Ménégos's pamphlet it is for its grace of language that one admires it most.

St Madoes.

ARCHIBALD MAIN.

LA RELIGION ET LA VIE SOCIALE, *par E. Ménégoz.*
Paris : Librairie Fischbacher, 1905. Pp. 33.

MANY centuries have rolled past since Clovis the Frank was blessed and baptized by Remigius of Rheims, many fierce battles have been fought, and many doughty deeds done for Church and State in France—too many to be forgotten in a day. And so the Separation Law has meant *la guerre religieuse*, and has brought pain, misery, and confusion in its train. One consequence, however, is that men are pondering deeply over questions of religion and its relations to social life. M. Ménégoz reckons these matters of great moment at any time, and especially important at present. This pamphlet is his contribution to the ever-increasing literature, which gathers round them.

Let us say at once that there is hardly a word in this small treatise with which one would not cordially agree. The author's standpoint is eminently sound, and his outlook eminently philosophic. He needs not to learn the lesson of modern ethics, for he has deeply drunk of its spirit. For him man is not a collection of faculties, his soul is not a mass of water-tight compartments ; man is a social organism, his activities ever acting and re-acting upon each other. Solidarity is his motto. With such premises M. Ménégoz shows how religion in relation to Morality, to the State, to School and University is intimate and all-pervading.

There is nothing original in this view, but its truth needs expression ever and anon, and few could utter it so gracefully as M. Ménégoz.

ARCHIBALD MAIN.

St Madoes.

THE GIFT OF TONGUES, and Other Essays, *by the Rev. Dawson Walker, M.A., D.D., formerly Scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; Theological Tutor in the University of Durham. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906. Pp. 248. 4s. 6d. nett.*

THIS book consists of four essays on critical problems connected with Lucan and Pauline writings, and of the four the first gives its name to the series. The first and third bear

on the comparative authority of St Luke and St Paul as historians. The second essay deals with the Legal Terminology in the Epistle to the Galatians, while the last discusses the dates of St Luke's Gospel and Acts.

The title-essay will prove of widest interest. Dr Walker adversely criticises the view which, holding that there is a discrepancy between the Lucan and Pauline descriptions of the phenomena, makes that discrepancy the starting-point of inquiry into the nature of the gift of tongues. For he believes that the gift as pictured in exercise alike at Jerusalem, Ephesus, Cæsarea, and Corinth is essentially the same. The chief characteristic of patristic opinion on the subject is shown in an interesting catena to be the belief in a permanent linguistic endowment given for the practical purpose of preaching. This opinion survives in almost no Protestant commentator, while the latest research, mainly circling round the attitude to be taken towards the Lucan account of the phenomena of Pentecost, generally attacks the problem from the basis of the Pauline narrative. Zeller, Schmiedel, Wendt, Blass, Dobschütz, Bartlet, and Ramsay are quoted as supporting the thesis that there is implied the gift of rapt spiritual utterance only. But Dr Walker, following Alford, Wright, and the Bishop of Ely, maintains the specific endowment of foreign speech at Pentecost, with the further implication that St Paul included this also in his description of the wider phenomena at Corinth. In a discussion of the relationship between the Lucan account of Pentecost, Philo's conception of the giving of the Law on Sinai, and the later Jewish identification of Pentecost with the Festival commemorative of Sinaitic legislation, the author expresses the view that while St Luke uses special and authentic material at his disposal, his presentation of it is influenced by Philonic ideas. A valuable portion of the essay mentions analagous phenomena, such as those seen among the Montanists, the Camisards, the Irvingites, and in particular adduces cases where, in delirium or under anæsthetics, words of unknown or forgotten foreign speech have been uttered. There are also instanced the Little Prophets of the Cevennes and incidents of the Welsh

Revival; in the former case children of three years old preached in correct French, and in the latter young people who ordinarily had little knowledge of Welsh spoke it freely. Hence the point is made that, as Jerusalem and Corinth were both alike cosmopolitan in speech, the streets of those cities would, as a matter of everyday occurrence, resound to the voices of benedictions and adorations in the foreign tongues of Jewish proselytes; and so it was that the disciples, under the overmastering emotion of the outpouring of the Spirit at Pentecost, in tongues unknown to themselves repeated such phrases. It may be thought, however, that Dr Walker dismisses with too scant consideration the view that Aramaic and Greek might have provided almost world-wide mediums of speech. In Galatians there are expressions and words which have an odour of legal technicality, and the question arises whether these can be held as belonging exclusively to the sphere of Greek or of Roman law. On this there is a cross-division of the critics, and perhaps the discussion is valuable mostly in its by-products. North and South Galatia were both in origin Phrygian, but each passed through entirely different political conditions. North Galatia came early under Roman domination; while South Galatia, under the Seleucid kings, was moulded by Oriental Hellenism. Hence the supposition runs if the illustrations belong to Greek law St Paul must have intended the epistle for the inhabitants of the southern province, and if to Roman law it was meant for those of North Galatia. Dr Walker gives an exposition of Halmel's *Über römisches Recht im Galaterbrief*, which he claims as the first full account of that work in English. For the other side he draws from Professor Ramsay, and in conclusion he holds that Roman environment was so widespread as to make the argument turning on legal terminology indecisive in its bearing on the North and South Galatian theories.

Acts names three visits of St Paul to Jerusalem, while of these St Paul mentions only two. The common identification of the last Lucan visit with the last of Galatians has certain difficulties. Both by hypothesis refer to the Council

of Jerusalem ; but while St Paul speaks of going by revelation, Acts makes St Paul and Barnabas go as delegates. Again, Acts tells of a decree in favour of St Paul, while he himself writes of no decree ; and St Peter shortly after seems to act in a manner contrary to the spirit of the Council. If, with Professor Ramsay, the second Lucan visit—instead of the last—be taken, those difficulties disappear. Dr Walker thinks the decree was of minor importance ; but he accepts that portion of Ramsay's theory which enables St Peter's action at Antioch to be dated as previous to the Council.

In his last essay Dr Walker, fixing first the date of Acts, then places St Luke's Gospel at 58 or 60, in face of the consensus that makes even the earliest Gospel, St Mark, ten years later. There may be virtue in this method, but it certainly has the appearance of dealing too lightly with the complexity of the synoptic problem.

Finally, it may be said of this most readable book that it is valuable alike for the accessible form in which it gives the positions of well-known scholars and for its clear and forcible presentation of the questions with which it deals.

Ardentinny.

A. W. MITCHELL.

**DIE INSCRIFTEN VON MAGNESIA AM
MÄANDER UND DAS NEUE TESTAMENT,**
*von Gottfried Thieme. 8vo. Pp. iii., 43. Göttingen
(Edinburgh: Otto Schulze & Co.): Vandenhoeck &
Ruprecht, 1906. M. 1.20.*

THIS is a modest and useful contribution to the New Testament lexicon of the future, which will have to be based upon many hundred collections of the same kind. It is no longer possible to regard the Greek of the LXX. and the New Testament as a language apart, and to explain its deviations from classical usage by vague allegations of "Hebraism." In essentials, it is the popular language spoken and written from the Egyptian Cataracts to the Black Sea. Some confusion is caused, however, by the custom of calling this the "common dialect" (κοινή). That

is a grammarian's term, which was really intended to refer to Attic in so far as it formed a means of communication between Greeks who spoke different dialects. This use of Attic as a "common speech" soon destroyed the peculiar vocalisation and inflections of the other dialects, though Attic had to make concessions too, such as *θάλασσα* for *θάλαττα*. In just the same way, English has to modify itself in some respects for American and Colonial use. The Greek of the New Testament is not, however, mere *κοινή*. In vocabulary it is fundamentally Ionic. The Athenians, for instance, meant by *ἀπόστολος* a "naval expedition" (which the Ionians called *στέλος*); in the New Testament *ἀπόστολος* has its Ionic sense of "ambassador," "envoy." Such characteristic Christian words as *εὐλογία*, *λιτανεία*, *ησυχία* are all Ionic, and that is why Wilamowitz calls Hellenistic Greek an Ionic *Volksidiom*. But there is another side to the relation between Ionic and Attic. The very same words which appear as "vulgarisms" in Hellenistic Greek had been used at Athens to give elevation and majesty to the language of religion and law. Here again the analogy of "Americanisms" is helpful; for, as is well known, many of these are older English, and so Ionicisms may either be local idiom or deliberate archaism. When Xenophon's companions cried *θάλασσα, θάλασσα*, that was more or less a vulgarism; when Aeschylus says *ἴσθιν θάλασσα*, he is using a dialect which corresponds to "Biblical English."

The only fault which I would find with Mr. Thieme's work is that he is not sufficiently conscious of this complication of the problem. It is not really necessary to justify *μνῆαν ποιῆσθαι* from inscriptions and papyri (p. 23); for it was an Ionicism which an Athenian writer might use at any time to give elevation to his style. The same applies to *ἀναστρέφεισθαι*, *ἀναστροφή* (p. 14), and a classical scholar can only marvel that any one should have thought it worth while to look for Hebrew explanations of these words. Both *μνῆαν ποιῆσθαι* and *ἀναστρέφεισθαι* occur in so well-known a book as Aristotle's *Ethics*. An excellent instance of the difficulty of the whole question is afforded by the use of the Attic form *ἡ θεός* in Acts xix. 37. It

has been supposed that this Atticism was an "elegance," due either to Luke or to the "town-clerk" of Ephesus. Town-clerks often embellish their speech with the like, and Luke certainly used classical words when he could. Mr Thieme shows, however, from the inscriptions, that ἡ θεὸς was used in Asia Minor in formal religious language, and that is doubtless the true account to give of the matter; but he should have gone on to point out that, while the Athenians certainly said ἡ θεὸς in their everyday speech, they used the Ionic ἡ θεά in their public prayers. In fact ἡ θεά was as solemn in Attic as ἡ θεὸς seems to have been in Ionic, though Demeter and Kore were always τῷ θεῷ at Eleusis.

It will be seen that there is still a great deal of work to be done in this field, and Mr Thieme's contribution is very welcome indeed. One or two points he has, I think, settled definitely. The phrase *κατὰ ἑβραϊσμός* (e.g., Acts xxv. 16), which has been called a Hebraism, is a Hellenistic legal term, and St Paul's *συγγενεῖς* in the Epistle to the Romans were his fellow-Israelites, and not his relatives.

The real value of this study does not, however, lie in isolated points, but in the fact that it helps in some degree to prepare the way for a real reconstruction of Hellenistic Greek.

St Andrews.

JOHN BURNET.

**THE FIRST CHRISTIANS; OR, CHRISTIAN LIFE
IN NEW TESTAMENT TIMES,** *by Robert Veitch,*
M.A. London: James Clarke & Co. Pp. xvii., 201.
3s. 6d. nett.

THIS is a study in primitive Christian ethics, undertaken with a hortatory as well as a scientific aim. Christianity, it is argued, appeared in the world against a background of gross superstition and impurity; it presented to the sick hearts of men new moral standards and ideals. These, as portrayed in the New Testament, with the indications given of their regulating influence, enable us to reconstruct, with tolerable accuracy, the life of the first Christians. It was

that life which told upon the world and led to the spread of Christ's Gospel. What is needed now is a fresh impression of it: in its high and varied characteristics, it is a reproach, and ought to be an incentive, to the modern religious world.

The line of thought is interesting and suggestive, but rather comprehensive for the limits here prescribed to it. Probably for this reason the author does not attempt a proportionate treatment, but devotes himself mostly to the expiscation and exhibition of the Christian standards and ideals. This he does with conspicuous success: the exegetical work is acute and skilful; the citation of references apposite and complete. The arrangement of the chapters is somewhat mechanical, each being concerned with a separate virtue or aspect of the Christian life; but the result is a representation of the practical principles of Christianity, which, for clearness and truthfulness of detail, leaves nothing to be desired. Throughout the book, however, there is a tendency to substitute exegesis for historical inquiry, and present its results, when applied to the moral teaching of the New Testament, as a picture of the actual feelings and behaviour of the primitive Christians. In the Introduction it is proposed "to present a sketch of how these early Christians lived: what were the moral ideals and standards of conduct constantly cherished amongst them," as if the two clauses meant the same thing; and the ambiguity continually reappears, fostered, in great measure, by the didactic purpose which is steadily kept in view. The title of the book warrants us in expecting a fuller consideration of the relative facts, and a more serious attempt to show how far the first Christians really conformed to the moral principles of the Gospel. In point of fact, like Christians of other ages, they fell considerably short in the realisation of their ideals; sinful habits and affections clung to them—some due to their natural instincts, some carried forward from their old life, some arising from the circumstances and atmosphere in which the new life placed them. There was also great diversity of moral attainment amongst them; so much so, that, at a

very early date, a distinction began to be drawn between two grades of morality—one for the mature or perfect, and another for the immature or “babes in Christ.” Traces of this distinction may be found even in Paul, and by the time of the *Didaché* it was widely spread. Due weight given to such considerations might have affected the optimistic estimate here offered for modern imitation.

Thoroughness in minor matters is hardly to be expected in a book of this practical kind; still, there are occasional generalisations, to which, especially from the strictly theological standpoint, exception must be taken. The sharp contrast, for instance, between the Christian communities and the heathen world, may be correct in the main; but more notice might have been taken of the modifying elements present in heathenism: the high, philosophical ideals, scarcely inferior, except in living force, to those of Christianity itself, the remains of Stoic virtue, and the widespread longing for healing and salvation, which had begun to look to religion for satisfaction, and so formed a point of contact for the Gospel. Again, to pass over the statement (p. 3) that the first Christians “owed little or nothing to the religious systems prevalent around them,” it is hardly exact to say (p. 4, and, in effect, elsewhere) that “it was their life alone which won upon an unheeding world.” Even from the beginning, there were other factors involved in the spread of the Gospel: the Old Testament (witness the Ethiopian eunuch), the monotheism of Christianity, its forecast of judgment, its prospect of immortality, etc.

As sources, at least of a Christian character, the author relies almost entirely upon the books of the New Testament, taken uncritically, on the ground that critical questions do not affect the cogency of their evidence upon the matter on hand. There are several references, however, to the *Apology* of Aristides, the relevance of which it is difficult to see, considering that the *Apology* belongs to the middle of the second century, and that other sub-apostolic writings are passed over, such as Clemens Romanus, the *Didaché*, Barnabas, and Hermas, which are of earlier date, and emphasise quite as strongly the moral aspects of the new religion.

There is some good writing in the book ; but, theologically, its value lies, not so much in the light it sheds on the life of the first Christians, as in its able exposition of the ethical teaching of the New Testament. Too many misprints have been left uncorrected.

DAVID FREW.

Urr.

Δόγος Σωτηρίας πρὸς τὴν παρθένον, Eine echte Schrift des Athanasius, von Lic. Eduard Freiherrn von der Goltz, Privatdocent an der Universität Berlin; Texte und Untersuchungen. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1905. Pp. 1-143. 5 M.

TISCHGEBETE UND ABENDMAHLSGEBETE, in der altchristlichen und in der griechischen Kirche, von Lic. E. F. von der Goltz. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1905. Pp. 67. 2 M.

AN ancient admirer of Athanasius declared that "if you have no writing material when you come upon any words of the Great Athanasius, you must use your garments to record them on." Posterity accepted the advice, and tended to impute more than his own to the Orthodox Defender of the Faith. The *Δόγος Σωτηρίας* was thought to be an instance of this tendency. Erasmus, Montfauçon, and Migne thought it had no right to be included among the works of Athanasius, and their suspicion has been the fashion since their day. Herr von der Goltz has reversed their verdict, and on his title-page declares the treatise to be genuine Athanasian. The printed editions gave a mixed text, based on two MSS. of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; the new editor has had the good fortune to discover a MS. of the tenth century in Patmos, and is thus enabled to improve the received text. An elaborate study of all the known MSS. has led to their classification; the Patmos MS. and the vanished parent of the Basel, Venetian, and London MSS. carry back the history of the text sufficiently to connect its transmission with Photius, Ephraim of Antioch, and Jerome. The work spent on the text is an indispensable preliminary to any scientific use of the treatise.

It is done so thoroughly that it will not have to be done again. It is a pity that a text so admirably edited should have allowed any misprints to survive: e.g. θεῷ for θεοῦ (p. 42, l. 15), ὁ for ἡ ὑποστάσις (p. 43, l. 1), κακοῖα for κακία (p. 48, l. 20 and l. 25).

The text being established, Herr von der Goltz investigates the place of his document in the ascetic literature of the fourth century. Comparison with the writings of Evagrius and with the Homilies of Makarios (301-390 A.D.) shows that the *Λόγος Σωτηρίας* is less developed in mystic theology and in methodical rules for living the "angelic life." It is free from the unhealthy exaggerations of the end of the century; the virgins are not yet gathered into a separate community; they live in their homes, and may be tempted to select fashionable forms of dress. Further, they are under no compulsory rules other than the constraint of their own conscience. The language used in the treatise is chiefly inspired by the New Testament; but the Scriptures are not quoted to prove dogma or silence enemies, but to enforce right conduct. Similar precepts are found in the Canons of Hippolytus and the *Testamentum Domini Nostri*; but there is no sign of direct dependence on these sources. They all depend, it would seem, on a current of tradition such as has recently been revealed through the sayings of Jesus found at Oxyrynchos. The result of this investigation is that our tract originated in the ascetic circles of Egypt in the fourth century, that Athanasius was its author, and that the probable date is the second or third decade of the fourth century. The contents are so lucidly expounded, the literary parallels so fully and fairly given, that assent can hardly be withheld from the author's conclusions. It is gratifying to know that younger scholars, as energetic as their great seniors, are likely to maintain the fame of biblical scholarship in Germany.

The methodism of the treatise is worthy of consideration on its own merits. Fasting is an exercise sanctioned by the Saviour; by it the mind is brightened, disease avoided, and evil spirits expelled. By eating, Adam fell; by fasting, we may rise. Those who desire beauty will find fasting an

excellent cosmetic. To fast is to live the life of the angels. Without humility, however, it is lost labour. The virgin who fasts must not despise those who eat.

The hours of prayer, too, are recommended with sublime associations. The rising sun must find the Holy Book in the virgin's hands. When she prays at the third hour (9 A.M.), she will not forget that the wood of the Cross was then fastened together. At noon the Lord was crucified; at the ninth hour He gave up the ghost; at the twelfth hour, or sunset, He descended to Hades to set free the souls in captivity; and at midnight He sang praise to the Father after victory over Hades.

Were some religious society to publish this work of Athanasius as a tract for our own times, it would be unpopular but salutary. Men have been so interested in things external, and have discovered so much concerning atoms and constellations, that they cannot bear their own company for a quiet hour. Introspection is boredom beyond endurance, and must be made impossible by business or games. Colleges are founded for bodily gymnastics which despise spiritual hygiene. The virgin of Alexandria might teach them a lost art—how to discover within the soul as many marvels as there are in the world without.

The *Αγιος Σωτηρίας* prescribes to the virgins certain blessings for use before and after their one daily meal. These forms of prayer are dealt with by Herr von der Goltz in an appendix. He investigates the origin of prayers at table among early Christians and in the present Greek Church, and estimates their relation to the Christian sacrament.

The method adopted is to describe the usages that prevail in the Jewish homes of to-day, and to detail the forms of blessing contained in Jewish Prayer-Books. Comparison with the Talmudic tractate *Berakhoth*, and other ancient documents, determines the forms that were probably in use in the apostolic age. In this way a possible source of Christian forms of prayer is established.

The forms of prayer used in Greek households or monasteries are next set forth, and the Eucharistic Liturgies for use in church are compared. The ideas underlying their common elements are traced to a primitive blessing and thanksgiving used at domestic meals. The Anaphora or presentation of the Eucharistic offering and the ceremonies of the Communion have their prototype, not in the blessing before meals, but in the great thanksgiving at table which originally followed the meal. The elevation of the bread goes back doubtless to a Jewish custom. The antidoron of the present Greek Church represents, according to Herr von der Goltz, the *εὐλογίαι* or offerings in kind brought by the people, blessed by the Church, and used for the poor.

It appears to us that in this study there is an undue emphasis laid on Jewish sources. There are obvious reasons why similarities should exist in a Jewish and a Christian thanksgiving. Gentiles are conscious of gratitude though untutored by Jews, and they, too, have words for the divine attributes. Further, the Old Testament was a common source of ideas and diction. An impediment to direct borrowing from the Jewish Prayer Book lay in the Hebrew and Aramaic languages. Finally, the creative spirit which founded Christendom and instituted the sacrament was not so passive as to depend for its expression on the casual phrases of a hostile system.

D. M. KAY.

St Andrews.

DIE CHRONIK DES HIPPOLYTOS, von Adolf Bauer und Otto Curtz. 8vo. Pp. vi., 288. Leipzig, 1905. M. 8.50.

THIS is Part I. of vol. xiv. of the new series of O. von Gebhardt's and Ad. Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen*.

Dedicated to the memory of Alfred von Gutschmid and Theodor Mommsen, this volume worthily continues, it might almost be said crowns the researches made by them and by the still living scholars Gelzer and K. Frick into the original nature and composition of the *Chronicle* of Hippolytus, Bishop of Porto. For it contains nothing less than the actual Greek text of the same, as recently discovered in

the Madrid MS. No. 121. This MS. consists of 82 folios of parchment, written late in the tenth or early in the eleventh century. It belonged at one time to Constantine Lascaris, who procured it at Messina in Sicily, whither, like the Vatican tenth-century codex of the Paschal Chronicle, it had been brought from the East. Its first fifty folios contain the *Chronographia* of Nicephorus of Constantinople. The Hippolytus begins fol. 51 Recto. Four excellent facsimiles of the MS. are added to the book. The MS. is unfortunately not complete, but it restores to us nearly half the original Greek text, and supplies us with an invaluable clue by which to appreciate and understand certain Old Latin versions of it, as well as several Latin and Greek chronological works based upon it. With its aid we can trace throughout later chronicles the Hippolytian text.

Three Latin versions of Hippolytus' work survive in very ancient MSS. Of these the so-called *Barbarus* of Scaliger is found on comparison with the newly discovered Greek text to be the most complete and literal, though it omits the exordium; the two others are the so-called *libri generationis*. These three Latin forms have been published independently by Frick and Mommsen, and Bauer reprints them along with the Greek in four parallel columns on pages 26-133. He then proves by a comparison with other works of Hippolytus that the text before us is really from the hand of that father, and in the rest of his book he traces in a luminous and instructive manner the influence of the work upon subsequent chroniclers, for, after the usage of the ancients, many subsequent writers used it up without acknowledgment.

In the Western Church there has ever been a conspiracy of silence against Hippolytus, and that explains why his name was not prefixed to the three Latin versions of his work. In the East subsequent writers were more willing to acknowledge their indebtedness to the great Bishop of Porto. The Armenians, for example, attach his name, as one of its sources, to a chronography compiled in the year of the Armenians 134 = A.D. 685, which is preserved in a paper codex in Valarshapat, written A.D. 981. This was copied in 1836 by one of the fathers of San Lazaro at Venice, Ephrem

Sethean. The library there has his copy, and I photographed it in 1898 with a view to publishing it. In 1904, however, Father P. Sarkisean printed it there in a convenient form with the variants of later manuscripts, and I hope one day to translate it into English. This seems to be the same work to which Dr Bauer refers several times (pp. 3, 223) as a chronicle discovered at Valarshapat by Prof. Khala-tiantz of Moscow, and still unpublished. It was probably compiled by Ananias of Shirak, an Armenian calendarist of the seventh century, and was incorporated in his chronicle by a later Armenian writer, Stephanus Asoljik, about the year 963.

F. C. CONYBEARE.

Oxford.

EUSEBIUS AGAINST MARCELLUS, *edited by Prof. Dr Erich Klostermann.* [Eusebius' Werke, IV. Bd. Gegen Marcell. Über die kirchl. Theologie. Die Fragmente Marcellus. Hrsg. v. Prof. Dr Erich Klostermann.] *Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs (Edinburgh: Otto Schulze & Co.), 1906. Cr. 8vo. Pp. xxxiii., 256. 9 M.; geb. M. 11.50.*

THIS is the fourth volume of the new edition of the works of Eusebius, now being published under the auspices of the Prussian Academy, and it marks a great advance both on the *Editio princeps* of Montague of 1628, and on the editions of Gaisford, 1852, and of J. H. Nolte (in Migne Patrologia), 1857. The parent manuscript from which all others derive is *Codex Venetus Marc. gr. 496*, of the tenth or eleventh century. This was collated by the present editor in 1902, and his text is a faithful reproduction of it. Of the previous editors, Gaisford alone consulted the Venetian MS., but he not thoroughly enough, or the present volume would have been superfluous. For example, on p. 6, § 22, Gaisford reads *λίγαι τολμῶν*, and notes below, as follows: "*λίγαι τολμῶν* marg. ed. Par. *Μαλὶν λίγαι τολμῶν.*" The latter is read in the Venice MS., and is of course adopted by Klostermann. Such examples catch the eye on every page.

Marcellus was Bishop of Ancyra from about the year 315 until he was deprived by the Arian Synod of Constantinople

in 336. He lived until 374, but it is doubtful if he ever regained his bishopric. He was accused of having argued, in a long work dedicated to Constantine, that the Word only became Son of God at and through His birth from Mary, and that His Sonship will cease at the end of the age when God shall be all in all. His view was therefore condemned as Sabellian.

The scribe of the Venice codex often condemns the heresy of the author he transcribes (not Marcellus, but Eusebius) in such marginal notes as the following: "Thou dost drivell [twice]; Thou art certainly an Arian, O wretch: altogether impious! It is like the Arians to deny equality in honour to the three hypostases: Woe to thee, I am nauseated, and shall have to vomit out the stench of thee: Where is that, thou fighter against God?"

Nevertheless, this work was the only one of those ascribed to Eusebius of Cæsarea, to which Socrates, the Church historian of the fifth century, was able to appeal when he sought to defend the orthodoxy of one whom as a historian he admired and strove to emulate. If, therefore, Eusebius Pamphili was the author of these five books against Marcellus, he must have become, as Dr Gerhard Loeschke (*Das Syntagma des Gelasius Cyzicenus, im Rheinischen Museum LX-LXI*) remarks, much more orthodox after the Council of Nice than he was before. And it is noticeable that in these five books, written about the year 338, Matt. xxviii. 19 is cited after the T. R., and the doctrine of the Trinity explicitly based upon it, whereas in his other works, not excepting the *Panegyric of Constantine*, written about 333, Eusebius sets small store by the Trinity, and ever cites the text Matt. xxviii. 19 thus: "Make disciples of all nations *in My name*, teaching them to observe," etc. Because of this and of other more cogent reasons, I have argued that the work before us was not written by Eusebius Pamphili, but by some other Eusebius, probably by the Bishop of Emesa, a disciple of the historian, and an intimate friend of Flacillus, to whom the last three of the five books, written subsequently to the first two, are dedicated. Dr Klostermann recapitulates my arguments in

his preface, but rejects my conclusion, as also does Dr Loeschke in the January number of Dr Preuschen's *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*. But neither of them has noticed a point which tells more strongly against my view than any other, and which I myself only noticed as I re-read the work in the new edition, this, namely that p. 121, lines 1-15 (= Rettb. p. 128, §§ 4-6) of the *C. Marcellum* is a loan from the *Theophany* of Eusebius Pamphili, i. 23. Eusebius himself incorporated this part of his *Theophany* with much more of it in his *Panegyric* (chap. xii., p. 230 of Klostermann's edition); and Heikel, in his essay on the *Selbstcitatie* of Eusebius (prefixed to his edition of the *Life of Constantine and Panegyric*) shows how constantly Eusebius embodied in his later works *purpurei panni*, nay scores of pages at a time, from his earlier works. Now it may fairly be argued that as Eusebius in his other works freely cites himself, so he and no other has done it here. And I do not deny that the probability of Eusebius Pamphili having been the author of the treatise before us is much enhanced. The only alternative is to suppose that its author admired Eusebius so much as to reproduce whole lines of his *Theophany*. That, of course, a favoured disciple of his own like Eusebius of Emesa may have done. And I do not see my way, without further investigation, to renounce a view which explains so much and removes so many difficulties. What is needful is an ample comparison of the language of the *C. Marcellum* with that of unquestioned works of the historian Eusebius. In this connection it is remarkable how different from the stock of words used in the *Vita* and *Panegyric* is that which we find in the *C. Marcellum*, and yet they were being written almost at the same time. Much of the discrepancy may of course be due to difference of subject-matter; but we cannot so explain the use twelve times over in *C. Marcellum* of the word *δηλαδή*, rarely used by Eusebius, though common in the Greek version of Constantine's letters; of *βοάω* eight times in sense of the Scriptures "calling out" to us, used by Eusebius almost exclusively in the passive participle in the sense of "cele-

brated"; of *theologia* = a theological doctrine or view, rather than divine title, utterance or nature, praise of God, in which senses Eusebius usually employs it; of *καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία*. However, I must own that the presence in the *C. Marcellum* of a loan from the *Theophany* has a little shaken my conviction.

Klostermann adds in smaller type the fragments of Marcellus preserved in the text or in Epiphanius, he has also compiled two lists, one of the words used in Marcellus, the other of those used in the *C. Marcellum*. The latter is less complete than the similar list published by Heikel of the words used in the *Vita Constantini*, *Panegyric*, and *Oration of Constantine*. Thus he omits ἀξίως πρὸς, pp. 10, 22; ἀποκαλοῦντος, "misnaming," pp. 13, 2; ἀρτι μὲν . . . ἀρτιδὲ, pp. 18, 32; κακῶς ἀγορεύειν, pp. 62, 24, etc. etc. But it is a useful piece of work, and can easily be supplemented by the reader.

Oxford.

F. C. CONYBEARE.

DIDYMUS, DER BLINDE VON ALEXANDRIA,
von Johs. Leipoldt. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs (Edinburgh:
Otto Schulze & Co.), 1905. Cr. 8vo. Pp. iii., 148. 5 M.

THIS is *Heft 3* of the fourteenth volume (new series) of O. von Gebhardt's and A. Harnack's *Texte und Untersuchungen*. It is a careful study of the life and literary remains of a father who died in 398, at the ripe age of 85, who was therefore born about 313. At the age of 4 he lost his sight, but plunged undaunted into the study of the Scriptures and of the commentators of the third century, particularly Origen. The historian Socrates relates that he compensated the loss of his physical eyes by winning spiritual ones, and by the use of his ears alone acquired grammar and rhetoric, music and philosophy. He thus became, on account of his learning, catechist of his church of Alexandria, a city he never quitted, and in which he enjoyed the friendship of Athanasius, of Antony the Hermit, Evagrius Ponticus, Jerome, and Rufinus, the two latter his pupils. Jerome, after leaving Egypt, where he had sat at his feet, remained for years his correspondent and adorer,

extolling him in his letters as a seer, a prophet, "an apostolic man gifted with the eye of the bride of the Song of Songs." But Didymus wrote a commentary on the *De Principiis* of Origen, as well as a defence of that father's orthodoxy. This put poor Jerome into an awkward position later on when he quarrelled with Rufinus, and constituted himself the chief of Origen's detractors. Then all the resources he possessed in the way of tergiversation, and they were large, were called into play. "If I wrote to Didymus," he says, "I only wrote out of formal courtesy, to salute him as I should salute any learned man older than myself, as I should write, for example, to the distinguished Jew who taught me Hebrew."

Didymus was a prolific writer, and, beside the works already mentioned, wrote treatises against Arius and Sabellius; another against Mani, a ground-tone of opposition to whom runs through all his writings and expositions; his work on the Holy Spirit, preserved in a Latin version made by Jerome; and his three books on the Trinity, which have come down to us in Greek. Of his voluminous commentaries on the Old and New Testaments fragments survive in the catenæ. The fact that he was blind explains the frequent inaccuracy of his citations.

Johs. Leipoldt combats the opinion of Johs. Dräseke that Didymus wrote the treatise wrongly ascribed to Athanasius, entitled *De Incarnatione contra Apollinarium*. He also gives good reasons for rejecting the conjecture made independently by Anatolij Spasskij, 1905, and F. X. Funk in 1901, that Didymus was the real author of the fourth and fifth books against Eunomius, ascribed to Basil the Great.

Didymus was, as Johs. Leipoldt admits, but an average man, yet his influence was great in forming men's opinions, and he was a link between the great Cappadocians on one side and Athanasius on the other. From the latter he derived his ideas of the Trinity and Person of Christ, but he gave them the form in which they passed on to Cyril of Alexandria. Perhaps his being blind saved Didymus from engaging in the coarser theological strife of his time. Swashbucklers respected a man who was blind. So it was that Didymus

was listened to where other teachers would have been spurned and insulted, and wielded an influence out of all proportion to his intellectual gifts. The respect his contemporaries entertained for him must also have been heightened by his asceticism. Jerome, however, who of all owed most to him, alone did not spare his person and memory; and to his coarse and reptile aspersions and heresy-hunting ingratitude it is chiefly due that the blind and gentle catechist already figures in the Council of 553, as in all succeeding ones, as an arch-heretic. Nicetas, the great compiler of *catenæ*, prides himself on citing nothing from Apollinarius of Laodicea, from Theodore of Mopsuestia, or from Didymus, "the maimed one, who, because he had no eye for the truth, strayed off in his speculations into pathless places and ended by falling over precipices."

Oxford.

F. C. CONYBEARE.

THE EYE FOR SPIRITUAL THINGS, and Other Sermons, by Henry Melvill Gwatkin, M.A., D.D.; *Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History; Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and late Gifford Lecturer, Edinburgh.* Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906. Pp. viii., 261. 6s. 6d. nett.

A VOLUME of sermons more suited, perhaps, on the whole, to the last generation than to this. Amongst the uneducated, however, there are still those who believe that salvation simply means "not going to hell"; who say "we shall get our sins plastered over somehow or other, and then we shall steal into heaven and be happy ever after." The writer does good service in combating such error, and he does so most pointedly. It is well to remember that Christ came to save us "from sin itself, not simply from some future punishment of sin," and that His promise is "sin shall have no more dominion over me." Such vulgar error must be dwelt upon sometimes. The masses need such teaching driven home, and we thank Dr Gwatkin for doing so.

It is when the author reasons from Scripture that his preaching loses grip. If he would let spiritual truths be

their own witness it would be better. Sermon VII. is entitled "Christ gave no proofs." That is so. Yet He spoke with authority. It were well if all preachers followed His example.

It is doubtful if the teaching given in the different sermons is all of a piece. In one sermon, entitled "Free Forgiveness," the writer quotes three of Christ's parables. Commending the teaching given there, he says, "From one end of the New Testament to the other, you will find no hint that God requires any sort of satisfaction for the past. Only confess your sin to Him and have done with it, and you shall hear no more of it from Him." Amen, we say, Amen. But then otherwise he dwells on atonement. He says atonement is not this, and is not that, but he does not tell us what it is. We are inclined to ask, Is it anything? He puts the question, "Could not an earthly king give free pardon?" The answer is, "Yes." So he argues, "Could not the heavenly?" Precisely so, we say, but in the one case no atonement is necessary. The inference is, "Is it necessary in the other?" Sometimes he hints at a spiritual atonement, but the idea is not developed.

The author's teaching about "sacrifice" is obscure. Christ "is the propitiation for our sins; He has made atonement for us, . . . He is our sacrifice," etc. But what does he mean by "sacrifice." We would recommend a wider study and a more explicit exposition of ancient sacrifice, even for the masses.

In a sermon on "Patience; or, the Coming of Christ," we read: "One great coming He did indeed expressly limit to this generation. 'Verily I say unto you that there be some standing here which shall not taste of death till they see it.' So the Apostles understood that He would come in their time, and they were not mistaken." We venture to say that if the above is a genuine saying of Christ, it is not likely the Apostles thought of His coming in any other form than that of His bodily appearance to inaugurate a reign on earth. Is it legitimate to say He came in "the Roman eagles round Jerusalem, the northern eagles round Rome, the Turkish eagles round Constantinople, the German eagles

round Paris—God forbid it be some other eagles round London or New York”? These events were doubtless evidences of God’s rule on earth. But we think it neither legitimate nor sensible in our time of day to say this was “Jesus’ coming.”

ALEXANDER WILSON.

Ythan Wells.

DIE RELIGION ALS SELBSTBEWUSSTSEIN GOTTES. Eine philosophische Untersuchung über das Wesen der Religion, von Arthur Drews. Verlegt bei Eugen Diederichs. Jena und Leipzig: 1906. Pp. xiv., 531. M. 12.

THIS book is an indication of the perennial interest which religion has for the mind of man. In it Professor Arthur Drews, hitherto chiefly known for his monographs in the history of recent German philosophy, enters the field of the philosophy of religion, and gives us his own solution of the problems of life.

The motive of the book is intensely practical. The introduction pictures the religious crisis through which modern Germany is passing, the lack of ideals on the part of people of culture (p. 12), and the failure of existing institutions to supply an adequate remedy. One after another, the author passes in review the different reformatory agencies, only to find them all bankrupt. Least of all can modern liberal Christianity hope to win his favour. It is an effort to revive that which has long been outgrown, and is in the nature of the case bound to fail. On the part of the theologian, indeed, such an attempt may be pardoned, since his office commits him to the defence of the existing order (p. ix.); but for the man of science there is no excuse, since, if anything is clear, it is “that the Christian religion has already passed through all possible phases of its development, and that it is exactly the inadequacy and inconsistency of all attempts at mediation on the part of Christians which are responsible for the untenable religious condition of the present” (p. vii.).

The reason for this failure Professor Drews finds in the

historical element in Christianity. The historic Jesus is the Achilles' heel of the Christian religion. This insistence upon the historical is a result of the Semitic origin of Christianity, a baleful inheritance from which later generations have not been able to free themselves, in spite of the pantheistic leaven introduced into Christianity by the Aryan spirit with which it was brought into contact through Greek and later through German thought.

Of the Ritschlian tendency, with its attempt to put aside metaphysics and get to the historic Jesus, Drews can hardly bring himself to speak with patience. This "vulgar Protestantism" or "religious triviality," as he calls it, so far from being Christian, is not even religious. It is only a persistent unwillingness to contemplate obvious facts, which prevents a man like Harnack from recognising the essential weakness of his position (p. 94).

Of the speculative theology of the Hegelian type, Drews speaks with more respect. This has gone far along the road to truth. It fails only in its identification of the absolute with the historic process, and in its unwillingness to surrender the theistic phraseology which its pantheistic spirit has in principle outgrown.

What, then, is Drews' own solution of the problem which others have so conspicuously failed to solve? (It may be mentioned in passing that, before his own work, the author recognises only a single book on the philosophy of religion worthy of the name, namely, Hartmann's *Religion of the Spirit*.) It is a synthesis of the absolute idealism of Hegel with the subjective idealism of Feuerbach. The means by which this reconciliation is accomplished is the distinction between the self and the ego, by which, I take it, he means the noumenal and the empirical ego. Both Hegel and Feuerbach regard the relation between God and man as one of identity, and in this they are right; but they make the identity immediate, and in this Drews holds that they are wrong. Hegel makes God discover Himself in finite consciousness. Feuerbach reverses the process, and regards man as the creator of God. Neither gives us a real relationship, since neither recognises a difference between the

members. This difference Drews proposes to supply. The identity which he affirms is mediate, not immediate. God and man are, to be sure, one substance, but they differ as the true self of man differs from his empirical ego. "God is the world, but not as essence, rather as bare activity. The world is God, but not according to its appearance, but in its essential being. God and the world are identical, but the identity is not immediate, but mediate, since the world is only the method and way in which God works Himself out through means. God Himself, on the other hand, is not exhausted in His essence by His appearance, but remains behind and above the world as the cause of its existence. In this formula," concludes our author, "the problem how God and the world can be identical without the possibility of a real relation between the two, and so of religion, being lost, seems solved" (p. 113).

To be sure, this is only a logical solution. The real working out of the relationship in life is a different matter. But this, according to Drews, is rather an argument in favour of the truth of his view than the reverse. The failure of the earlier philosophers in their treatment of religion was that they were too much in a hurry. They sought to find in history that which is to be found only in the ideal. Philosophy has to do with forms of thought alone. Logical consistency is its final canon of truth. This, Drews maintains, is found in his system alone. Its application to the needs of men lies still in the future, when there shall appear that religious genius who will be able practically to apply the principles which Drews sets forth (p. xiv.).

The book falls into three parts. The first deals with the foundation of the religious relationship; the second with its development; the third with the analysis and further definition of its members. The first gives us a historical survey of the different types of religion, and a logical analysis of the elements which necessarily enter into the religious relationship. The second develops the religious experience along the familiar lines of thought, feeling, and will. The third gives us the positive philosophy which is the outcome.

In detail the book contains much that is interesting and

suggestive. The discussion of the historic religions is fresh and illuminating, and the psychological analysis often profound. The criticism of existing views is frequently acute and not seldom well taken. In these days of triumphant Ritschlianism it is interesting to see a man who still holds to the importance of the metaphysical in theology, and those who differ from Professor Drews in his estimate of the speculative element in Christianity will find in him an antagonist not to be despised.

But when we pass to the positive content of the book, we find ourselves disappointed. The God with whom we commune in religion, and in submission to whose wiser will we are to find our peace, proves, on inspection, to be even blinder than we. He, too, needs to be redeemed from the evil which, in His ignorance, He has unconsciously willed, and for this redemption He must turn to us. Nor is the redemption itself as satisfactory as Professor Drews' language would lead us to believe. To bear suffering because a wiser than we has willed it for our good is one thing. To submit with resignation to the inevitable until the day when death brings final release is another. It is the latter redemption alone which Drews can promise. The hands are the hands of Hegel, but the voice is the voice of Schopenhauer.

Nor is the spirit of the book more satisfying. In a philosopher of the absolute, whose goal is unity and whose ideal is peace, we have a right to expect, at least, a philosophic calm; but the note of passionate protest which breaks from Drews when he explains the difference between theism and pantheism as the counterpart in thought of the struggle of will between the Semite and the Aryan, and exhorts his countrymen to throw over the last trace of the Semitic leaven in order to find in thorough-going pantheism a Germanic religion of their own (*e.g.* p. 362), seems to the uninitiated to breathe rather the spirit of the self-affirming religion which he denounces than the self-abnegating religion which he lauds. If willing submission to inevitable evil be redemption (as Drews maintains), then even from his own point of view there is much to be said in favour of the claim of Christianity to be the absolute religion, since with its

inevitable, yet hopeless struggle between monism and dualism, it would seem, more completely than any other religion, to afford the conditions under which alone, from Drews' point of view, the ideal religious life can be realised.

New York.

WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN.

INAUGURAL LECTURES : *delivered by Members of the Faculty of Theology during its First Session, 1904-5 ; edited by A. S. Peake, M.A., B.D., Dean of the Faculty. Manchester : at the University Press, 1905. Pp. xi., 297, xvi. 7s. 6d.*

THIS is a book of more than common interest. It is the first volume in a proposed series of theological publications by the University of Manchester, and gives us the inaugural lectures delivered by members of its faculty of theology during its first session from 1904-5. Interesting for its own sake because of its contents, it is more than usually significant because of the insight which it gives into the ideals which have led to the foundation of the faculty and the principles on which it is organised. The University of Manchester is not indeed the first English University to attempt the problem of non-sectarian theological teaching. Both the University of London and the University of Wales have already made a beginning along this line ; but the principle on which the Manchester Faculty is organised differs from these in method, so far as to constitute it "a new departure in academic history" (p. 20).

There are three possible ways in which such undenominational teaching by a University may be brought about. In the first place the University, leaving the teaching to other bodies, may be content to act as examiner "in certain non-contentious theological subjects" (p. 18). This was the plan first followed in the University of London. A second possibility is to organise existing denominational colleges into a central school under the leadership of the University, the latter recognising the denominational teachers as its own and conducting the examinations, but doing no independent teaching. This step, first taken by Wales, has

been followed on a larger scale by London. The third possibility is the plan followed by Manchester. This is to add to the recognised teachers in denominational schools special lecturers and teachers appointed by the University, the whole being organised into a single faculty under the control of the University. To this solution of the problem, according to Professor Tout, Manchester was committed, from the fact that its very existence as an independent University "is due to its protest against the separation of examining from teaching, and the elevation of examination into the special function of a University." This being the case, it would have been against its principles to examine when it had not taught, and be content with instruction being given entirely in institutions over which it had but limited control. Hence the adoption of a plan in which theological teaching as well as examining is carried on "by University professors and lecturers appointed by and responsible to the University," and appointed "without tests or restrictions" as to their theological opinion, but "with sole reference to their scholarship and learning" (p. 19).

The shortness of the time during which the experiment has been tried, and the fact that "the system is hardly yet in working order" (p. 22), makes a critical estimate of the adequacy of the Manchester plan premature. Enough, however, has been done already to give those concerned in it much encouragement and to justify the hope that a substantial enlargement of the teaching force as well as increased financial endowments will soon prove necessary (p. 22). A special cause for congratulation has been "the loyal and ungrudging co-operation of the teachers of the theological colleges" (p. 22), whose aid has been enlisted, and without whose hearty support the realisation of the plan would have been impossible. All seem heartily to have accepted the academic standards which the university has established, the only restriction imposed upon the teachers being "that they should follow the rule laid down by John Owen that 'nothing will be introduced in the matter or mode of education in reference to any religious or theological subject which shall be reasonably offensive to the conscience of any student'" (p. 19).

The actual work of teaching is divided between the University and the recognised colleges in something like equal proportions. One group of subjects, including "Hellenistic Greek, Hebrew, Old and New Testament criticism, exegesis, ecclesiastical history, and the like," is taught both by the University and by the colleges. Here it was recognised "that many of these subjects were already expounded by teachers of eminence before the faculty came into existence, and that in some quarters it may still be thought wise to give the teaching offered a particular stamp which the University was not in a position to accept. Students can choose, therefore, between University teachers and recognised teachers at their discretion, provided that in the aggregate they put in a sufficient number of attendances at University lectures" (p. 21). One subject the University insists that all students shall take within its walls, namely, that of comparative religion. "It has been thought that nothing is more likely to open the mind of students than to be brought into living contact with teachers of religious beliefs, and with some of the great historical religions which divide with Christianity the allegiance of the world" (p. 21).

On one subject only the University has found it necessary to make an exception to its rule that teaching and examining shall go together, and that is "the subject called by us the History of Doctrine, which will correspond to the 'dogmatic' or 'systematic' theology of the confessional theological schools. Here it is recognised that grave diversion (*sic*) of opinion must exist, and that reduplication of teaching from different standards is therefore necessary to meet the wants of the students concerned. As we have recognised colleges belonging to the Church of England, the Baptists, the Independents, the Moravians, the Unitarians, the Primitive Methodists, and the Wesleyans, it is clear that such divergence will exist. The examinations in this subject, like all others conducted by the faculty, will be in scholarship and knowledge, not in opinion, but the examiners will also largely be the teachers assisted by competent external examiners" (p. 22).

The University offers to successful candidates the degree of B.D., but it is its hope to encourage mature students to pursue advanced studies along independent lines. For students of this class it is proposed to offer the degree of D.D., which, like the other doctorates given by the University, will always, it is hoped, "be awarded only on the results of serious original work" (p. 26).

Passing from the occasion of the book to its contents, we find that most of the more important branches of theological instruction are represented. In general, the critical and historical departments predominate over the philosophical, the latter being represented only by the tenth and the eleventh lectures. Of these, the former by Principal Lockett of Ordsall Hall, deals with the Growth of Creeds, the latter by Dr Mackintosh, of the Lancashire Independent College, with Evolution and the Doctrine of Sin.

Of the other lectures the first three are by members of the University faculty. The first, by Prof. Tout, on the study of Ecclesiastical History in its relation to the faculties of art and theology in the University of Manchester, gives a programme of the work mapped out by the newly constituted faculty. The second by Prof. Peake, the editor of the volume, is on the present movement of Biblical Science, and is a general review of the present state of opinion both in the Old and in the New Testament departments. The third, by Prof. Hogg, on recent Assyriology, discusses the work done in this important branch of research with special reference to its bearing on the history of Israel.

The remaining lectures illustrate the wide range of denominational connection represented in the faculty. Dr Marshall, Principal of the Manchester Baptist College, discusses Jewish religious beliefs in the time of Christ. Principal Hassé, of the Moravian College, writes on the Apocalyptic schools of Judaism in biblical times. Dr Moulton, of the Didsbury Wesleyan College, has for his subject the Greek language in the service of Christianity. Dr Gordon, of the Unitarian Home Missionary College,

pleads for the use of the biographical method in theology. Dr Adeney, of the Lancashire Independent College, writes of Ancient Schools of Theology, and Canon Hicks of Christian Art in its relation to Christian History. Of the lectures of Principal Lockett and Dr Mackintosh we have already spoken. A final lecture by Prof. Rhys Davids treats of the Wisdom of the East and how it came to the West.

Taking the essays as a whole one is struck by their popular character. In most cases the treatment is so brief that it is impossible for the several speakers to go into great detail, but the effort in each case is to give in simple and intelligible language a brief survey of the more important questions in the department under discussion. The audience which the speakers have in mind is primarily a lay audience, as indeed is distinctly recognised by Professor Adeney. In his lecture he says (p. 205), "I cannot but think that it will be a misfortune if the theological department which has just been established in our University is regarded as designed only for professional training. If few laymen can afford time to take the full B.D. curriculum, surely there must be many persons in this great city, who, though not contemplating entrance into the ministry, could attend some part of the course with profit."

Yet, while having regard to "practical needs and social problems," those who have planned the Manchester school recognise that the methods of modern theology must be strictly scientific, and hope for a day when the churches will recognise "that a powerful ministry must be, if not exactly what we may venture to call a learned ministry, still a ministry trained in a scholarship which does not shrink from the test of ordeals as rigorous as those by which candidates for the professions of law, or medicine and of science, are tried" (p. 218).

As an attempt to use scientific method in the popular treatment of a theological theme, Professor Adeney's own essay on Ancient Schools of Theology is to be commended. The salient points in the history of early Christian education are interestingly presented, and their relation

to our modern educational problems lucidly pointed out. Similar praise may be given to the essay of Principal Hassé, on the Apocalyptic Schools of Judaism, in which a particularly intricate subject is treated with unusual interest and lucidity.

As a member of an institution in which for almost seventy years students of many different denominations have pursued the study of scientific theology side by side, and which has recently by the unanimous act of its board, abolished all theological tests for its instructors, the reviewer extends his heartiest greetings to the new faculty of theology in the work upon which they have entered. In this day when denominational bonds are weakening and the authority of dogmatic teaching in the older sense is being called in question by increasing numbers of thoughtful people, the future of religion for many earnest people would seem largely dependent upon the possibility of successfully conducting such experiments as that which Manchester has undertaken. Underlying all the special questions which agitate the theological world of to-day is the fundamental question whether religion is so grounded in the nature of man that when it is studied in the same earnest and fair-minded way as other subjects of human concern, it is possible to reach conclusions concerning it as definite and trustworthy as those which obtain in other realms of life. If this be not the case, then we shall expect to see men of scientific mind in increasing numbers turning away from the religious life. But, if it be true, as the writer earnestly believes, that religion is as integrally a part of man's life as science and art, then out of such fellowship as schools like Manchester will promote, there is bound to grow a deeper understanding and sympathy which will bear practical fruits in the removal of misunderstanding among Christians and the promotion of the Kingdom of God among men. The day of polemic theology has gone; the day for irenic theology is still to come. Is it too much to hope that when men have learned by practical experience in the other theological disciplines how much can be accomplished through co-operation and sympathy in the pursuit of truth, the time

will come when the exception which the Manchester faculty still feels constrained to make to its rule of undenominational teaching will be removed, and it may prove possible to introduce a University course of doctrinal theology which shall embody the fundamental truths in which all earnest Christians feel themselves at one ?

New York.

WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN.

DIE RELIGION FRIEDRICH SCHLEGELS. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Romantik, von Dr Walther Glawe. Berlin: Trowitzsch und Sohn (Edinburgh: Otto Schulze & Co.), 1906. Pp. viii., 111. 3 M.

DR GLAWE'S book is written in the true Teutonic spirit. He has read everything that helps to throw light on Schlegel and his times, and in tracing his religious views he has studied all his writings and even his letters. No point is missed ; and the vast mass of materials is skilfully epitomised in an introduction, and three chapters giving the distinct periods in Schlegel's religious development.

The introduction shows Schlegel's relation to the culture and movements of his generation. He had won a distinguished place in literature and as a critic. He was the leader of the Romantic School, who gave fullest expression to the good and the bad tendencies in that interesting phase of thought. As a philosopher he never got beyond the dilettante stage. It was his ambition to reconcile the æsthetic and the philosophical elements in human nature ; but he had neither the creative energy nor the plodding perseverance to work out any coherent theory. For a time he oscillated between the objectivity of the Greeks and the inner light of the mystics. Then, he who began as the sworn enemy of obscurantism, found at length, "like a ship without rudder or mast or native flag, a sure haven in Roman Catholicism." His thought and utterances were bewildering and fragmentary ; his life itself was a fragment and a bewilderment. His philosophy was a conglomerate of antagonistic principles gleaned from Plato, Lessing, Kant,

Fichte, Goethe, Spinoza, Schleiermacher, Tieck, Novalis, and Jacob Böhme.

At first he identified religion with universal ethical and æsthetic culture. It is the "all quickening world-soul of culture"; "the centripetal and centrifugal force in the human spirit, and that which holds the two together." "God is the Idea of all ideas." In the second stage, he discarded this view and became a "mystic idealist." The Godhead is the concept of infinite unity and infinite fulness. In the Trinity the Spirit comes first. He is the Creator of all things, "the principle of perfection and transformation of all development and organisation." The Son is the Earth Spirit, who is "for humanity the redeeming Son, for the earth the quickening regulating *Erdegeist* in whom we breathe and live—the protective might against the hostility of the evil principle" (p. 48). The third person is the "Almighty Regent and Father of the world," "the King of light, the Father of spirits." Man is "a distinct stage in the infinite course of the development of the world." Immortality finds its explanation in "the freedom of the higher world," the emancipation from the world of sense. The last stage through which Schlegel's religious views passed is called "mystical positivism." It represents his attempt to bring his notions into harmony with the dogmas of the Roman Church, and need not be further characterised.

One is inclined to question the value of a work like this. That it is well done no person will care to deny. Dr Glawe writes with adequate knowledge, and often with little sympathy for the ill-balanced and unfortunate fugitive who fled from system to system and from Church to Church. As a chapter in psychology, or as a reference in biography, Schlegel's views about religion may deserve a place; but a whole book devoted to this sort of thing seems a little too much. It does a very doubtful service to the memory of the man who, whatever he was otherwise, won for himself an honourable name in the literary annals of his country. In the sphere of literature Schlegel's position is assured. In religion he is adrift on the wide ocean without chart or compass. He had no true conception as to what it meant.

He did not take life seriously ; he lived a lopsided and immoral existence, and never really gave himself or the Christian religion the slightest chance. To speak of the "religion" of a man like this savours quite as much of cant as speaking of the "faith" of R. L. Stevenson. We can honour to the full men of this type because of their splendid literary achievements, even as we can derive the sincerest pleasure from their beautiful and artistic creations. But as to their "religion," or "faith," or whatever it may be called, the less said the better. It is just possible, by association, to lower the very conception of the Christian name. J. Wolfgang von Goethe and Thomas Carlyle, in this respect, exercised a wise if pathetic reticence—a reticence that may allow one hope more than they ever allowed themselves to express.

ROBERT MUNRO.

Old Kilpatrick.

IS RELIGION UNDERMINED? *by Rev. C. L. Drawbridge, M.A. Crown 8vo. Pp. ix., 238. Longmans Green & Co. 3s. 6d. nett.*

THIS is a book without literary distinction, but an honest and useful book of its kind. Mr Drawbridge is an earnest defender of the orthodox Protestant faith, and has himself not the faintest doubt of the stability of any portion of it. He finds, however, that in these days very many have a strong impression that it is fatally undermined by criticism, science, and so on. His method of proving the groundlessness of this widespread conviction is a modest one. With painstaking industry he has gathered together, and classed under chapter headings—such as Prayer, Inspiration, Miracles—a formidable array of quotations from authors ancient and modern, from preachers and newspapers, from scientific men, from atheists and agnostics even, all tending to buttress the doctrines of religion. He might have served his purpose better by suppressing the more commonplace of those quotations. Still, he is writing not for scholars but for the ordinary reader, and he certainly possesses the art of stringing his pearls together with wonderful aptness.

Beyond this, his own contributions to the work are of very modest compass. Though not an advanced critic, he nevertheless treats his subject from a fairly broad point of view. The Bible and the Church are considered as being neither jointly nor severally the foundation of religion, but merely a part of its progressive manifestation. Behind them is the religious instinct testified to by all religions, and indestructible. In discussing the reality of Revelation and the Bible, he endeavours, and successfully, to point out that the results of modern criticism have proved far from destructive to religion. The weakest chapters of the book are those in which Mr Drawbridge deals with the dogmas of the Incarnation, the Person of Christ, the Resurrection, and Miracles. As with his quotations, so with his arguments, he favours variety and quantity rather than quality. Some of his own statements are such as to weaken his main positions, and might even suggest to some minds that religion could be undermined without much difficulty, as, *e.g.*, speaking of the Resurrection, he says: "The production of Christ's dead body would have killed Christianity." And speaking of miracles: "Set aside the miraculous Christ, and (1) the miracle of the changed lives of certain individual Christians remains unaccounted for; so too does (2) the existence and the achievements of the Christian Church; and also (3) the existence of the character of Christ as sketched in the Gospels." He is, however, rather vague about what the miraculous is, and uses the word at times as synonymous with mysterious or inexplicable. On the whole, this book is one that deserves commendation, as serving to bring into view the stable basis on which religion will always rest securely.

JAMES BALLINGAL.

Rhynd.

IN QUEST OF LIGHT, by *Goldwin Smith*. *New York*: The Macmillan Company, 1906. *Pp.* vi., 177. *4s. nett.*

THIS is a series of brief articles, letters, and comments on books, contributed in recent years, mainly to the *New York Sun*. They all bear on the modern problem of science

versus religion; but while the author makes a healthy protest against materialism, we cannot say that his quest yields us much real light. Professor Smith is a critic, not to say a pessimist, of old standing. He is before all else a rationalist, and in this general attitude we are in line with him. "Reason must rule." But Mr Smith's rationalism seems to us both timid and short-sighted. He takes a pleasure in balancing the pros and cons. But he lacks conviction. "I affirm nothing," he says. "All I pretend to do is to state the case and invite opinion."

Now it is easy and popular to act the iconoclast towards the dogmas of the Church. But these dogmas, however untenable as they stand, are not meaningless fables to be dismissed in a word. As has been well said, "People do not sacrifice their lives for empty words, nor do mere philosophical abstractions rule the destinies of continents."

Take the greatest of all the dogmas, the Incarnation. Mr Goldwin Smith says (p. 55): "It is a subject on which it may be painful to piety to dwell; but is it possible to follow in imagination the details of the Incarnation, with the relations of the two natures to each other, both here on earth and after the Ascension, without feeling the impossibility of conception, and therefore of belief?"

The author seems quite satisfied with himself after thus "stating the case," as he calls it. That is no more a full stating of the case than a formal denial of the familiar "sunrise" would be a stating of the case of the Copernican astronomy. "Sunrise," though literally discarded, represented a great reality. What is the reality behind "the" Incarnation? Does Mr Smith imagine that Christendom has all along been hugging a meaningless phantom? No great movement of human thought, such as Christianity represents, can be permanently out of line with a true and consistent philosophy. "The" Incarnation as hitherto defined by the Church may be, and we believe was, the only form under which the early thought of Christianity could lay hold of a far greater and more fundamental thought still, that of the divinity of our human nature. It was a bold, wise, far-seeing, though mainly unconscious symbol of a

thought which brings every man into vital contact and union with God. Jesus' own most intense consciousness of it was expressed in His memorable, "I and My Father are one." And as if to show that there was nothing exclusive or merely esoteric in the conception, He brought it home even to the Pharisees in His "Behold the kingdom of God is within you"! And Paul at least discerned what a world of rich thought the conception carried with it, and could make it the basis of an appeal to his sensual and unruly Corinthian converts: "Ye are the temple of the living God," "wherefore come out from among them"! This is the great thought which the Incarnation as a dogma has preserved for us—and that dogma, after serving its purpose, is being merged to-day in the deeper and richer thought which it guarded at its heart.

Mr Smith is all for "objective" truth. The mind he regards as only a tool for the discovery of objective truth. Did he never hear that the great majority and, after all, the more thoughtful and spiritually minded of our race in the past did not conceive God "objectively" at all, but found Him in the recesses of their own spirit? Is Mr Smith's passion for objective truth to rule out a great historical fact like this? And are all the mystics to be warned off because, forsooth, they have no passion for objective truth? If so, we shall have a poor world left. Nay, nay,

"The outward God he findeth not
Who finds not God within."

Mr Smith has a genuine faith in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, and for this his book is of value. But he lacks the insight to recognise the truth which explains the appearance of these conceptions in history, and absolutely spiritualises all evolution.

Greenock.

A. S. MORIES.

LE MORALISME DE KANT ET L'AMORALISME CONTEMPORAIN, by *Alfred Fouillée*. Paris : Félix Alcan. Pp. xxiii., 375. Fr. 7.50.

M. FOUILLÉE is profoundly impressed with the unsatisfactory condition of the moral science of the present day. It is the domain of confusion, of sophistries, of passionate prejudices, a *selva oscura* in which the traveller has somehow to determine the points of the compass before he can set forth on his way.

Amidst the confusion of doctrines there are discoverable two main tendencies, neither of them scientific in method, and both false in content. The first, typified in the ethical speculations of Kant, seeks to separate moral from natural experience, to make morality independent in an exclusive sense, a self-subsistent guarantor of its own principles, incapable either of defence or attack from the side either of positive science or of speculative philosophy, resting upon the unique and ultimate conception of duty. The second, tendency of the morals of the day, is towards a realistic Positivism. Its logical origin is found in Comte, even although he gave a great place to the "intelligence and the heart." But in its later phases the intelligence is robbed of its crown, and the heart of all its nobler sentiments. A *positive* science of morals and of society has emerged, which reduces man to such low terms that the possibility and necessity of morality are denied. Its place is taken by the worship of pleasure and of brute force. Nay, to Nietzsche, who is the prophet of the movement and does not recoil from its last consequences, morality as ordinarily understood is an obstacle to the development of man—"of the man that is yet to be, a humanity which shall be to the present as sunlight to moonlight and as wine unto water."

These doctrines Fouillée calls by the names of *Moralisme* and *Amoralisme*. Though directly opposed to one another, they spring from the same ultimate presupposition. They assume a fundamental antithesis between morality and nature. But the former "affirms the existence of a morality which is supernatural, while the latter, admitting nothing higher than nature, is logically compelled to deny morality

altogether. Such is the antinomy under which our time suffers. On the one side it is offered an Idealism which seems to contradict nature and science ; on the other, a Naturalism which excludes all ideal elements from experience and its world."

M. Fouillée aims at refuting both these theories in order to prepare the ground for establishing a doctrine of his own based upon the conception of *idées-forces*, which shall reconcile Naturalism and Idealism, by proving that ideals are active and realise themselves in what is taken by both these doctrines to be merely natural. He would bring the morality of Kant down from the transcendent region, find its principles operative in ordinary experience, link its facts to those of biology, sociology, and cosmology, and make it a fuller expression or extension of what is natural upon a higher level of being. On the other hand he would convict the Naturalists of treating the facts of experience in an abstract fashion, of mutilating them, and he would re-introduce the elements they ignore or deny. But the full exposition of his ethical views is not given in this book. He promises another work. Having cleared the ground of false doctrines, he will, so far as he may, present a moral theory which shall do justice to all the facts of experience in all their aspects, which shall rest on the great law of *idées-forces*, on the intrinsic synthesis of the real and ideal, and which shall be scientific and philosophic in method and character.

Apart from a general chapter in which ancient and Christian morality are characterised, and from an exposition and examination of Psychological Hedonism, this book consists almost entirely of a criticism of Kant and Nietzsche.

M. Fouillée is more in sympathy with the former than with the latter. His analysis of him is more thorough, more scientific, more dispassionate. In dealing with Nietzsche he has allowed his hand to be coloured by the dye in which he works, and met contempt with contumely. If Nietzsche calls "la morale la Circé des philosophes," Fouillée replies that it is "immoralisme qui nous changerait en pourceaux ou en tigres." In this respect we are reminded by contrast of Wallace's notable criticism of Nietzsche.

Professor Wallace, no less than Fouillée, could convict Nietzsche of extravagance, of natural perversity of offending against the canons of good taste, of breaking the tablets of all the duties. But by a stretch of sympathy which is also insight, Wallace could add that Nietzsche "had the look of one who pitied men"; that if Nietzsche recognised no duties that are traditional, would ignore the past, and treat the present as decadent, he "had still upon him the unwritten law of duty to the Man that is to be; that from the depth of Nietzsche's pessimism—from the horror in which he shrinks at the ghastly idea of 'the ring of existence,' 'the eternal recurrence,' there emerges the final utterance of the world-affirming, life-ascending will." Where Fouillée sees in his theory nothing but the extravagant egoism of the brute, Wallace finds that "by an inverted path Nietzsche would have arrived at the old Greek dogma of man's essential divinity."

The same defect of not taking his authors at their best appears, though in a more modified form, in M. Fouillée's criticism of Kant. He accentuates the errors rather than the truth of the Kantian doctrine; appraises it by its lower rather than by its higher water-mark; attaches little significance to the efforts of Kant, however inconsistent with the presupposition from which he sets forth, to moderate the antagonism of nature and spirit. In this respect M. Fouillée's work stands in sharp contrast with Edward Caird's. Its exposure of the dogmatic and transcendent elements in Kant's theory, which is very powerful, makes it evident that, however necessary it may still be to go back to Kant, we must go forward from Kant. But M. Fouillée discovers no suggestion in Kant's own principles of the direction which that forward movement must take, nor is the rise of Idealism amongst Kant's successors made in the least intelligible. This is a grave injustice to a writer whose greatest merit perhaps was that he restated the problem of philosophy and introduced a new way of seeking its solution.

M. Fouillée, like many other philosophical critics, needs the rubble of the edifices he pulls down in order to erect his own, and he is not at once generous towards the truth and merciless towards the errors of the systems he examines.

He has hardly recognised the existence, either in Kant or his successors, of efforts whose aim is, like his own, to break down the antithesis of the spiritual and natural. His despair of his times comes in part at least from not knowing that there are others in Israel who have not bowed their knees to Baal.

These are cardinal defects in M. Fouillée's work ; but they are altogether outweighed by its merits. The criticism of Kant is peculiarly fresh and forcible. The author has an unerring sense for vital issues, and shows a most interesting fecundity of arguments and skill in concentrating them upon the one supreme defect of the Kantian ethics, namely, what he calls its supernaturalism. Can the categories be applied to the objects of pure practical reason ? Can we be free in the world of noumena and subject to necessity in the world of phenomena ? Is there in truth a pure reason which of itself can become practical ? These are the main questions to which he addresses himself. He concludes that the noumenal causality of Kant can neither be established by examples nor proved by induction or deduction ; it is not a fact of experience nor of reason ; it is conceivable neither as a possible nor as a given law ; it is not capable of producing objects, for it is neither an object nor objective itself. The whole speculation is "supra-empiric." Its very imperatives are in the last resort not categorical. "Act *as if* thy pure reason had in itself objective value ; *as if* the form of the universal were not a mere method of reducing to order the thoughts and actions of men." The transition from the bare possibility of the principles of morality, from the ideas which reason can think to the knowledge of their objects as actual, is not made. The whole doctrine strictly taken circles in the empty empyrean of the transcendent. Morality is not established. "Thou oughtest," the conception of "duty," implies a distinction between actual and ideal, but the distinction for Kant turns into an irreconcilable antithesis of nature and spirit. "On Kant's system the imperative is in all respects—from the point of view of the object, from the point of view of the subject, from the point of view of their relation—theoretically impossible and practically useless."

Students of Kant cannot ignore the arguments by which M. Fouillée reaches these conclusions. As a complement to more constructive expositions of Kant, such as Mr Caird's, the value of the work of M. Fouillée can hardly be over-estimated.

If Nietzsche had no qualities of mind, or his doctrine no content except those which are attributed to him by M. Fouillée, criticism of him would hardly be necessary. And we can understand how, so far as Nietzsche himself is concerned, M. Fouillée would have ignored him. It is not possible to deny the validity of the objections urged against the weaknesses of Nietzsche's method and doctrine; they are made obvious. But neither is it possible not to deplore the absence of all effort on the part of M. Fouillée to do justice to such truths as Nietzsche perverts and exaggerates.

I must not close without paying tribute in a word to the clearness, the force, the skilful arrangement of M. Fouillée's whole exposition, and to the high order of its literary qualities.

Glasgow.

HENRY JONES.

IMPORTANT ARTICLES IN MAGAZINES

ANALECTA BOLLANDIANA. *Tomus. xxv. Fasc. ii.*
April 1906.

THE first place in this number is given to an article on "La Légende de Saïdnaia," the story of a miraculous Madonna preserved in a village church near Damascus. The picture, which is painted on wood, is said to have been brought originally from Constantinople to Jerusalem by a certain patriarch, and in the year 870 to have been given by him to an abbess of Saïdnaia, who had visited Jerusalem and wished to take some sacred relic back with her. Many years afterwards it was found that the picture had become incarnate, and a holy oil exuded from it, which was efficacious in the cure of disease. Such is the account of Burchard, *vidame* of Strasburg, who went on an embassy to the court

of Saladin in the year 1175. There are other accounts of this miraculous image, which on examination resolve themselves into two stories, differing on important points. Of real evidence there seems to be a minimum: the literary history of the miracle-working picture seems to be a mass of plagiarism. A traveller who saw the picture in 1333 failed to find more than the slightest trace of colour on the black and damp board; of miraculous appearance or powers there was even less evidence; and the story of its incarnation and healing properties has now been superseded by the theory that it is but a copy of the original, or by the statement that it is one of the Madonnas painted by St Luke. This is as probable as the older legend, and as capable of verification. This sweeping of one of the byways of ecclesiastical history is perhaps scarcely worthy the ability which the writer of the article displays, though it is a work which, if done nearer home and on a larger scale, would merit a large measure of appreciation.

An article on the identity of St Silvanus, a name occurring both in mythology and martyrology, seeks to free some of the less-known bearers of the name from the suspicion of being Christianised forms of the pagan deity who presided over woods and forests. The combination of Silvanus and Silvestris, two saints who are honoured on the same day at Levroux, is certainly suggestive of an autumnal fête whose origin is not entirely Christian; and more than one saint in the calendar probably owes his existence to a pious imagination working on material derived from non-Christian and even non-religious sources.

"The Testament of S. Willibrord" is an examination of the authenticity of this document, contained in the *Liber aureus* of Echternach, preserved in the Gotha Library. Although the question is left undecided, the article is an interesting study in historical inquiry. The notices of new books are, as usual, remarkable for their number and ability, and the list of codices of sacred writings in Roman libraries outside the Vatican is continued.

S. J. R. S.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY.*Vol. xxvi. 2.**Ecclesiastes, by Paul Haupt.*

THIS article has a short introduction, an English metrical rendering, and some notes in support of innovations. The Hebrew text is published elsewhere. The introduction reminds us that Renan spoke of Ecclesiastes as the only charming book that was ever written by a Jew, that Heine called it the Canticles of Skepticism, and that Schopenhauer considered that no one can fully appreciate Ecclesiastes until he is seventy. Dr Haupt believes Ecclesiastes was a physician, else he could not have described the symptoms of senile decay so accurately as he does at the end of the book; further, the Preacher was a Sadducee, for he doubts the immortality of the soul, and an Epicurean, for the Stoic sentences are Pharisaic interpolations. He was born in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, and finished his book about 100 B.C. Granting the axiom that "the probably right is preferable to the undoubtedly wrong," it is a matter of nice calculation to which category we should assign Dr Haupt's interpretation of the book. Certain it is that had Ecclesiastes appeared in these English stanzas, his work would never have lived to require a commentator.

D. M. K.

THE EXPOSITOR. *June.*

MR THEODORE H. ROBINSON, B.D., Birmingham, in the opening paper of the number, adduces evidence that the Muratorian Canon is to be ascribed to Hippolytus as its author. To this conclusion he has been led by the discovery of a new MS. of Bar Şalibi's Commentary on the Apocalypse, now in the collection of Mr Rendel Harris. In his exposition as to the seven churches in Asia to which John writes, Bar Şalibi here quotes Hippolytus; and the words following, while identical with, are not so like those of the Muratorian Canon about these churches, that they must almost necessarily be regarded as a quotation from that document. The Syrian father also tells us that Hippolytus judged the Epistle to the

Hebrews to be perhaps Clement's, which would account for the absence of that epistle from the Canon. Mr Robinson goes on to argue that the work of Hippolytus, of which the Canon was a part, was the "Chapters against Gaius," and that this work is identical with his *Apology for the Apocalypse and Gospel of John*. Gaius was supposed by Muratori to be the author of the fragment; but Lightfoot supposed Gaius to be a mere lay figure, as many of the works formerly ascribed to him could be shown to be by Hippolytus. Mr Robinson thus claims, in what, however, is merely a preliminary discussion of the subject, pending his publication of Bar Şalibi's Commentary on the Apocalypse, that Gaius really existed, and that Hippolytus wrote against him, defending the Johannine authorship of the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel, which Gaius denied. The discovery thus announced is one of great importance.

A. M.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR DIE NEUTESTAMENT- LICHE WISSENSCHAFT, vii 2.

PROFESSOR V. BARTLET, in a paper written in English, submits to the judgment of experts in Europe the conclusions to which he has been led as to the origin and date of Second Clement, the homily which Harnack places between the years 166 and 174, and ascribes to the Roman Bishop Soter. Our countryman places it about 130, and finds that it belongs to Alexandria. The proofs are that the Gospel according to the Egyptians is used in the homily, that its doctrine is of the Eastern Platonic rather than the practical Western type, that it has strong affinities with Barnabas and with the Didaché, and that it was used by, not the user of, the work of Hermas. It is supposed that the mistake which made of the homily an epistle and attached it to St Clement took place at Alexandria very soon after it was written.

In the *Miszellen* Wellhausen has a note on the words ἀπρὸς ἰκλασιν of Matt. xiv. 22, which he holds exclude the supposition that what was eaten was ἄζυμα, unleavened bread, and

proves that the meal cannot have been the Passover. (In the phrase *ἄρον φαγὼν*, Mark vii. 2, etc., one might point out, *ἄρον* is quite undistinctive, and may stand for any kind of meal). In Abyssinia we are told the rite is kept with unleavened bread.

Nestle has an interesting note on *καμηλος* = ship's cable, of which evidence is brought from various quarters, Syriac, Greek, and Armenian.

A. M.

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(c) **Der Wortschatz des Apostels Paulus. Beitrag zur sprachgeschichtlichen Erforschung des Neuen Testaments**, by Theodor Nägeli. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck u. Ruprecht, 1905. Pp. 100. M. 2.80.

(a) Of the various editions of the Pauline letters noted above, the most outstanding are Jülicher's commentary on Romans and Wohlenberg's on the Pastoral epistles. Jülicher's work, which is terse, suggestive, and scholarly, resembles Dr Denney's crisp edition (*Expositor's Greek Testament*, vol. ii.) in almost everything except theological

outlook.¹ Bousset's work on Galatians and Corinthians has the same readable qualities which the editor has succeeded in gaining from his other contributors; he inclines, in the vexed problem of the relations between Paul and Corinth, to put Paul's second visit between 1 Corinthians and 2 Corinthians, but refuses, like Jülicher and unlike von Soden (pp. 50 f.), to put 2 Cor. x.-xiii. prior to 2 Cor. i.-ix., or even to admit that 2 Cor. vi. 14-vii. 1 is an interpolation. Lueken's contributions are more flexible to recent critical movements; for, while accepting on the whole the authenticity of 2 Thessalonians, which von Soden regards as sub-Pauline (pp. 324 f.), he takes Ephesians as sub-Pauline, placing Colossians, Philemon, and Philippians in the Roman imprisonment (so Vischer). His running notes are generally models of lucid exposition, but neither his nor P. Ewald's edition can, of course, supersede Erich Haupt's in the Meyer commentary, which still remains unrivalled. In Zahn's series, which has no New Testament text printed, the notes are too much of the paragraph order to admit of ready reference, and they lack the vitality of the *Schriften* series; but apart from these minor defects the volumes are well executed, Bachmann's being specially good upon the internal questions of the Corinthian Church. P. Ewald follows the usual view of Ephesians as a circular letter, though possibly (pp. 20 f.) prior to Colossians; while Wohlenberg, who has already edited the Thessalonian epistles in the series, defends, of course, the authenticity of the Pastorals (pp. 14-66). His statement is rather better than that of B. Weiss in Meyer's series, though as unconvincing. He puts Paul's martyrdom in 67 A.D., and the Pastorals in the four preceding years during which the apostle was at liberty. An appendix (pp. 339-55) contains a reprint of the spurious Pauline epistle to Laodicea, and of Paul's forged correspondence with Corinth and with Seneca. The editor's own work on Galatians is mainly notable for its uncompromising advocacy of the South Galatian hypothesis;

¹ Lietzmann's small edition goes into more linguistic detail, partly on the lines of Sanday and Headlam, but is less satisfactory as an exposition of the apostle's thought.

epistles approximates to that by Zahn,¹ whereas von Soden's pages on the Pauline letters, in his *Urchristliche Litteratur* (cf. this Review, vol. i. p. 4 sqq.), of which an English version has just appeared, resemble Holtzmann's.

More important from a critical point of view, yet perhaps even more remarkable than important in the long run, is Dr Daniel Völter's elaborate attempt to mediate between the Holland School and ordinary scholarship by means of a criticism which seeks, mainly on the curious ground that any break or digression is suspicious, to distinguish the genuine nucleus of Paul's epistles from the interpolations which gathered like a moss over them in the second century. The author is no tyro at this work; but his present volume offers a series of fresh analytic observations upon the Corinthian (pp. 1-134), Roman (135-228), Galatian (229-285), and Philippian (286-323) epistles, which to some extent supersede his earlier essays. Galatians alone is pronounced a literary unity; yet, none the less, is it relegated to the opening years of the second century, as in Dr Völter's *Die Komposition der paul. Briefe*, i. (1890), owing to its literary dependence on the Roman and Corinthian epistles and the Book of Acts. This is quite the weakest section in the whole essay; it is nearly as bad as van Manen's literary criticism of Philippians. It does not dispose one to place much confidence in the literary judgment of a critic, that he cannot see the vivid reality and authenticity of a document like Galatians, and though Professor Bradley's words about the "literary lunacies" of Shaksperian criticism may sound harsh, they inevitably recur to one's mind in perusing these laboured pages on an early Christian classic. Besides, from a literary standpoint, the critic who finds part at least of Philippians genuine should go further. In the canonical 1 Corinthians, Dr Völter detects an original epistle (i. 1-ii. 5; iii. 1-9; iii. 16-iv. 16; iv. 18-v. 2; v. 6-13; vii. 1-6, 8-24; viii. 1-5a, 6a, 7-13; ix. 1-12, 19-20a, 22; x. 23-xi. 1; xi. 17-22; xi. 29-

¹ In the *Expositor* (1906, 236-45), Professor Lake modifies Zahn's view of Gal. ii. 3-4 by the interesting suggestion that Titus was really circumcised, ver. 4 going with ver. 3, and the negative being (as in D) a later interpolation.

xii. 12; xii. 14-31; xiv. 2-33a; xiv. 37-xv. 6; xv. 8-22, 29-31, 32b-44, 46-50, 53-55; xv. 57-xvi. 24); in 2 Corinthians, x.-xiii. are rightly taken as the Intermediate Letter (pp. 95 f.), while i.-ix. escape with the comparatively slight loss of i. 21-22; ii. 16b-iv. 6; iv. 16-v. 11; v. 16; vi. 14-vii. 1; and viii. 9. The original epistle to the Romans is found in Rom. i. 1, 5b-17; v. 1-12, 15-19, 21; vi. 1-13, 16-23; xii.-xiii.; xv.¹ 23b-33; and xvi. 21-24; whilst Philippians (pp. 310 f.) is stripped of un-Pauline accretions in the *ὁν ἐκ. κ. διακόνους* of i. 1, the whole of i. 8-11, 21-24, 27-30; ii. 1-16, 19-24; iii. 1-iv. 9; and iv. 22, 23, besides the words *καὶ ἐπιχορηγίας . . . χριστοῦ* (i. 19) and *εἴτε διὰ ζωῆς εἴτε διὰ θανάτου* (i. 20). In taking Rom. xvi. 1-16, 20b as a letter of commendation to Phœbe, which has got inserted in the canonical epistle, in his dissection of Philippians, and in his view of 2 Cor. x.-xiii., Völter commands wide support. No one is entitled to reject the interpolation-theory outright, and within due limits it is worth discussion. But, in the further analysis of the epistles, there is an awkward absence of literary criteria to justify Völter's procedure. As a matter of fact, he is driven to lay stress rather on the supposed theological incongruities of the various sections; yet this again leads to quite an arbitrary view of what Paul could or would have written, as when, like Dr Köhler in the *Jewish Encyclopædia*, he rejects 1 Cor. xiii. It is impossible here to enter into the details of any of the special applications of Völter's theory; the same principles would play havoc with most ancient documents; and the more one works it out the more one feels it is masterful rather than masterly. Its materials deserve to be used rather than adopted. There is too much *a priori* reasoning to suit the purposes of delicate historical research and literary reconstruction.

(δ) At one part (pp. 45 f.) Völter explains that 1 Cor. xi. 23-28 with x. 16, 17 represent a view of the Lord's supper which, like the similar synoptic tradition, implies a

¹ Note the correction of the analysis in an appendix to his monograph on 1 Peter (pp. 57, 58), which Wernle (*Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1906, 325) has evidently overlooked.

transformation of the original event. The supper, Völter argues from 1 Cor. xi. 17, 22, 29 f., was not a paschal feast at all. The Fourth gospel is therefore correct in putting the death of Jesus on the 14th Nisan (*cf.* 1 Cor. v. 7), and the Lord's supper was simply a meal eaten on the 13th Nisan, Christ being really the paschal Lamb by His crucifixion. This opens out a prolific field of conjecture as to the relations of the Pauline epistles to the synoptic record, upon which Dr Resch has written a fresh large treatise. He solves the problem by the application of his well-known hypothesis that an original Hebrew document (= *logia*) underlies the Gospels, and that this was known to and used by Paul. So far as this theory, stated in Resch's earlier volumes, bears on the synoptic problem, its reception has not been encouraging, and the very statement of it at length, in its bearings on the Pauline Epistles, only serves to betray several of its inherent weaknesses. From the standpoint of literary criticism, it may fairly be objected to Resch that he allows far too little for the possibility of Paul saying certain things and thinking certain thoughts without any direct reminiscence of Jesus. His method is ultra-literary.¹ Then, tested by a severe criterion, his parallels crumble away into an extremely small handful. Thus no weight can possibly attach to fanciful parallels like 1 Thess. i. 4 and Matt. xx. 16, (*ὁ λόγος δι' ἐκλεκτοί*), or to 1 Cor. vi. 20b and Matt. v. 16 (*καὶ δοξάσωσι τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἐν οὐρανοῖς*), or to Gal. iii. 24 and Matt. v. 17 (*οὐκ ἦλθον καταλῦσαι τὸν νόμον ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι*). Yet pp. 1-140 are swollen with verbal coincidences of this kind. Could Paul not write *οἱ δοκοῦντες στυλοὶ εἶναι* without an allusion to the *οἱ δοκοῦντες ἄρχιν* of Mark x. 42? And are we to suppose that the root of *εἰς γὰρ θεός* (1 Tim. ii. 5) cannot have been anything but Mark xii. 29, *κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν κύριος εἰς ἓστιν*? Surely, when one recollects how frequent and obvious the phrase must have been in religious circles, it is hazardous, to say the least of it, to argue from 1 Thess. v. 3 and i. 10,

¹ Contrast the saner attitude of M. A. Arnal in his paper on Jesus and Paul in the *Revue de Théologie et de Questions religieuses* (1905), pp. 457-68. For the whole subject see pp. 179 f. of Dr Knowling's *The Testimony of St Paul to Christ* (1905), already noticed in these columns (vol. i. pp. 698).

with the warning on escaping the wrath to come, that Paul was here drawing on John the Baptist's preaching (pp. 156 f.), or to detect a saying of Jesus (Justin, *Dial.* 35, *οὐ γάρ . . . ἴσονται σχίσματα καὶ αἵρέσεις*) in Gal. v. 19, 20 (*τὰ ἔργα τῆς σαρκὸς . . . διχόστασιαι, αἵρέσεις*).

But while Resch's main thesis does not appear to be tenable,¹ his laborious investigations yield fruit in two directions. Often he presents evidence which points to an underlying problem in synoptic criticism, as in the paragraphs upon Mark xvi. 9-20 (pp. 395-98), where he repeats his well-known argument that these verses form not simply a conclusion to the unfinished Mark, but an epilogue to the evangelic canon; or upon Matt. xvi. 18 (pp. 398 f.), which, he avers, is a genuine *logion*, in strict accord with Pauline passages, such as 1 Cor. iii. 11; Eph. ii. 20, and so forth. Furthermore, the scattered paragraphs on general Pauline criticism contain more than once suggestions of real value, as, e.g., in his proof of the priority of Galatians to Romans (pp. 476 f.), and his remarks on the Wisdom of Solomon as a subordinate source of Paulinism (pp. 606-609)—which, by the way, compare very favourably with Völter's pages on the same topic (pp. 206 f.). If literary evidence can be advanced from Romans² to indicate such a use of the older writing, it is surely as likely that Paul should have employed it as that a subsequent interpreter should have embroidered an earlier epistle therewith in the interests of a (supposed) higher Christology and profounder view of Israel and humanity. Less convincing is the proof (pp. 619 f.), summarised from his *Kindheitsevangelium* (pp. 264-76), that Paul knew the tradition of the Virgin-birth, because he never mentions the father of Jesus, and because his Christology is "congenial to the birth-narratives of Matthew and Luke." Nothing fresh is added (pp. 623 f.) to the proofs already

¹ Compare the unfavourable reviews by Professor Kirsopp Lake (*American Journal of Theology*, 1906, 104-11) and Jülicher (*Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1906, 42-45).

² In *The Historic Christ* (1905) Mr T. A. Lacey opines that Paul's Alexandrian ideas, such as they were, were clarified by intercourse with Apollos (pp. 43 f.), but it seems quite hazardous to find in *τὸ ῥῆμα τῆς πίστεως* (Rom. x. 9) a mystical personification of the Logos-Christ (comparing Philo, *Alleg.* ii. 93, where *ῥῆμα* is defined as *μέρος τοῦ λόγου*).

urged by the author elsewhere that Hebrew, not Aramaic, was the language of the primitive records.

Professor Ropes too (*The Apostolic Age*, Scribners, 1906, pp. 99-168) is alive to the distinction between the warp of inherited idea and the Christian woof in Paul's conception of Christianity; but, unlike Resch (whom he formerly criticised so ably), he prefers to believe that the apostle's ideas did not come to him through poring over the tradition of Jesus. "Paul's thought is not a continuous development from the thought of Jesus, but is in a measure a fresh start, yet so controlled by the supreme expression of Jesus' nature, not in words but in his life and death, that it is fully dependent upon Jesus and in fundamental harmony with him" (pp. 139, 140). The new angle represented by Paulinism is rightly connected with contemporary Jewish Christianity, and the sense of this is a good and timely feature of the writer's treatment. Otherwise his discussion of Paul's teaching presents no very fresh aspect.

The same may be said of Mr Neil's serviceable volume, which is a popular analysis (with brief notes) of the Epistles, designed mainly for the use of preachers, it would appear; while Bishop Lightfoot's small book consists of the analytic paraphrases of Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon, printed together for the sake of convenience, and for the benefit of those who do not possess the author's commentaries. Mr Chadwick has put together some interesting pages to prove that Paul's social teaching approximates very closely to "those principles of social welfare which modern students of sociology, working by the inductive method, have, as they believe, discovered." The author has gone generally to good authorities, though, like many in this country still, he does not seem to realise the suggestiveness of Dr Arthur Titius' volumes for the interpretation of the New Testament upon any such topics. Dr Kühl's study of 1 Corinthians is a small popular exposition, resembling those printed in the biographies of Paul by Farrar, and Conybeare and Howson.

While these minor monographs break no new ground, a very different verdict must be passed on the works of Sokolowski and Wrede.

Sokolowski's monograph, for thoroughness and insight, may be pronounced one of the most important contributions of recent years to the inner criticism of Paul's thought. Primarily it is an exegetical study, conducted with a care and a minuteness which often render it difficult to see the wood for the trees. The main conclusions, however, stand out ultimately with sufficient clearness. Like Prof. Mathews, Sokolowski emphasises *life* as a central feature of Paul's teaching, in the specific sense of life eternal. Present or future it is one, a unity for the human experience through the Spirit—that πνεῦμα ζωοποιούν acting on the human consciousness. It is this correlation of life and the Spirit which forms the problem of Sokolowski's pages, and his verdict on its genesis is that Paul's advance beyond both Jewish and Greek ideas consisted in nothing less than his blending of present and future in a unity of experience mediated through the Spirit. Like Kattenbusch (*Apost. Symbol.*, ii. p. 671, note 307) Sokolowski properly makes δύναμις the *punctum saliens* of the conception of the Spirit in Paul (*cf.* Justin, *Dial.* 116), though Paul dwells less on the Spirit as the power by which the triumph of the kingdom is achieved, than on the companion thought of the Spirit as the divine activity within man. The sphere of this power in the risen life includes freedom from the present evil world, and also "justification" (pp. 14 f.), and Sokolowski's solution of the nexus between the forensic and the ethical sides is that faith, the faith which is produced by the Spirit, affirms and grasps the meaning of Christ's death, producing thereby (a) freedom from guilt, and (b) an ethical impulse to put away sin.¹ This combination of ideas is the result, however, of the Apostle's personal experience, not of any academic or scholastic system (pp. 223 f.). The originality of the apostle, in his ethical conception of the Spirit (pp. 176 f.) and in his correlation of the Spirit and the resurrection (201 f.), is defended, as well as against exaggerated attempts to refer his ideas to Hellenistic Judaism, and these paragraphs are among the best in the

¹ On this connection of justification with the Spirit, the instructive pages of Titius (*der Paulinismus unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Seligkeit*, pp. 172 f., 218 f., 263 f.) should be compared.

book. The inevitable sections on *σάρξ* and *νοῦς* (pp. 115 f., 236 f.) betray an over-precision in defining what Paul must have conceived, not as a psychologist but as a practical religious thinker, while on some points, *e.g.* the question of baptism, I doubt if adequate allowance is made for its symbolic aspect. The relations of the apostle to the popular primitive Christianity of his day would bear closer investigation also than Sokolowski has accorded them. But, these and some other points apart, his study is a rich and sound contribution to the study of the Pauline epistles, broader than its title would suggest, and constantly repaying the reader for the somewhat arduous attention which it demands from him.

Sokolowski's emphasis on Paul's experience of the risen Jesus on the road to Damascus (pp. 225 f.) stands in sharp contrast to Wrede's ingenious attempt, in a brief essay written with distinction and verve, to explain the Pauline Christology as the result less of personal experience than of inherited conception and traditional beliefs (pp. 47 f.). Paul's religion, Wrede contends, was thoroughly theological; his theology was his religion. Its centre was the work of Christ as redeemer, and this is described and discussed with great vigour. The main fault of Wrede's method of argument is that he is too fond of sharp antitheses and unguarded epigrams. Thus, on pp. 66, 67, he flatly denies that Paul ever recognised salvation as existing in the subjective experiences of peace and joy, and holds that "faith is simply the obedient acceptance of, and the assent to, the preaching of redemption"—two statements which, when properly qualified, are on the right lines, but as above presented are erroneous. The doctrine of justification is pronounced simply to be due to the exigencies of Paul's polemic with Judaism (p. 72), whilst the theology of the epistles proper is said to have been his, in many of its distinctive features, before he became a Christian at all. This emphasis on the Jewish inheritance of the apostle is timely. But again Wrede overstates his case, as, *e.g.*, when he remarks that "Paul's conception of Christ did not spring out of the impression made upon him by the person of Jesus" (p. 84). This is to make a point,

but not to state an argument historically, for, whatever were the messianic views of the Christ inherited by Paul from Judaism, they were at least so rearranged and dominated by the new experience of Jesus as the Christ that, for all practical purposes, they may be said to have been transformed. The old and the new made a fresh product, which was something more than the mere addition of the one to the other. And even when this is granted, one must probably go back to check Wrede's tendency to assume that most, if not all, of the christological features in the Pauline Christ can be discovered within the current apocalyptic views of Judaism.

This position of Wrede's had been substantially reached already by M. Brückner in his monograph on *Die Entstehung der paulin. Christologie* (1903), but the latter critic, dissatisfied alike with Wrede's views on Paul and Jesus and with Vischer's review of his book (in an important survey of the literature on Jesus and Paul, *Theol. Rundschau*, May and June 1905), elaborates one or two points in the *Zeitschrift für Neutest. Wissenschaft* (1906, pp. 112-19), contending that the apostle laid no great stress on the ethical commands of Jesus, and that the earthly personality of the latter made no vivid impression on Paul's mind. The arguments are barely conclusive, however. 1 Cor. ix. 14 has to be explained away by a reference to the consciousness of the early church (so Hertlein in *Prot. Monatshefte*, 1904, 265 f.), and undue weight is attached to the discrepancy between 1 Cor. ii. 8 and the Marcan account of the demons recognising Jesus.¹ Brückner refuses to accept the number twelve in the apostolate as historical, and, like Wrede, declares that it required merely the Pauline conception of the Christ, not any impression of the historical Jesus, to attribute such ethical conceptions to him as those of Rom. xv. 3, etc. The Pauline epistles, he concludes, show no trace of any influence exerted by the spiritual personality of Jesus on the apostle's Christology. When Paul and Jesus agree, the effect is not due to the influence of the latter's teaching or personality, but to the

¹ Resch (pp. 610-11), criticising Clemen, who (ii. pp. 78 f.) follows many critics in this reference of the *ἀρχαί* to angelic powers, declares that the parallel of Acts xiii. 27, 28 is enough to prove the contrary.

common consciousness of the age in its high religious nature—which is surely a gratuitous exaggeration of the fact in question.

Finally, in view of these appreciations, it is necessary to draw attention to a couple of stimulating American discussions of Paulinism in Professor Shailer Mathews' admirable treatise on *The Messianic Hope in the New Testament* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1906), pp. 163-223, and in Professor Bacon's pages. The former, who inclines, by the way, to refer the Man of Lawlessness to the Jews, refuses to regard the Thessalonian epistles as "a passing or local phase of the apostle's thought" (p. 175), on the ground that eschatological messianism, in some shape or other, formed the core of Paul's theology, which was an ellipse round the two foci of belief in Jesus as the eschatological Christ and the experience of the spirit produced by such a belief. The future hope dominated both his ethics and his theology. But its ground and justification lay, for the Christian, in the experience of the Spirit's new life. "It is not merely personality that Paul thus makes the moral autocrat; it is the spirit—that element of the human personality in which the human is surcharged with the divine" (p. 217). This ratifies Sokolowski's verdict. Consequently, as Dr Mathews proceeds to argue, in virtual opposition to the implicates of a theory like Resch's, the lack of appeal to the teaching of Jesus, which the epistles reveal, was only natural. Such an appeal might have seemed the setting up of a new Thorah; whereas the vital element of Paulinism lay for the early Christians, as for ourselves, not in the survivals of Pharisaic messianism which clung to his interpretation of Jesus, but in the exposition of the new life with "its ethical and ontological possibilities." "Ontological" may seem an uncouth and irrelevant term in such a connection; but, as the author properly points out, the Pauline conception of the relation between the spirit and the body involves a Christianity which "deals not merely with moral questions, but, if we may use the term, with ontological as well" (pp. 181, 182; similarly Wrede, p. 66).

Professor Bacon's volume of semi-popular lectures em-

braces both a searching criticism of the sources and an appreciation of the theology of Paulinism. The former is based on his own Introduction; the latter shows the author's characteristic independence of judgment. It is a question whether his aim in emphasising the differences of Acts and the Epistles is not sometimes overdone, and a serious query must be put beside his exposition of Ephesians¹ as the climax of Paul's thought. Furthermore, the debt of Paul to Stoicism (see Chadwick, pp. 22-28) is made more of than the evidence seems to justify, though Professor Bacon is far more judicious than Professor Mahaffy or Friedländer (*Religiosen Bewegungen innerhalb des Judentums*, 1905, 342 f.). The pages of his study offer a suggestive contribution, even to those who cannot accept some of his particular results, e.g., the separation, after Hausrath, of Philippians (pp. 366 f.) into two letters, one (iii.-iv.) written earlier than the other (i.-ii.).

(c) Nägeli's essay is an indispensable and scholarly study of Paul's language in the light of the papyri and the classical or post-classical Greek authors. Paul, he finds (pp. 12 f.), was neither un-Hellenic nor Hellenic in his literary style, but wrote usually in the current untechnical language of the day—which may be true enough, only, as Bunyan's style shows, an excellent style may come from an untechnical equipment. The various elements of this *κοινή* are discussed *seriatim* as they appear in the epistles, with a careful statement of the relevant authorities, and the monograph closes (pp. 76 f.) with an account of their bearing on the question of the authenticity of the epistles (see above). It is to be hoped that the author will continue this line of research. Nothing could be more useful to students of the New Testament literature than a similar examination of the language of the other epistles.

JAMES MOFFATT.

¹ Professor Soltan (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1905, 521-62), working partly on the lines of Holtzmann's older theory, distinguishes in the canonical Colossians an original epistle which has suffered accretion and interpolation, not deliberately by the author of Ephesians, but gradually and occasionally from Ephesians and also from the Epistle to Laodicea, which, in turn, formed the basis of our canonical Ephesians.

Reviews

THE PROBLEM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, *by James Orr, D.D.* London: Nisbet & Co., 1906. Pp. lii., 562. 10s. nett.

IT is neither an easy nor a pleasant task to review this book. On the one hand, Dr Orr has an indisputable title to respect. He is a man of very wide and accurate reading; indeed, we may say without exaggeration that he has mastered the whole literature on the subject of this, his latest, work, viz., the criticism of the Old Testament. He is familiar with that criticism in all its phases, and during the whole course of its development, from the middle of the eighteenth century till the present day. We believe, moreover, that he has done his best to state facts accurately, and to support his position by reason only. He abstains from denunciation and from imputation of motives. He is, with one or two trifling exceptions, perfectly courteous; and he is ready to acknowledge the merits of scholars like Dr Driver, from whom he is separated by a very wide gulf. On the other hand, we are convinced (will he allow us to say "reluctantly convinced"?) that Dr Orr's labour on Old Testament criticism continued, as he tells us, for thirty years, has been labour in vain. He is absolutely unable to put himself in the position of his adversaries. He fails to see that investigation had been slowly preparing the way for the theory on the origin of the Levitical law which has now for long prevailed among competent scholars, and of which Wellhausen is perhaps the most distinguished advocate; that when we assign to the Levitical legislation a place in the chronological order posterior to that of the great literary prophets and to the Exile, the prophetic literature and the priestly code become for the first time really intelligible; that a vast number of details fit in with the critical theory, and furnish a weight of cumulative evidence which is irresistible. Dr Orr repeats old explanations which do the utmost violence to the text, oblivious of the impression

which must arise as one piece of forced and unnatural exegesis succeeds another. No doubt he can point to extravagances in the application of critical or pseudo-critical methods. It would be strange indeed if all the adherents of any school were endowed with sobriety and common-sense. Dr Orr knows very well that an imposing array of Christian and Jewish authorities can be produced to prove that Moses wrote the account of his own death. No one could be at a loss if he wished to produce absurdities of exegesis from fathers and schoolmen, and any commentary a century old will supply instances of interpretations long since abandoned. Dr Orr himself admits that there is "corruption in the Hebrew text," although learned divines of the post-Reformation period stoutly maintained that even the vowel-points and accents of the Pentateuch were imparted by divine revelation to Moses. Nay, within the recollection of not a few who are not yet very old, Dr Orr's admission (p. 369) that Moses may have only "lent the initial impulse" to the Pentateuch, "while many hands and minds may have co-operated, and may have continued to co-operate after the master-mind was removed," would have been condemned as a grave deflection from orthodoxy. In fact, there is serious division in the conservative as well as in the critical camp. Dr Orr has advanced beyond the limits set by the older orthodoxy; he, in his turn, is left behind by Dr Robertson, who, though generally esteemed a champion of conservatism, is not "in principle so far apart as might appear" (p. 8) from the school of Wellhausen and his disciples. The right course is to hold a man answerable for his own opinions only, and to estimate the value of these opinions by the arguments he produces. It is best also to consider theories apart altogether from the moral and religious dangers which may arise from their adoption. Religion and morality are able to protect themselves, and no harm will befall any man because he has dared to confront facts. We should like to add a single remark before quitting consideration of general principles. It is one thing to see clear proof that a document is much later than the date to which it is assigned by tradition; it is another and

a much more difficult matter to fix even approximately its real date; and it is often most difficult of all—it may be impossible—to discover its real authorship, and the circumstances of its composition and publication. Because a man solves the first of these questions, it does not follow that he can answer the other two, and his inability to do so should create no prejudice against him. A patristic scholar, for example, would assert with the utmost confidence that St Athanasius did not write the so-called Athanasian creed, and his confidence would be entirely justified. If asked, When was it written? he might reply that on this point there is great division of opinion; he might and probably would have his own view, but he would add that many competent scholars thought otherwise. If finally he were asked, “Who, then, did write the Athanasian creed?” he would have to admit that here he could at the very utmost offer nothing but guesses more or less plausible. Could anything be more unreasonable than to insist that Athanasius did write the psalm or creed which bears his name because, when his claims are dismissed, the true author cannot be found? Yet, in effect, this is just the method which Dr Orr pursues. It is true, *e.g.*, that in Deuteronomy there are “puzzling problems” (pp. 268 *seq.*) on any theory. We cannot say for certain, though we can in many cases conjecture with a high degree of probability, why the compiler embodied in his code laws apparently obsolete. But this difficulty, were it many times greater than it is, cannot shake for one moment the conviction that Deuteronomy was written or at least published in the seventh century B.C.

So much for general principles. We may now proceed to examine some of Dr Orr’s statements in detail. Here we can, of course, only make a scanty selection from a mass of details, but we shall do our best to choose crucial instances. Dr Orr denies that lower forms of religion, such as tree and stone worship, use of images, etc., “received countenance” from the great representatives of Hebrew religion. The obvious answer is that in the oldest strata of Hebrew literature we meet with the grossest anthropomorphism, and with nothing which really contradicts it. The Jahvist

represents Jehovah as walking in the garden in the cool of the evening, as eating with Abraham (Gen. xviii. 8), and as descending to inquire into the bad report He has heard of Sodom and Gomorrah. Jehovah "seeks to kill" Moses on his way back to Egypt, and is appeased by Zipporah, who circumcises her son, and touches her husband with the blood (Exod. iv. 24-26). He incites David to number the people, an act followed by terrible punishment (2 Sam. xxiv.), and thus does the very thing which the Chronicler (1 Chron. xxi.) attributes to Satan. He is not the only God: Chemosh has given the Ammonites their territory, just as Jehovah has bestowed the old Amorite land on Israel. His worship is limited to the land of Israel, and David regards a sentence of exile as involving separation from Jehovah and constrained allegiance to other gods. There is no occasion to suppose that Jephthah or David actually spoke the words put into their mouths, but they represent the feeling of the age, or what the narrator took to be the feeling of the age. Images were in common use. We hear of an ephod, *i.e.* an image covered with precious metal, set up by Gideon, and of an ephod used for purposes of divination by David. The fact that Gideon made his ephod out of 1700 golden shekels, and put or set it in Ophrah; that the ephod is said to have "gone down" in the hand of Abiathar; that Abiathar the priest brought it to David; that Goliath's sword, wrapped in cloth, was put behind the ephod is surely enough to fix the meaning of the word. "It was," says Dr Orr, "in some way suggestive of the high priest and his oracle." This is rather vague. If Dr Orr means that ephod in these places means a vestment and not an image, he ought to have met the obvious objections just mentioned. He insists that the ephod was not "meant for worship," though on his own showing it became a "snare to Gideon and his house." We also read of images in the sanctuary of Dan, served by priests who claimed descent from Moses; at Samaria, and at Bethel. At Jerusalem, as late as Hezekiah's reign, worship was offered to a brazen serpent. There are also clear traces of an older religion, which for long co-existed with the worship of

Jehovah. Thus Jacob says (Gen. xxviii. 22): "This stone which I have set up for a pillar shall be a house of a god." Where does the text support Dr Orr's statement that the stone merely "marked the site of the place"? The sacred character of trees in Israel appears from such names as "oak of the soothsayers," "oak of the diviners," from the fact that there was an oak in the sanctuary of Jehovah (Josh. xxiv. 26), and that David before battle (2 Sam. v. 22 *seq.*) took an omen from the rustling in the balsam trees. We repeat that it is the number of such instances which tells and the absence of any contemporary protest. Even Elijah is not recorded to have said one word against the image-worship of the Northern Kingdom.

Such in some of its features was the religion of the early Hebrews. By the eighth century B.C. great advance had been made, and this may be seen not only from the prophetic writings, but from the first extant code of Hebrew law, generally called the "Book of the Covenant," and found in Exod. xxi.-xxiii. This code was followed by that of Deuteronomy about 621, and the Priestly Code after the Exile. These three codes differ in essential matters, which put unity of authorship or date absolutely out of the question. This, of course, Dr Orr denies, and a few specimens of the way in which he meets the difficulties must suffice. The Book of the Covenant sanctions altars at various places: "An altar of earth shalt thou make unto Me . . . in every place where I record My name I will come unto thee and bless thee." Deuteronomy admits that there has been inevitable, and therefore excusable laxity in the past; but when once Jehovah has chosen a place from all the tribes (*i.e.* Solomon's Temple), sacrifice is to be offered there and only there. The Priestly Code assumes that sacrifices can be offered only at the central shrine, but supposes that this rule prevailed from the beginning. The patriarchs had offered no sacrifice — nor could they, since as yet the Tabernacle with its altar was not erected. How does Dr Orr meet this contradiction? He asserts that the Book of the Covenant permits altars in various places, provided they

had been sanctified by "special appearances or revelations of God"; whereas Deuteronomy gives the general rule. But how is it that one code mentions the exception as if it were the general rule, without the remotest hint that it is dealing with exceptional cases? Why does Deuteronomy state the general rule at great length and with vehement reiteration, and convey no intimation that any exception was permissible? Moreover, the prohibition in Deuteronomy was unknown for ages after the time of Moses. The most pious kings down to Hezekiah's time sacrificed at the high places. Elijah complained that the altars of Jehovah in Northern Israel had been overthrown; he himself, without any special revelation that we hear of, sacrificed on Mount Carmel; and Jehovah, instead of being displeased, sent fire from heaven to consume the victim. The priestly writer comes into still more violent collision with his predecessors, and indeed with all attested history. For him, sacrifice begins with Moses; he never mentions any sacrifice offered by the patriarchs; in his view sacrificial worship could not be till the ark was placed in the Tabernacle; nor was the Tabernacle set up till the Eternal had shown Moses the pattern in the mount, and prescribed with His own mouth the minutest details of the building. Now, of the many objections to this account we select one. The tent of meeting (*i.e.* the Tabernacle) with the ark stood, according to the Priestly Code, in the very centre of the camp, surrounded by a cordon of priests and Levites. In a different and much older document (Exod. xxxiii. 7 *seq.*) Moses is said to have placed "the tent of meeting without the camp, afar off from the camp." It was guarded by Moses, and in his absence by Joshua, who was not a priest, or even a Levite. Consistent with this account is such a passage as Num. xii. 4, in which Moses, Aaron, and Miriam were told to "come out" to the tent of meeting. Dr Orr contends that the withdrawal of the tent outside the camp was a punishment for the worship of the golden calf. This is pure imagination: the punishment threatened is that Jehovah will withdraw His personal presence from His people on their way to Canaan and send His angel instead.

Besides, Num. xii. implies that the tent of meeting was still outside the camp, long after it had been set up, according to the priestly writer, in the centre of the camp. Next we are presented with a piece of exegesis still more desperate. "It is not," says Dr Orr, "conclusive that we are told on one or two occasions that persons went out from the camp to the tent, or that Moses went out from the tent to the people, for the same language would be as appropriately used of going out from any particular encampment to the open space in the centre where the camp stood." If, then, there is "no contrariety" between the documents on the point, what becomes of the tent being pitched outside the camp as a punishment for idolatry? A man might, to be sure, go out of his house or of "a particular encampment" to the tent of meeting wherever it might be; but how he could "go out from the camp" to a tent which was in the very middle of the camp passes our comprehension. This, as every one who has looked into the subject knows, is but one in a long series of contradictions between Deuteronomy and the Levitical law. For example, Dr Orr has to admit that "if we had only Deuteronomy we should never be able to arrive at a knowledge of the sharp division of the tribe of Levi into the superior and subordinate orders with which the Levitical law makes us acquainted." This is true, but very much less than the truth. Deut. xviii. 1-5 implies, as clearly as words can imply, that all Levites are capable of duly exercising the priestly office. Ezek. xliv. 10 *seq.* assumes that the Levites have exercised this function in the past, but declares that for the future the bulk of the Levites are to be degraded from the priesthood on account of their previous misconduct, the priesthood being limited for the future to the sons of Zadok. Lastly, the priestly writer *more suo* carries back this distinction to the Mosaic age, and draws the sharpest line of demarcation between sacrificing priests and the common Levites, who are to assist them. It is quite needless for Dr Orr to urge that the Priestly Code differs from Ezekiel. Certainly it does, and that is an important point in the critical

argument. That, however, does not touch another point in the argument, viz., that the Priestly Code takes over from Ezekiel the distinction between priests and mere Levites, ante-dates it, and represents the lower service of the Levites as an honour and a dignity, not a degradation. Dr Orr cannot help seeing that the tithes in Deuteronomy which are to be spent in sacrificial feasts, except every third year, when they are to be eaten at home, the poor and especially the Levites sharing in the banquet, are quite different from the tithe of the Priestly Code, which is to be paid to the Levites, they in turn tithing their tithe for the priests. Accordingly, he suggests that Israelites were bound to pay annually two tithes. The explanation is an old one, but it is strange that neither code makes the least allusion to a double tithe. Did ever legislator puzzle and confuse the minds of his people as Moses in Dr Orr's view must have done? Nor must it be forgotten that the Deuteronomic phrase, "the Levite that is within thy gates," absolutely excludes the enactment of the Priestly Code, which provides the priests and Levites with forty-eight cities, each with ample pasture land.

Dr Orr's theories could only be answered in full by a volume as large as his own; and such a book is not needed. The same fatal lack of real insight mars all Dr Orr's work. He does not, for example, in the least understand the proof, for it is no less, that Daniel was written in the Maccabean age. Nobody believes that all the history is fictitious. The history from Nebuchadnezzar to Alexander contains truth mixed with error. Belshazzar was not the son of Nebuchadnezzar; Darius the Mede, as he stands in Daniel, is not a historical personage. In the eleventh chapter we have the most minute and accurate information on the relations between the Ptolemies of Egypt and the Seleucidæ of Antioch down to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes; the last chapter predicts a resurrection of the dead as occurring "at that time." Nobody pretends that this prediction was fulfilled. Surely the inference that the author was a contemporary of Antiochus is inevitable. Hence, Dr Wright, the last learned (and he is really learned) defender

of the authenticity of the book has felt himself forced to surrender the eleventh chapter to the critics. He finds it impossible to believe that a subject of the Persian Empire predicted in minute detail wars, treaties, and marriages which would take place well-nigh four centuries after his own day, some of them, moreover, destitute of any religious significance. Dr Orr fails equally when he deals with Isa. xl.-lxvi. He seems to think it an answer to the critical view on the date of these chapters that some of them bear marks of having been written in Palestine, and that they are not likely to be post-Exilian because they charge the people with idolatry and other sins. The answer is that Palestinian authorship is no objection to origin after the Exile, and that the sins laid to the people's charge agree very well with the picture presented by Ezra and Nehemiah. We know that there was much oppression and usury then, as well as intermarriage with heathen women. What reason have we for the assumption that idolatry and superstition had ceased to be? The chapters in question are not of one date or by one hand.

The writer of this notice believes as earnestly as Dr Orr himself that the revelation given to Israel was supernatural and unique, that it culminates in the Incarnate Word, in the historical Christ, perfect God and perfect man. Just because he believes this he regrets an attempt to rivet Christian truth to theories demonstrably untenable. "Mortua quin etiam jungebat corpora vivis."

W. E. ADDIS.

Oxford.

THE BOOK OF JOB IN THE REVISED VERSION,

edited, with Introductions and brief Annotations, by S. R. Driver, D.D., Litt.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford, Fellow of the British Academy. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1906. Pp. xxxvi., 133. 2s. 6d. nett.

WE may take for granted that any book on the Old Testament by Dr Driver will be marked by the fine scholarship and sound judgment which make it a pleasure to read

anything from his pen. The little work before us is in reality an exposition of the Revised Version rather than of the Hebrew original. Great use is made of the marginal renderings, and the reader's attention is drawn to manifest corruptions in the text, though the reasons, depending, as they do, on philological grounds, are not given. One excellent feature of the work is the careful and lucid analysis of the argument which Dr Driver provides. With these aids any educated and sympathetic reader should be able, without knowing Hebrew, to appreciate intelligently the purpose, the literary excellence, and the religious value of the great poem.

No doubt difficulties remain ; they are, however, such as no acquaintance with Hebrew idiom will avail to remove. We are inclined to doubt whether we are justified in describing Job as "a dramatic poem." The question is perhaps merely verbal, for it is, of course, a poem with dramatic elements. Certainly it is not a drama, any more than Plato's dialogues are dramas, for the essence of drama is action, and in Job nothing takes place except in the prologue and epilogue, which are narratives in simple prose. In fact, the characteristics of the various speakers, *i.e.* the human speakers, are much less strongly marked than in Plato's Republic. Again, the solution of the problem, which turns on Job's exceptional suffering, caused by no exceptional wickedness, is apparent rather than real. Jehovah appears in the whirlwind, and dilates for the most part in sublime language on the might and inscrutable wisdom with which He rules the universe. Job is far too weak and ignorant to estimate the ways of God. The highest view of religion, however, cannot be built up on ignorance. We have a far higher, because a more positive, view of faith and its repose in God in the seventy-third Psalm ; indeed, in Job itself the immortal lines, "I know that my vindicator liveth," etc. (xix. 23 *seq.*), reach a loftier spiritual level than the speeches of Jehovah with which the poem closes. The epilogue, in which Job recovers and more than recovers his prosperity, becoming once more the father of ten children who replace the ties that are gone, jars strangely,

at least on the modern mind. It is also, in spite of Dr Driver's explanation, exceedingly hard to understand the distinct implication that Job had "spoken the thing that is right." Sometimes, also, the poem as it stands is not without literary blemish. The long descriptions of the hippopotamus and crocodile are out of proportion, and are by no means vivid and definite pictures. How can it be said that the hippopotamus is "the chief of the ways of God," *i.e.*, as Dr Driver tells us, "the chief, or perhaps the first product of God's creative activity"? There is some exaggeration, surely, and an exaggeration which is not poetical, in the statement that "burning torches," "sparks of fire," "smoke and flame," proceed from the mouth and nostrils of the crocodile, let alone the comparison of his eyes to "the eyelids of the morning." How far literary canons can be applied as tests of authorship is an intricate question, which Dr Driver could not be expected to discuss in the book before us.

W. E. ADDIS.

Oxford.

HEBREW IDEALS: from the Story of the Patriarchs,
by James Strachan, M.A. (Part Second, Genesis xxv.-l.).
Pp. 1-167. Handbooks for Bible Classes. Edinburgh:
T. & T. Clark, 1905. 2s.

THE author deals in this volume with the second half of the Book of Genesis. He grants that these chapters may have been written more than a thousand years after the period they describe, and that the narratives mirror the spirit of the ninth or eighth century before Christ. The estimate of Jacob's character as given in the Bible is thus not the estimate of himself or of any contemporary, but of a remote descendant. But Mr Strachan's purpose is hardly affected by critical theories as to the dates of the constituent documents of Genesis. What we are here furnished with is instruction on the nature of the virtues, such as meekness, purity, inspiration, honour, brotherhood, etc. The character of the patriarchs is skilfully analysed; and, while the familiar

story of their lives makes attention easy, the exposition reveals the marvellous sanity and wisdom of the biblical attitude to the actions described. Scottish youths who would not read five pages of the Nicomachean ethics will finish this book and find it interesting. They will find the apt quotations from many sources fresh and illuminative ; *e.g.*, Esau's plight on being defrauded of his father's blessing is vivified by quotations from the Epistle of the Hebrews, from Omar Khayyam, and from George Eliot. Nor are these comments of a shallow or artificial kind, as an example may show :—

“It is evident that Joseph's religion was an inward principle, not a code of laws, a set of propositions, or an array of ceremonies. His creed—his central enthusiasm for God, the thing which he really believed—determined his life. It is remarkable that so early a book as Genesis should present us with an ideal of true religion as something entirely separate from outward forms, as simply and purely the life of the human spirit in contact with and under the influence of the Divine Spirit” (p. 122).

To this statement criticism might object that Joseph had no Bible, no written law, and no opportunity in Egypt of observing his own sacrificial ceremonies ; and though his spiritual attitude is truly religious, it need not exclude the use of such outward forms as he could observe.

When the Gospels were combined into one harmony, the personalities of the four Evangelists disappeared. Now that the sources of the Pentateuch have been rediscovered, we may attain to some acquaintance with the Elohist, the Jahvist, and the Great Architect of the Priests' Code. Mr Strachan's book might have gained somewhat had he given us an inkling of the varying verdict of P, E, and J on the character of his heroes.

D. M. KAY.

St Andrews.

WAYSIDE SKETCHES IN ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY: Nine Lectures with Notes and Preface, by Charles Bigg, D.D., Canon of Christ Church, and Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford. London: Longmans, 1906. 8vo. 7s. 6d. nett.

THESE *Wayside Sketches*, as the learned author modestly calls them, consist of three triads of lectures delivered on different occasions and to different audiences, and hence presenting certain subtle differences in treatment, but affording a series of impressions of the rise, the fulness, and the decline of the mediæval Church. The first group deals with three Christian writers of the fourth and fifth centuries, Prudentius, Paulinus of Nola, and Sidonius Apollinaris. True to their wayside character, the lectures afford many glimpses of the life of this interesting period, so remote from ours in some respects and so near in others. The three persons named are notable not only as churchmen or men of affairs, but as writers, and mark the transition from the classical to the modern school. In a later lecture Dr Bigg follows up this thought. "I think it may be said with truth that the beauty and instructiveness of little things and little people is a discovery which we owe to Christianity. The poetry of simple homely lives was not discerned by any one before Prudentius and Paulinus, two Christian poets. Simple homely facts were neglected in the same way by the great thinkers of antiquity. Inductive science is the child of the gospel, and it rests upon that truth which à Kempis learned from simplicity, 'that every creature is a mirror of life and a book of holy doctrine.'"

The second triad deals with characters typical of the religious life of the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries. First comes Grossteste, "a great spiritual autocrat," who, though no reformer, was keenly sensitive to the abuses of the times, and by his very faithfulness ended in rebellion against both Pope and king, whom he thought to serve. Next comes Wycliffe, who, by his doctrine of the dominion of grace, attacked the very foundations of the existing order.

To the great Churchman and the great Reformer succeeds a great mystic, Thomas à Kempis. This lecture is of great beauty, and must be read to be appreciated.

To many readers the main interest of the volume will be found in the last three lectures, which deal with the English Reformation in the light of Jewel's appeal to the first six centuries, which was revived a few years ago. In the spirit of Stanley Dr Bigg shows that the appeal to history is, at best, a double-edged weapon. To trace the origin and development of a belief or practice is not to establish its correctness. The wheat and the tares have the same laws of growth. There is a growth which leads to improvement, and a growth which leads to degeneration. Fortified by his knowledge of history, Dr Bigg has no hesitation in saying that there are very few points indeed on which the ancient fathers speak with one voice, and that the points on which we are divided are not among these. And greatly daring, he says, "May we not affirm that there is not, and never has been, any criterion except Scripture and Intelligence? Nobody really believes the Church to be infallible."

The lectures are one and all interesting, and can be commended not merely to students, but to all readers who like to mingle amusement with instruction. Though the fulness of Dr Bigg's learning overflows into many valuable footnotes, the book is anything but heavy to hand or mind.

Aberdeen.

WILLIAM METCALFE.

THE CHURCH AND THE BARBARIANS: Being an Outline of the History of the Church from A.D. 461 to A.D. 1003, by the Rev. William Holden Hutton, B.D., Fellow and Tutor of S. John Baptist College, Oxford, Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Rochester. (*The Church Universal, Vol. III.*) London: Rivingtons, 1906. Fcp. 8vo. 3s. 6d. nett.

THIS is the second volume published of a work dealing with Church History, on the fashionable plan of a series of independent volumes. Its title indicates the principal

interest, especially from a Western standpoint, of the period from the end of the fifth century to the end of the Dark Ages. The scale and purpose of the work have compelled the writer to concentrate attention "on a few central facts and a few important personages." In so accomplished hands as Mr Hutton's the result is an instructive and suggestive survey of the course of the Church's development throughout five hundred years, and almost as many countries and peoples, in Constantinople as well as among the Wends and Prussians, in Central Asia as well as in the Western Isles. In a succession of chapters, beginning with the Monophysite controversy, we are gradually taken over the rise of the heretical, but national, Churches of the East, the growth of the Papacy, the Holy Roman Empire, and the development of the organisation, worship, and culture of the Church of the West up to the end of the so-called Dark Ages. Mr Hutton insists strongly on the idea of the unity of the Church, an idea which he more than once supports by pointing out the deficiency of heresy in uniting power, and the inability of the heretical, albeit national, communities to resist attack from without. Something of the same cast of mind prompts his rather unsympathetic criticisms on the Iconoclast emperors, and it is a pity that he should disfigure his page with the foul epithet which the Church, if not the Hippodrome, assailed Constantine V. Mr Hutton has been successful in presenting many occurrences simultaneous, yet divided by locality and interest. Here and there he gives most illuminative sketches of notable figures, *e.g.*, of Justinian as a Churchman, of Gregory the Great, and of Theodore Studites. The volume has a list of authorities and books of reference, and an index. If the rest of the series is of the same excellence, it should prove most useful to students and others who require a reliable introduction to this period of Church History.

Aberdeen.

WILLIAM METCALFE.

AMPHILOCHIANA, von Lic. Dr. Gerhard Ficker, a.o. Professor der Theologie. I. Teil. Pp. v., 306. Leipzig: Barth (Edinburgh: Otto Schulze & Co.), 1906. 6 M.

THE life and writings of Amphilochius of Iconium, the kinsman of Gregory Nazianzen and friend of Basil of Cæsarea, recently engaged the attention of Karl Holl. In the present work, Professor Ficker presents an instalment of what he considers to be additions to the known writings of the Bishop of Iconium. One is a fragment contained in the Escorial MS., Græc. T. I. 17. Apart from the questions discussed by the editor, this fragment is interesting on account of its very simple colloquial style and certain grammatical peculiarities, and will no doubt attract the attention of philologists. Its matter is equally curious. The heretics against whom it was written were simple illiterate persons, in great part women, rustic, and avoiding towns. The author taunts them with their descent from Simon Magus, through his lieutenant Gemellus. Their schismatic origin betrayed itself in their history. They professed extraordinary strictness, and called themselves Apotactitæ. Their abstention from wine led them even to refuse the cup in the Eucharist (p. 29). Their rejection of flesh occasioned a further division of those who owned animals from those who did not, while of these latter yet a third sect, the Sakkophori, wore no garment made of animal substances. The original party was further divided into those who retained the original name of Apotactitæ and others who termed themselves Encratitæ. The author attacks them for their self-righteousness, which was not inconsistent with making gain by money-lending, and for their false asceticism, which cast a slight on God's creature, and disregarded the letter and example of Scripture. Professor Ficker, in his appendices, shows that the fragment was written at Iconium (p. 136), where Amphilochius was bishop. As to style, "almost every thought and expression of the fragment has its parallel in the acknowledged writings of Amphilochius." We further know from

Basil's letters that, after his appointment as bishop, Amphilochius was in conflict with the Encratites and similar sects, and that he had a great share in urging Theodosius to take the action against them which he eventually took. Prof. Ficker accordingly assigns the fragment to a date between 373 and 381. (From the dates given in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, we should expect it to be a couple of years later, say between 374 and 383.) In a summary review it is impossible to do more than give some idea of the industry which the editor has expended on the text and the various subjects which arise out of it. It forms, as he says, a valuable commentary on the legislation of Theodosius against heretics, and gives an interesting view of the church at the end of the fourth century.

The other fragment is a translation of a Coptic version of a homily on the sacrifice of Isaac, from the Vatican Cod. Copt. LXI. fol. 199.

WILLIAM METCALFE.

Aberdeen.

LA GENÈVE CALVINISTE, by E. Doumergue, Professor in the Faculty of Protestant Theology, Montauban. Fol. Pp. xvii., 722. Lausanne: Georges Bridel & Cie., 1905. 30 fr.

THIS magnificent book is the third volume of the great work undertaken by M. Doumergue for the study of Calvin's life, personality, and influence. After devoting two volumes to his origin, family, youth, and first works, and before penetrating to the heart of his doctrine as a theologian and a Reformer, and showing us the triumph of his ideas, the author stops to examine the *milieu* in which the young Reformer matured, the great little city from which his thought and influence spread all over the Christian world, the body of which he was the soul, and which, for a time, he modelled to his image.

In the heart of old Geneva, leaning against the cathedral, there is a little chapel, now restored and generally used for the services of the Scotch Church, in which, till not very

long ago, the professors of theology in the University of Geneva used to give their lectures. There M. Doumergue went as a student, and then he felt all the mighty past, whose monuments and relics surrounded him, live again; stones spoke; the figure of Calvin rose before his eyes and lived before him. He thus learned to love him, and to understand him better than merely through his books and his doctrine. It is Calvin as a man that he wants to make better known and better liked in the great work he is devoting to him, and it is that old Geneva of Calvin's heroic time that he describes and revives in the book before us.

There is certainly no more important date in the history of Geneva than that of Calvin's arrival, two months after which, on the 5th of September 1536, his presence in Geneva is mentioned for the first time in the minutes of the Council of Magistrates. He is then only a foreigner whose name matters little—*Ille Gallus*, that Frenchman. He was on his way to Strasbourg, but it was just after the official acceptance of the Reformation by the people of Geneva. A man was wanted to build a Christian city on what had been the Geneva of the Roman bishops. "That Frenchman" remained, and Geneva became for ever the City of Calvin.

What was Geneva at the time, what were its inhabitants, their manners, their spirit, when Calvin received them as materials to work upon and to transform? To answer this question, M. Doumergue makes himself our guide for an archæological and historical excursion through the Geneva of three centuries and a half ago, patiently and carefully reconstructing it, in the light of all available documents and with the help of that distinguished artist, M. Henri Armand-Delille, whose pencil has contributed over 225 original sketches or copies of old etchings to illustrate and make more concrete M. Doumergue's descriptions.

Geneva, which has now about 100,000 inhabitants, had at that time only 13,000. A small, isolated city, always in peril of her life, exposed to the covetousness of powerful neighbours, her citizens obliged to have their arms ready day and night. They led a simple life; their manners

partook, of course, of the roughness of the sixteenth century ; comfort was unknown, windows had no panes of glass, not even always of paper ; and Calvin himself must have used his fingers in lieu of a fork. But the commanding situation of Geneva, between France, Burgundy, Alsace, Germany, and Italy, on the high road of commerce which went from Venice to Cologne and united the East with the West, had, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, made her a commercially important and flourishing city. Then political causes—not the Reformation, as has been said—brought about the decadence of her commerce and left her poor. But, thanks to this same situation, she always remained a centre in the intellectual and spiritual domain, and in the sixteenth century she found herself admirably situated to be the meeting-place of Protestant refugees from all nations, and a centre for the spreading abroad of the new ideas.

There still remain in modern Geneva a great many monuments of that period. M. Doumergue places us before all those which played a part in the history of the Reformation. He conjures up the ghosts of others that are no longer standing ; he describes them and the scenes that took place in them, and fills the houses with their inmates of that time. Figures of bishops, Reformers, worthy citizens and common men, march past us in their own surroundings and occupations. He does not, indeed, give a flattering picture of the Genevese of the sixteenth century. He acknowledges their faults, their lack of refinement, their overdone energy which bordered on brutality, their love of pleasure and good living. Certainly they were not suffering from anæmia or neurasthenia, and Calvin had a hard task before him !

In the old part of the town, on the hill, where M. Doumergue likes best to linger and to remember, streets and houses have undergone least change since Calvin's time, and they all speak of him, for there he lived and worked, and there he died. Of his house nothing remains but the little garden, as nothing remains in other towns of any of the houses in which he is known to have stayed in his journeys, as nothing remains of his tomb. There is, says M. Doumergue, something striking in this. Of other reformers

—Luther, Zwingli, Knox—we have the houses, sometimes the tombs, and many a thing that belonged to them. “We can picture them to ourselves in the material conditions of their life. They have remained real, human, living the lives of ordinary men. Of Calvin the man, nothing remains; his thought alone survived. He has become an abstraction.”

What fate did not do for Calvin, M. Doumergue does. He gives us back his house—the one he lived in after his recall to Geneva until his death—his material surroundings, his furniture, all that makes him be a man like other men. And, after all, this is indeed the aim of M. Doumergue in this work, to show us that Calvin was a human being, a man of flesh and blood—not theology or theocracy in a man’s guise.

Calvin has been unjustly reproached with much for which he was not to blame, as the responsibility of it did not rest with him. Long before him the inquisitorial spirit and interference of the State in private affairs were prevailing in Geneva. Sumptuary laws were anterior to his rule, and his predecessors were fully as intolerant as he was. Even before he came to Geneva, as also during his exile, the government of that city was aristocratic and theocratic. Morality and religion were affairs of State as much as politics. Swearing, blaspheming, drinking, debauchery, playing with cards or dice, non-attendance at church were severely punished. So strict and narrow was the form of government that Calvin had to fight to make it more human, and to inspire it with a more Christian spirit. He did not object to all amusements; he allowed games in moderation, even, occasionally, theatricals of a sacred character. The Calvin whom M. Doumergue considers to be the Calvin of history, as opposed to the Calvin of legend, is a moderate man, a happy medium who, of course, stood for pure morals, who wished to turn the pleasure-loving Genevese into disciplined Christians, and wanted Geneva to set the example to all nations, who knew that with her Protestantism was at stake; but, at the same time, he was not an ascete. He declared that it was a duty to enjoy the beauties of nature

and all gifts of God that are pleasing to our senses, for our senses have been given us to make use of; he held that joy and relaxation are necessary, and he gave the example by laughing and joking with his friends, and playing with them innocent games. Moreover, this Calvin was a good friend, a loving nature; he exercised on those who came in contact with him an extraordinary power of attraction. As a man, he was hospitable and generous, helped his friends with advice and money, concerned himself with the question of Queen Elizabeth's marriage, but also with finding a suitable housekeeper for Farel. And this in spite of physical ills and sufferings which allowed him neither to eat nor to sleep, a sufficient excuse for his being occasionally nervous, cross, and even violent.

All this, supported by documentary evidence of undeniable authenticity, shows us Calvin under a very different aspect from the ordinary portraits of him, and we believe this picture to be true. But is it not, perhaps, somewhat one-sided? M. Doumergue may prove that Calvin the man was kind, warm-hearted, and lovable; but there remains Calvin the ruler. Like many other men in history, he may have been a charming man in private and a faithful friend, but tyrannical, oppressive, and intolerant in the exercise of his power at once temporal and spiritual. On this point we doubt if M. Doumergue's enthusiasm will succeed in completely rehabilitating Calvin. All one can do is to plead extenuating circumstances, to make allowance for the necessity in which he was to keep straight his little community of Christians under a strict discipline, like an army in a besieged city, or again, as in the case of Michel Servet, for the ideas of the time, which was a time of intolerance, and made him commit acts he himself would have repudiated if he had lived in our days.

One question on which M. Doumergue seeks to, and does, vindicate Calvin, is that of his disinterestedness in money matters. Was he rich or poor, disinterested or calculating? His enemies have accused him of having lived in luxury, and much has been said about his salary of 500 "florins." What is the equivalent of that sum in to-day's money?

Various calculations make it vary from £80 to £300 in modern value—it is only on the Continent that a salary of £300 a year would seem exorbitant for a pastor,—but, for M. Doumergue, who seems to have taken a safer and fairer basis for his calculations, it is equivalent to £140 or £160 of our money. Indeed, a Calvin was cheap at the price! And when we think of the quite exceptional charges he had as head of the Protestant Church of Europe, we do not wonder to learn that for many years he was not even in a position to buy, as he wanted to, the furniture that stood in the house which had been assigned to him as a residence, that house which Beza declared “poorly furnished,” considering the quality of its tenant. Authentic texts also show him, even on his deathbed, refusing or sending back presents which the magistrates, knowing his circumstances, had sent him; and it really seems that a little good faith and a careful, unprejudiced reading of documents on the question suffice to convince us of his disinterestedness and evangelical poverty.

We may note here a minor point of historical interest on which M. Doumergue throws full light, viz., the legend according to which a sister of Calvin, Catherine, had married Whittingham, a friend of Calvin, who is said to have succeeded Knox as pastor of the English Church in Geneva, and who later became Dean of Durham. This tradition has been accepted and repeated by all Whittingham's biographers, with the exception of M. Pollard, in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (lxi., 1900). M. Doumergue supports by fresh evidence the doubts of the Dictionary, and shows that this legend is false, for many good reasons, the best of which is, perhaps, that the said Catherine never existed, and consequently never married.

To conclude, let us thank M. Doumergue for the grand book he has given us. To all who like or admire Calvin, or who want to study his life, it will be a delight to have him replaced in his ordinary surroundings in such an attractive and masterly fashion. The book is provided with an excellent index which will facilitate reference, and we should think that not a few of those who read M. Doumergue's

work will wish to make a pilgrimage to the city of Calvin, to see with their own eyes the old, grey stones he makes speak so eloquently of the greatest of Geneva's citizens.

St Andrews.

ALFRED MERCIER.

THE ENGLISH CHURCH, from the Accession of George I. to the End of the Eighteenth Century (1714-1800), *by the late Canon John H. Overton, D.D., and the Rev. Frederic Relton, A.K.C. Macmillan & Co., 1906. Pp. xvii., 374. 7s. 6d.*

WESLEY AND HIS CENTURY: A Study in Spiritual Forces, *by the Rev. W. H. Fitchett, B.A., LL.D. Smith, Elder & Co. Pp. 537. 6s. nett.*

THE latter part of the nineteenth century witnessed a marked revival of interest in the eighteenth, an interest which is likely to continue for some time to come, for Carlyle's denunciatory verdict upon the barrenness of the eighteenth century is now generally admitted to have been unduly severe. That revival of interest is due to more causes than one. The growth of imperialist sentiment has recalled attention to the great achievements accomplished by British soldiers, sailors, pioneers, and statesmen in laying the foundations of our Colonial empire; the Liberal reaction against that imperialism has led other writers to speak more sympathetically of the *Aufklärung* and its forerunners than was once the case; and, generally, the Romantic reaction having done its work, and protest against the eighteenth century being no longer necessary, the time for historic appreciation of it as a closed epoch is felt to have come. Different as is the standpoint of the volumes noted above, they are, both of them, an expression of that new interest, and are well fitted to give it further currency.

In a brief prefatory notice, Mr Relton explains the circumstances in which the former of these volumes has been produced. The late Canon Overton had undertaken to write the history of the English Church in the eighteenth century for Messrs Macmillan's well-known series, but died,

eaving simply a rough draft of the volume written in three small octavo note-books in pencil. "What would have been the ultimate form in which his book, as thus planned, would have been sent by him to press, it is impossible," says Mr Relton, "even to conjecture." "He had, moreover, followed his favourite plan of writing history, that, namely, of dealing with the lives of the great men of the time, rather than of a consecutive narrative of events and tendencies. It was found impossible, without so obliterating his work as to make the retention of his name as joint-author an anomaly, to depart from this method." In completing the volume, Mr Relton has done his best, he tells us, to preserve as much of the work of his friend and master as possible, and their joint-work has been supplemented by the able hands of the editor of the series, the Rev. Dr Hunt. The proportion of the contribution of each to the whole may, says Mr Relton, be described roughly by the critical formula $O_{24}R_{14}H_1$.

Mr Relton's task has thus been one of singular difficulty. The circumstances under which the volume has been composed were such as to prevent either himself or the honoured scholar and historian whose materials he has used from carrying out their conceptions of the history of the period, or even from reaching a common understanding as regards proportion and method. It is eminently creditable, therefore, to Mr Relton that the book is so excellent as it is. Such defects as the critic may discover or thinks that he discovers in it were, for the most part, inevitable in the circumstances.

The history is divided into four periods. The first runs from the accession of George I. in 1714, to 1738, the date of the conversion of Wesley. The main event of this period is the defeat of Deism and Arianism, which the authors regard as necessary before the Evangelical Revival could get under weigh. It also includes the Bangorian Controversy and the silencing of Convocation, an act of authority on the part of the State which crippled the Church from taking any strong general action in the time of strain and peril which was soon to come upon it. The second period extends from

1738 to 1760. The great event of this period is the rise of Methodism. The notable factor in the third period, which extends from 1760 to 1790, is the growth of Evangelicalism in the Church, a period which marks a steady improvement in the whole temper of its spiritual life. The foundation of Sunday Schools, the consecration of the first Bishop for America, and the *rapprochement* with the Scottish Episcopal Church all date from this epoch, and are all indications of progress alike in depth and width of religious view. Finally, there comes the decade between the French Revolution and the close of the century, which, it is held, was of epoch-making importance—a time of general awakening, of growing Church consciousness, of increasing sympathy with the Church of Rome, and of alienation from Protestant dissent, due, in the main, to the reaction produced by the French Revolution. Five chapters are added on General Church Life, on Church Fabrics and Services, on the Sunday School Movement, and on Colonial and Missionary Work during the century.

The tone of the whole narrative is genial and candid. The story is, for the most part, told through a chain of biographical vignettes, a method which imparts a peculiar freshness and interest to the history. The book, indeed, is never dull, though it is full of matter; and never prejudiced nor unfair, though it passes over the "burning marle" of controversies that are still living, and likely to live for generations. The value of the history is greatly enhanced by the lists of authorities which Mr Relton has appended to each chapter, and it forms an admirable, and perhaps indispensable, guide to the student of the religious life of the England of the eighteenth century. Few can read it without learning much and being put in the way of learning more. But the biographical method has its limitations as well as its advantages. We could well have spared some of the personal details for a fuller and more radical treatment of the great movements of thought and feeling that sweep through the period. Mr Relton speaks regretfully of the necessity which was laid upon him of omitting all treatment of the influence of the literature of the period upon its religious life, and

the excellence of the work, which he has done, compels the hope that he may resume the subject under conditions which will give him a freer hand. There is a similar gap caused by the absence of any adequate discussion of the influence of the economic and social conditions. Yet that these played a great part in the development of the Methodist Movement is now generally recognised. It is clear, to take only one minor point, that the shifting of population had already begun, which rendered the stiff parochial structure of the Church no longer adequate to the necessities of the nation. One seeks also for a fuller explanation of Deism than is given by a brief general paragraph and by the catalogue of writings and vignettes of their authors. Finally, we are left without an adequate explanation of the rise of Evangelicalism within and without the Church. It is true, no doubt, that there is something mysterious and personal about all such tidal movements of religious thought, but yet it is generally recognised that just as in the individual life there is a clear and vital relationship between the inner religious development and the outer world of thought and action, so is it in the life of society. It is in dealing with questions of this nature that this volume, so admirable in almost every other respect, to some extent fails us. We feel this, for instance, when we desire some explanation of the growth of Evangelicalism within the Church in the latter half of the century. We are told that so it was, and the fact is illustrated in a series of admirable sketches of the great Evangelical leaders—Romaine, Simeon, Newton, Scott, Wilberforce, and so on. But we get no adequate account of why the movement captured men of this type, just as later the Oxford Movement captured the majority of the finest intellects of the Church of its day. One reason for this omission is surely to be found in the refusal to follow the course of Methodism in its later developments, because it lies outside the history of the Church properly so called. But adequate history cannot be written on these terms. We cannot understand the Council of Trent, for instance, if we refuse to consider the development of Protestantism. But criticism of a work so high in moral and intellectual quality is an un-

grateful task, and the defect lies partly in the biographical method which gives the book much of its interest, and partly also in the peculiar circumstances of its composition.

If it is one of the defects of the above volume that from it we should never gather how great was the influence, indirect as well as direct, which Wesley exerted upon his century, that deficiency is fully supplied by Dr Fitchett's biography. He writes as a whole-hearted believer in Wesley, and not only in Wesley, but in the Methodist polity as the last result of time. He thinks it a reasonable theory that "in determining the history of the English-speaking race he counts for more than Shakespeare," and that he has done more for England than Milton, Wycliffe, Bunyan, and Locke put together. As in the beautiful Romney of Wesley, which is the frontispiece of the volume, the figure of the great Evangelist stands sharply out in his pages against the blackness of the world of his century and the greyiness of the Church. Dr Fitchett raises the burning issue between the High Churchman and the Evangelical with the utmost sharpness, and, with that modern issue full in view, contrasts the spiritual impotence of his earlier work with the splendour of the later. His book is in fact a *Streitschrift* as well as a biography, and this perhaps to some extent accounts for its unsympathetic reception in certain quarters. No doubt he frequently lays himself open to criticism. The style, while invariably clear and forcible, is occasionally too rhetorical, and there is an element of modernity about the book which might tempt a critic disposed on other grounds to be unsympathetic to treat it as simply a superior kind of journalism. But this, in the present writer's judgment, would be unjust. When all deductions have been made, it seems to him to be the best popular life of Wesley that he has met with, a book alive throughout with interest and suggestion. Dr Fitchett is by no means blind to the limitations of Wesley, and, for all his hero-worship, is not afraid to show us his human side, his crotchets, his singular failure in understanding child nature as shown in the story of the Kingswood school, his remarkable love affairs, his love of having his own way. But just because

of his candour Dr Fitchett is successful in bringing out a singularly vivid picture of Wesley's great character and wonderful spiritual achievement.

The volume is divided into five sections. The first is called "The Making of a Man," and deals with the Epworth period. The second is headed "The Training of a Saint," and takes Wesley through his student days and his unhappy experiences in Georgia, and brings him to the moment of his "conversion." The problem of how to arrange the immense mass of material presented by Wesley's fifty-five years of public service is happily solved by skilful grouping in the two following sections, "The Quickening of a Nation" and "The Evolution of a Church," and there is a closing division of seven chapters on "Personal Characteristics." The architectonic of the book is, indeed, one of its strongest points, the choice and arrangement of the topics being excellent throughout. Dr Fitchett's previous historical studies in this period have furnished him with an abundance of illustrative material of which he makes good use, notably in one of the most interesting chapters in the biography called "Soldier Methodists," which contains some remarkable and moving stories of Dettingen and Fontenoy, taken from the pages of a periodical not generally associated with these fields of slaughter—"The Arminian Magazine."

The book is one of real insight and power. But one may share the author's veneration for the Founder, and yet remember the great ages and the strong men who lived before Agamemnon; and may share his admiration for the principles of Methodism, and yet, remembering the boundless future, may wonder if any ecclesiastical polity can have uttered the last word of wisdom.

The two volumes should be read together by those who seek to understand the religious condition of the England of to-day. Different as they are in *ethos* and standpoint, each has its own contribution to make to that final history which has yet to be written.

D. S. CAIRNS.

Ayton.

VERZEICHNISS DER VON ADOLF HILGENFELD

verfassten Schriften zusammengestellt von den Mitgliedern der neutestamentlichen Abteilung des Theologischen Seminars der Universität Jena, v. S.S. 1902, durchgesehen, ergänzt und herausgegeben, von Dr Heinrich Hilgenfeld, ao. Prof. a. d. Universität. Leipzig: O. R. Reisland. M. 1.20.

PROFESSOR ADOLF HILGENFELD was born in 1823, received his degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Halle in 1846, and has been since 1850 a Professor in Jena. He was educated theologically in the "Tübingen School," and thirty years ago was considered by those who disagreed with him to be that school's belated representative. Happily, this practice of labelling has ceased, and Professor Hilgenfeld is allowed to stand in his own place as a veteran theologian of rare longevity and still rarer strenuousness in scientific theological research. Hilgenfeld is the author of *Die Jüdische Apokalyptik in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, published so long ago as 1857, a work of which it is not too much to say that it laid the foundation of our present knowledge of the Book of Daniel and the literature modelled upon it. Hilgenfeld's largest work is his *Einleitung* to the New Testament, published in 1875, which, during my semester at Jena (1879), the Professor was accustomed to dictate to his students, sadly aware of 'the paucity of purchasers of the printed book. Hilgenfeld is probably best known as the editor of the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, which he founded in 1858, to which and to other magazines he has been for the last half century a voluminous contributor. His articles touch on every period and class of subject belonging to the field of the New Testament and the early Christian literature. The *Verzeichniss* extends to 57 pages, and includes the titles of over 250 writings of Hilgenfeld. Yet the authors explain that the list is not exhaustive! Hilgenfeld's first article in his *Zeitschrift*, published in 1858, bears the title, "Die wissenschaftliche Theologie und ihre gegenwärtige Aufgabe," while in the second Heft for 1906 we may

read what he has to say on Wellhausen's just published *Einleitung in die 3 Ersten Evangelien*. The main part of the *Verzeichniss* was prepared by Professor Hilgenfeld's colleagues in the chairs of New Testament Theology in Jena in the summer session of 1902, in honour of his eightieth birthday. But the final form of it, issued by Professor Heinrich Hilgenfeld (*filius*) has been delayed till the present year, when the veteran Professor celebrates the diamond jubilee of the Halle doctorate. In 1898 Professor Hilgenfeld received the degree of D.D. from the University of St Andrews.

Broughty Ferry.

LEWIS A. MUIRHEAD.

DAS GELÜBDE IN DER NEUEREN THEOLOGISCHEN ETHIK, von Lic. Alfred Schulze.
Gütersloh : C. Bertelsmann. 1906. 80 Pf.

THE author of this pamphlet devotes himself with great seriousness to what many would be inclined to regard as an altogether subordinate problem of Christian ethics ; but he does succeed in showing that it is by no means unimportant. After giving a brief summary of the views of the writers who have dealt with the subject since Schleiermacher, he offers an exposition and criticism of the historical result. So far, the efforts of moralists to solve the problem have been unsuccessful, and it requires fresh treatment. The author reaches the conclusion that the vow is not consistent with the Evangelical type of morals, but desires further discussion of all the religious and moral issues involved in this one question.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

London.

THE COMMUNION OF THE CHRISTIAN WITH GOD, by Wilhelm Herrmann, Dr. Theol. *Second English Edition.* Williams & Norgate. Pp. xvii., 356. 5s.

THAT Herrmann's book appears in a second English edition, "revised throughout, and enlarged and altered in accordance with the fourth German edition of 1903," is a testimony to

its significance and value well worth noting. It is already too familiar to all students of theology in England to need any review. This translation differs from the former one in being supplied with "Dr Herrmann's own new summary and division," instead of the analysis that the translator himself previously furnished. "The numerous smaller alterations" introduced into the German text by the author himself seek to meet "the two most important objections" advanced against "the conception of Christian faith" presented in the book. "It is said to be impossible to experience the Person of Jesus as the fact that can give to our confidence in God the calm and strength of victory. From the opposite side I am told that what helps us is not the Person of Jesus, as we ourselves can lay hold of and experience it as a fact. The power that saves us lies rather in narratives about Jesus—that is, in 'facts which require faith,' and not in a fact of which we ourselves are become witnesses" (Preface). For those who do not know the book the aim may be briefly stated. Against the mysticism that seeks in communion with God to transcend the mediation of Christ, the author seeks to show that God alone communes with us in the grace of Christ, and that we alone commune with God in faith in Christ. This communion of God and man is "described on the basis of Luther's statements." The publishers are to be heartily thanked for giving us this cheap edition of what many are coming to recognise as "a great religious classic."

London.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

QUESTIONS ESTHÉTIQUES ET RELIGIEUSES,

par Paul Stapfer, Doyen honoraire de la Faculté des Lettres de Bordeaux. Paris: Alcan, 1906. 8vo. Pp. 208. 3 fr.

M. STAPFER is known as a writer on literary and ethical subjects. This volume contains three essays from his pen. In the words of the advertisement, "the search for the harmony of the good, the beautiful, and the true forms the bond of unity" amongst them. The last two have, how-

ever, relations also in subject-matter ; while the first stands by itself, as, having been written in 1887, it is separated from the others also by a number of years in point of date. It deals with the perennial question of "art for art's sake" — "one of those minor problems which are interesting just because they elude all attempts to solve them in too categorical a fashion." "Is art a pure play indifferent to every practical result, or does it only attain its full perfection so far as it is employed in the service of some great cause, the triumph of which is dear to the heart of the artist?" M. Stapfer has no expectation that he may be able to lay this subtle question. After reviewing the attitude of leading literary artists, critics, and philosophers to the question, he merely tries to state a reasonable conclusion. As he states it, it certainly cannot be accused of being too categorical. While admitting and even insisting on the "sovereign liberty of art" and the "capital importance of form," he points out that art must also have a subject, and that the subject may be more or less worthy. Nor can the artist set himself above his subject and play with it as an exercise of his artistic faculties merely. He must be seized by it, inspired by it. Only thus can be produced a work which, though it have no expressed moral or didactic purpose, does yet increase the moral treasure of mankind, and only such a work is of permanent value as a work of art. To a layman in art the discussion of the question seems to be very fair, and the conclusion to be very just, as well as cautiously stated.

The second essay is entitled "Un Philosophe religieux du XIX^{me}. Siècle," and deals with the religious position of Pierre Leroux. This earnest and prolific writer was a peculiar person in the France of the nineteenth century in that, while he discarded Christianity and attacked the Church, he yet cherished a very real and lively religious faith. Christianity in its dogmatic formulation he regarded as outgrown, and any compromising recognition of it on the part of those who could not receive its doctrines literally he condemned as an evil tending to prolong the period of irreligion and protract the travail pangs of the new era of faith, but yet he

insisted on the continuity of thought, and sought therefore to preserve the religious truths which Christianity contained. M. Stapfer sees in him a forerunner of modern Liberal Protestantism, and points out the similarity between his position and that of Sabatier. To the question why, if Leroux looked at Christianity thus sympathetically, and recognised the living spirit which is in it as clearly as present-day confessedly Christian teachers like Harnack and Sabatier, he did not confess himself a Christian, the essayist retorts, "Why do so-called Liberal Protestants profess their adherence to Christianity?" and shows a disposition to disparage the honesty and straightforwardness of the latter. It is a very pleasing picture of Pierre Leroux which M. Stapfer presents to us, and the exposition of his religious teaching is admirably clear.

The last of these essays, which is entitled "*La Crise des Croyances Chrétiennes*," is the one which will perhaps be most interesting to readers of this Journal. In it M. Stapfer points out the irreconcilability of modern thought with belief in the cosmology of Christianity, in the miraculous, in the doctrines of the inspiration of the Bible and the metaphysical divinity of Jesus. He then returns to the question, raised in the preceding essay, of what distinguishes the position of representatives of Liberal Protestantism who accept these negations of science from that of a religious philosopher like Pierre Leroux. We do not think he is quite successful in his attempt to answer this question. A moral authority which is still ascribed to the Bible, and an ideal value attached to the character of Jesus—these give to Liberal Protestantism a character distinct from philosophical theism; and, besides, as distinguished from its original rationalism it has in its more recent forms become mystical. To this mystical element in Liberal Protestantism M. Stapfer hardly does justice, for, though he discusses it with great discrimination, his treatment is not free from the suggestion that the "mystical method" is employed to "swallow" beliefs which are not rationally supported. Further, M. Stapfer does not make clear that the justification of the position of Liberal Protestants is found in the continuous development of thought

within the Church; and, besides, a good deal depends on the mental history of the individual thinker and the external influences which have affected him, whether he sets himself outside the Church, cherishing a religious spirit in opposition, or remains within it, endeavouring with all freedom of thought and investigation to preserve the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. M. Stapfer, however, thinks that while Liberal Protestantism is the best religious influence we have at present, it would gain in estimation by renouncing the name Christian, and frankly accepting the description of what it really is, the simple philosophy of theism under its most religious form.

Some such outgrowth of Christianity as Liberal Protestantism is, appears to him to be the only possible religion of the future so far as we can see. And some such religion is necessary, both because morality is impossible without religion, and because man's spirit in its highest activities is inevitably exercised over the questions with which religious thought deals. Not to be interested in these questions is proof of dulness of spirit; and he thinks that religion would gain by adopting a militant policy, by exposing the brutish indifference which, not in theory, it is true, but in practice, in most cases is associated with so-called free-thought. His concluding advice is that while in regard to many questions as to our being and destiny which religious dogma formerly proposed to answer we may see no sufficient ground for certainty, "we should yet not abandon the hope of giving some satisfaction both to religious aspirations and to the demands of philosophy by taking care to maintain in our souls, in our thoughts, and in our lives the fundamental harmony of the good, the beautiful, and the true."

These essays are written in a clear and interesting style, are popular in the best sense. It is, however, in criticism and exposition that M. Stapfer excels. In his conclusions and constructive statements he is not so clear or so satisfactory. But even this is to some extent due to a virtue, that of fair-minded and temperate statement.

Edinburgh.

RICHARD BELL.

KRITIK DER FREIHEITS THEORIEN, Eine Abhandlung ueber das Problem der Willensfreiheit, von Joseph Mack. Leipzig: J. A. Barth (Edinburgh: Otto Schulze & Co.), 1906. Pp. iv., 287. M. 4.50.

THIS is a useful book, instructive as to the present state of thought in Germany, and valuable both for the energy with which the author's position is maintained, and for the abundant citations by which the views of others are illustrated.

The first thing that strikes an English reader is the intensity of interest which apparently attaches to the problem of "Freedom of the Will" for certain thinkers in Germany to-day. Our author cites from Windelband "Die Freiheit—die Freiheit des Willens! das ist das grosse Grübelproblem der Modernen Menschheit, daran sich das Denken der Besten abquält" (p. 254). This indicates an attitude analogous to that of the "personal" movement at home; Herr Mack, indeed, appeals at one point to Professor James' view of the subliminal self, an appeal which is characteristic of his position. Of course all Idealists recognise the importance of repelling naturalistic determinism; but we should not easily find a passage sharing the heated tone of the above in Caird, Green, Bradley, or Taylor; still less in Sidgwick, who stands in Great Britain for the direct and common-sense ethical attitude. Such expressions indicate a type of interest in freedom which is always, I think, connected with that form of the controversy in which the watchwords are "Determinism and Indeterminism."

The present work, accordingly, starts from the opposition of these terms, and treats it as a living controversy. For those who are accustomed to regard these points of view as complementary consequences of the same initial error—the error of treating the mind as an object among objects—such a starting-point is not promising. But in fact it is developed in a somewhat unexpected way, and the question arises how far the development transcends the defects of the initial formulation.

The author's point comes to this. Taking Determinism

and Indeterminism as rival explanatory theories of the moral will, we must pronounce Determinism victorious. But this is because Indeterminism, in claiming to be a theory, has mistaken its ground. The truth is that there can be no explanatory theory of the will except Determinism; an explanation means a causal explanation, and this is Determinism *ipso facto*. Indeterminism, as a theory, putting forward causelessness of the will (Ursachlosigkeit), is simply conceiving "misfreie Menschen," "men whose freedom is meaningless." It is a house of cards, which cannot stand against the first breath of Determinism. Nevertheless, the success of Determinism is its own condemnation. For the subject, the self which wills, is "blind"; it exists in "being lived" ("Erlebniss," "Erfahrung," or "Wissen"), but can never be an object of cognition ("Erkenntniss")—can never enter into the object-world. Therefore, after all, the reality is Indeterministic, though we must not say that Indeterminism is true as a theory. "Two kinds of causality," "free causes," Wundt's principle of "increasing spiritual energy"—all these are fetches by which we clip the self and the law of causality into fitting each other; but the truth is, they can never come together, for the self can never be an object of cognition. The self is constantly compared to the life of instinct and desire in the lower animals; not that it is animal, but that it *is* its standards and its wants—in a word, its self-maintenance—just as the brute *is* its instincts and appetites. The human self "values" the brute desires, just as the brute in its desires "values" the world of taste and smell. "Hunger and thirst after righteousness" is an instinct of the man, just as the desire of food and drink is an instinct of the brute. And the man can no more theorise or make an object of that higher instinct or desire which is himself than the brute can theorise the sensuous hunger which is itself.

Here is a good deal with which we are familiar; we agree that the subject cannot be an object in the world of objects under the category of cause; we agree that the subject in action and cognition is not at the moment fully an object before itself. Herr Mack's attitude seems, there-

fore, to have transcended the antithesis of Determinism and Indeterminism, and to be ready for an account of reason as in principle *the* initiative—the ἀρχή, which alone, as Plato says, has in it the nature of a beginning, or as Green would say, by which alone there is a self or a world, and therefore in the strict sense an action, at all. We can follow when we are told that the subject “wertet”; it brings with it its “Normen” and imposes them on the object—this seems to be a short-hand way of saying that objects and actions have value for moral beings as channels, differing in completeness, of the harmonious realisation of the self. The formula of “value” and “Normen” has the defect, it seems to one, of leaving out all that makes the value valuable; but still it admits of a reasonable expansion. The serious matter is that it suggests an “independence of the subject” as against the object (*cf.* Boyce Gibson, *Personal Idealism*, p. 163), which reminds us of Kant’s “limitation of the objects of desire by the law,” and puts us in fear of a revival of his dualism.

But our author, as I understand him, takes it thus. The “norms” are the essence of the “specifically human subject,” and this essence is formal or empty, *i.e.* it elicits its content and fulfilment from the object-world. If this view is really meant, he is so far at one with Green, and dualism is avoided. Man *is* the object-world, feeling and realising its unity in a finite but spiritual centre.

But the author, I gather, will make no treaty on such a basis. He insists on two principles, each of which is fatal to it.

First, there can be no theory of the self in regard to the nature of its self-determination. It is almost as if he recognised, with Kant, no positive theory but the explanatory theory of natural science. Yet there are “Geistes-Wissenschaften,” Logic, Ethic, Æsthetic; are they simply to register and interconnect the “Normen,” and not to explain them as fulfilments of the nature of the self? “There is a great deal of science carried on under the name of Psychology, which really belongs to the science of spirit” (p. 262). Would Mr Boyce Gibson’s psychology of conation or of

"first causes" (*Personal Idealism*, p. 169) come under this head, and be admitted by the author as a revelation of the nature of the subject? Apparently not. The subject must remain "un-cognised, blindly lived-out, self-being" (*Eigensein*).

And then, secondly—and this is decisive and typical, showing that we are back in commonplace Indeterminism, though to be acknowledged as an experience, not sustained as a theory—freedom is one with "Anderskönnen," "the power of doing different." This is fundamental; it is lived, experienced, known ("gewusst") as inherent in the subject; it cannot be cognised ("erkannt"), and no theory can touch it, or indeed has any right to make any statement about it. Deterministic views are bound by their nature to pronounce it an illusion; but they neither modify the experience of it in the minds of Determinists themselves, nor have any theoretical *locus standi* against this experience. Possibility of prediction of human actions as of an eclipse, would be fatal to freedom. I do not think that the more relevant point, concerning prediction through recognition of formed character (*cf.* Bradley's *Ethical Studies*, and more recently Prof. Taylor's *Elements of Metaphysic*), is distinctly raised by the author.

Without noticing the objections which will occur to every one at this point, I will inquire how far the author himself would extend the freedom thus guaranteed.

The human subject, we have seen, "values" the objects of its world, including our particular desires for them. This valuation is constantly described as instinctive, the "living out" of the subject's nature, its self-maintenance. This "valuation," the author is quite clear, we cannot affect, and for it we are not responsible. "Every being is determinate, with determinate laws." "This (our freedom) does not extend to our being, which is not in our power." "There is no meaning in requiring freedom and indifferent Free-will (*Willkür*) for this valuation and its demands; that would mean a demand to change one's essence (*Wesen*)," p. 177. "Our essence indicates, in the necessity of its being just what it is (*seines Geradesoseins*), a limit of Freedom."

And more, as the "specifically human subject" is empty and formal (it must be so, it is argued, in order to face the object-world purely and impartially; the νόϋς ἀμύρῃς is appealed to; and realises its norms in contents drawn from the object-world, this limit of freedom is a very real one; heredity, education, phases of evolution determine the contents in which for any individual the norms find expression. There is, on the whole, as I gather, no miraculous conscience; though on this point the author's language, as is natural, seems to fluctuate. "There is only one clock which is always right, and that is conscience" (cited with approval from Hebbel). Yet, as I understand him, the author would not echo the sentiment of Browning's lines, which seems an essential complement of the common Free-will doctrine—

"Whom do you count the worst man upon earth?
Be sure he knows, in his conscience, more
Of what right is, than arrives at birth
In the best man's acts that we bow before."

Our "valuation" is compatible with all degrees of *ἀγνία* as to the detail in which we find our good; and in the valuation we have no freedom. If will went with valuation, the view would be strictly Socratic.

What, then, is our "power of doing different" (*Anderskönnen*), which is the essence of our freedom? It is a power not over our valuation, but over our volition, of the "subject" over the world of objects; there is no sense in speaking of a power of the subject over itself. As a fact, *Anderskönnen* is simply "lived" (*erlebt*); it cannot be cognised or explained. But its nature is more or less indicated, and I venture to think that we can see how it is determined by the Scylla and Charybdis, between which, refusing to analyse the nature of the self, or to connect thought with freedom, the author has elected to pass. Our freedom lies, then, in the power to take more or less pains (*sich-mühen-können*) with our moral life. This possible more or less of effort (*Anstrengung*) is the whole secret of freedom. And we see that it must be a more or less of undifferentiated energy (contrast James' idea of loading the

scales in volition); because if it involved a leaning in one way more than another, it would either amount to Determinism (special inclinations as causes in the subject) or to Indeterminism (special inclinations uncaused by anything in the subject). Therefore it must be presented as a possible intensification or the reverse of the general formal and empty energy of the subject. All that can be said is that it is in our power to live more or less strenuously, and that the more strenuously we live the more fully we shall realise our norms in the object-world. Thus, it would seem, our freedom becomes quantitative, and it is attempted to disguise the fact that the "more or less" of effort is in every case also a choice between courses qualitatively different—a choice which needs to be accounted for by a special nuance in our valuation of objects, and not merely by a more or less of energy. A greater strenuousness might change our "Wollen," but surely only by changing our "Werthen." We have no evil impulses, as I understand him. Everything, as for a Socratic, "*petitur sub specie boni*"; only we can choose the lesser good—often the more pleasant—from indolence, *i.e.* lack of formal energy. When we have got so far, surely the dualism of "Wollen" and "Werthen" must go; and with it, "Werthen" being admittedly not free, must go the "Anderskönnen." The miraculous conscience is given up, and "Werthen" only shows in the preference of object-contents. Surely an act of indolence is not merely formal, but is a preference of one thing to another, and could not be altered but by an alteration of preferences.

The whole theory is governed, I suggest, by two ideas—by an exaggeration of the principle that the subject is unknowable, and by the preference for a negative approach to individuality. The two are plainly connected. What is unknowable can only be approached negatively. The author's agnosticism, in the sense that "sein" is "blind," and stretches far beyond "erkennen," is marked throughout (*e.g.*, p. 90 ff.).

First, then, the whole subject-life is assimilated to instinct. Kant's suggestion that if happiness were the end, instinct would be a better guide than reason, seems to have been adopted in the sense against which Kant was arguing.

Although "Wissen" as immediate is granted to the subject-life, yet "Denken" seems to be thrown overboard along with "Erkenntniss." And thus we get a total separation between will and the working of ideas, and a total neglect of the character of self-consciousness as an ἀρχή in the moral life. We are reminded of Hegel's saying, "Who talks of freedom and rejects thinking, knows not what he says." In the treatment of art and religion as belonging to our "blind" life, the dualism reaches the extreme of crudity; and the appeal to Pestalozzi, Rousseau, Schiller, and the moral sense theorists, in support of a sharp antithesis between "head" and "heart," shows how little the spirit of the great masters has been assimilated.

Accordingly, Kant's doctrine of the two points of view is rectified, not by giving the noumenon its full rank and pronouncing the phenomenal apprehension incomplete, but by rejecting the possibility of discovering for freedom any theoretical statement at all. The objection, however, to affirming contraries as equally true of the same action is well sustained, except that needless respect is shown for the conception. In Green's lectures on Kant, published twenty years ago, the question is much more summarily disposed of.

Secondly, the negative approach to individuality or affirmation is fashionable to-day in metaphysic and logic, as in ethics. The essence of saying or being something is looked for in not saying or not being something else. So we have it here in will. It is not enough that man identifies himself with a course of action; this, the distinctive and essential point, is, by a neglect characteristic of the views in question, not scrutinised, and is pronounced inscrutable. What is really necessary, we are assured, is that we should, so to speak, aggressively not-will something else; not merely that we should choose one course under the circumstances as against any other, but that the other should have been open to us to choose without inward or outward difference (pp. 158-59), and should have been rejected. As the author himself insists, the demand cannot be theoretically formulated. For him the "Anderskönnen" is a fact above all theory. But, all the same, it is the false

and facile determinateness of the negative approach which gives the alleged experience its sting. We certainly feel that we can do what we shall do; now, what we shall do, before we act, is, as it were, a generic term, and it seems a simple definition of the act which comes to pass to take it as a co-species under the genus, opposed to the acts which are not done. This seeking for distinctness in bare negation is always, I believe, a sign of philosophical bankruptcy.

If we might strike out these two points, the unknowableness of the subject and the "Anderskönnen," there is much in the account of freedom as the self-maintenance of the subject which is sound and suggestive. As it is, I cannot think that the author has met the objection which he cites from Riehl, and which we learned in substance from Bradley's ethical studies thirty years ago: "Can a personality of established moral character even once perform the foulest act; could Luther one fine day turn coward and make satisfactory submission; or Ignatius Loyola, at a day's notice, renounce allegiance to the Pope?" As Mr Bradley suggests, if the question concerned a friend or relative, the answer might not confine itself to words. Inevitably, as it seems to us, the author's attitude on this point vacillates. He concedes that formed character "may make one or another sin an impossibility," and he accepts Leibnitz' saying, "Plus on est parfait, plus on est déterminé au bien, et aussi plus on est libre en même terme" (p. 181). At the same time, it is characteristic that he tries to nibble away the facts of the regularity of human action (p. 227), as others try to nibble away the uniformity of natural law. But in neither case can any theoretical point be touched, unless the meaning is to assert not explicable though unexplained variety, but what I will take leave to call "metaphysical indeterminateness." It is usual to leave it uncertain whether this is or is not maintained, and the author is no exception.

In conclusion, I recommend the book to students interested in the present movement of opinion on the subject of which it treats, both for its clearness and energy, and also for the number and aptness of its citations. Those, for

example, which are directed to convict the Determinist of the inconsistency of admitting a primary initiative do much *prima facie* to make good this charge against writers of distinction, such as Ziegler, Adickes, Paulsen. Many such points are raised which a student might do worse than pursue.

BERNARD BOSANQUET.

St Andrews.

THEOLOGY AND TRUTH, by *Newton H. Marshall*,
M.A., Ph.D. London: James Clarke & Co. Pp. 304. 5s.

DR MARSHALL, who has just been appointed to the pastorate of the Heath Street Baptist Church, Hampstead, is looked upon as one of the coming men in the Baptist ministry. After studying at the Midland Baptist College he took a brilliant degree at London University, and then went to Germany to pursue further theological and philosophical studies at Berlin and Halle. The result of these is seen in his thesis for the degree of Ph.D., written in German, and entitled "Die gegenwärtigen Richtungen der Religionsphilosophie in England und ihre erkenntnistheoretischen Grundlagen." This was published in 1901, and forms the foundation of the present work. In fact, a large part of the first ten chapters of *Theology and Truth* is simply translated, with some additions, from the German dissertation. These chapters consist, as the German title suggests, in an exposition and criticism of recent English philosophy in its relation to religion. Dr Marshall follows Dilthey's division of philosophy into the three schools of Naturalism, Objective Idealism, and Free-will Idealism, and his method is to consider the epistemological basis of each of these philosophies, as set forth by typical thinkers, and then its relation to religion. Naturalism is represented by Huxley and Spencer, Objective Idealism by Mr Bradley and Dr E. Caird, Freewill Idealism by James Martineau and Prof. Upton; but lesser lights, such as Henry Drummond and Benjamin Kidd and many more, are by no means passed over. It must be said at once that the exposition and criticism are for the most part admirable: we welcome in particular the lucid state-

ment of the results for religion of the philosophies of Mr Bradley and Dr E. Caird, and we are glad to see the comparatively large space given to the views of some thinkers, such as Emeritus Professor C. B. Upton, who have hardly gained the influence that they deserve among modern philosophers and theologians.

We could have wished that Dr Marshall had brought his work up-to-date by an exposition and criticism of such modern systems as the pluralism with God of Prof. Howison, and the pluralism without God of Dr McTaggart. In the exposition, too, of Dr Marshall's teaching on theological truth and his doctrine of faith, we should have welcomed a continuation of the historico-critical method, and we should have looked forward to a comparison of his own doctrine with that of pragmatism or humanism, and also to sympathetic and suggestive criticisms of Ritschl and Loisy. But it has seemed good to Dr Marshall to abandon the method of detailed exposition and criticism of representative thinkers, and the contents of the last four or five chapters of his book are of a somewhat miscellaneous character. The chief topic is the consideration of the functions and inter-relations of science and theology, metaphysics and faith; but it must be confessed that the exposition is neither very lucid nor very convincing. Science, we are told, has for its province the discovery of truth (p. 285); theology, on the other hand, deals with significance, with value (p. 229). How are the two related? The value-judgment, as it has become fashionable to call it, would seem to be dependent in many instances on the previous scientific judgment; if, for example, science pronounces that the Virgin-birth did not take place (*cf.* p. 222), it is difficult to see what "value" theology could attach to it, and hence, even in its religious aspect, theology would hardly appear to be "autonomous" (p. 281). Metaphysics, again, is assigned a novel rôle: "Metaphysics is essentially the advocacy of an ideal" (p. 282), and its task is to advocate this ideal, not by thinking out a metaphysical system, but by constructing a life, by "an effort to impose the ideal upon what is given by the actual manipulation and violent reconstruction of the given"

(p. 283). The metaphysician may well feel embarrassed by the novelty of having something practical to do, but his embarrassment will be increased when he finds that any energy he may have remaining is to be employed in "the statement of articles of faith" (p. 285). Such an article of faith is given on p. 296, where it occupies nearly half the page.

It is obvious that Dr Marshall's views give rise to many questions, *e.g.*, What is the relation of theology and metaphysics, for theology also seems capable of stating articles of faith? (p. 281). Do these articles of faith include judgments of fact as well as judgments of value? And what is the relation between these judgments? Is one dependent on the other, as we seemed to find in the case of the Virgin-birth, or are they independent, and are we thus reduced to what Dr Marshall calls "the paradox of Free-will Idealism," viz., the "recognition of truth of two types, one in one sphere of experience and one in another, the two types being equally valid and yet incommensurable"? (p. 184). These and similar questions need a much fuller working out than Dr Marshall has given in the present volume. We should welcome a lucid statement of his views, and we would venture to suggest that both portions of his book would gain if the constructive part were separated from the really excellent exposition and criticism of chapters ii.-viii. We have noticed only two misprints—p. 249, l. 29, "Xenophon," read "Xenophanes"; p. 270, l. 6, "for," read "of." The index is not complete, *e.g.*, Professor Denney's name is omitted.

F. L. POGSON.

Oxford.

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Review of Theology and Philosophy

SURVEY OF RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

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London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1906. 2 vols. Pp. xx., 616, and xii., 590. 28s. nett.

THE foregoing list is not meant to be exhaustive. In drawing it up the writer has rather sought to note the more characteristic attempts which, from various points of view, have been made to apply reflective thought to solve the problems of religion. A philosophy of religion depends for its principles and method on philosophy in general; it is the application of these principles to a special sphere. Accordingly we may expect to find the main speculative tendencies represented in the literature of religious philosophy. If we set aside the naturalistic movement (of which Haeckel is a type), as seeking to explain away rather than to explain religion, we encounter at present two distinct currents in philosophy. These are Absolute Idealism and Personal Idealism. The former, less powerful now than it used to be, is true to the tradition of the great post-Kantian thinkers; the latter is concerned to emphasise the personal aspect of experience in its uniqueness and worth. That side of Personal Idealism which lays stress on the active aspect of experience, and assigns the primacy to will, is known as Pragmatism or Humanism. But there are Personal Idealists who do not commit themselves to Voluntarism, and seek to do justice to all the elements of personality, the volitional, the emotional, and the cognitive.

Dr J. M. E. Mactaggart is one of the foremost authorities on the Hegelian philosophy, by which he has been greatly influenced. He is, however, a very independent thinker, and does not hesitate to depart on occasion from the orthodox interpretations of his master's thought. In an earlier work he advocated the view that Hegel's Absolute is in no sense a person but an eternal system of selves. In his latest volume, *Some Dogmas of Religion*, he seeks, in a more popular way, to apply his speculative principles to the criticism of certain religious beliefs. A dogma, it is

urged, is a proposition with a metaphysical significance ; and the writer argues that immediate convictions in regard to the truth of dogmas are not of value, and in a matter of this kind we cannot dispense with proof. As against the view that the only test of a spiritual idea is its feeling or working value, Dr Mactaggart's criticism is valid ; and we concede that a religious dogma must be in harmony with scientific knowledge. And yet there will always be ultimate beliefs which enter coherently into our intellectual and practical life, but which are not susceptible of logical proof. In a chapter on "God as Omnipotent," Dr Mactaggart criticises the ordinary theistic proofs. He contends that an omnipotent Being cannot use *means* to an end, for this implies limitation of power ; that Omnipotence is incompatible with personality, and, in view of the facts of the world, with goodness. Those take the better way who try to save the Divine Goodness by denying His Omnipotence. Dr Mactaggart then turns his negative dialectic on the idea of a non-omnipotent God, and tries to show that it, too, is contradictory and untenable. We are then assured that, if we conceive ultimate Reality as a system of selves, a supreme and directing Mind is not necessary. Finally, it is argued that an optimistic outlook on the universe is not dependent on theism as a presupposition. The reader will thoroughly assent to the author's conclusion that "The result of our investigation has been almost entirely negative." And when he finds at the close the words of Spinoza, *omnia præclara tam difficilia quam rara sunt*, he may reflect that in these high and difficult matters it is possible Dr Mactaggart himself is mistaken.

The *Religionsphilosophie* of A. Dorner was published three years ago ; but I have not hesitated to include it in this survey, because the work is a meritorious one, and it has received little or no notice in the English press. From the method and spirit of his treatise Dorner is best classed with the Absolute Idealists, but his epistemology is strictly a Transcendental Realism. Indeed, his speculative affinity is with Schelling rather than with Hegel ; but in his faith in the capacity of reason to deal with the highest problems,

and in the view he takes of the ideal of religion, he is quite in sympathy with the Hegelian tradition. The philosophy of religion, Dorner holds, expounds the relation of the finite spirit to the Absolute, and leads up to the metaphysics of the Absolute, which it really presupposes. Hence he formulates the ideal of religion, and unfolds its metaphysics before treating of its psychology—a method not now common in Germany. Religion, says Dorner, has reference to a Reality which transcends the differences of finite experience. In history, through the inner dialectic of the religious process, this principle has received higher and higher expression; it is most adequately represented in the Christian idea of a divine-humanity, which idea, however, must not be exclusively identified with a single person. Yet while the highest religion must possess the truth which other religions have in imperfect form, in no religion, we are told, is the ideal perfectly realised. The justification of this view takes us back to the ground of religion in God, to its metaphysics.

Passing over at present Dorner's discussion of the theistic proofs, we indicate briefly his theory of God and His relation to the finite. We must think of God as absolute substance, as the basis of the manifold world in space and time. He can only be so if He contains in Himself the grounds of the world as experienced; and as a non-active and non-rational Being cannot give rise to things, God must be an eternal and rational Will. Self-consciousness is not founded on the contrast of the non-ego, and so God can be object to Himself; He is the absolute subject-object. The will is the real and reason the ideal side of the Divine Being. In harmony with Schelling, Dorner further postulates "potencies" in God, modes of being which are unified by His will. He plants out these, so to speak, in the form of being we term the world, and they are distinguished from Him, but are still animated by His forces. The "potencies" which contain the contrast of ideal and real enter into new forms of union, and run through stages of development. In the lower stages the real aspect predominates, in the higher the ideal or rational. The most perfect form of unity is the self-conscious ego. The process is an ascending scale in which

differences are successively brought into higher modes of union ; and here the cosmic process comes into vital contact with the religious consciousness. For religion is psychologically the spirit which solves the oppositions of experience through a higher unity ; and metaphysically it is the immanent working of God in man which reaches its goal in the consciousness of a divine humanity. Dorner, we think, inverts the true relation, when he conceives the psychology to be the complement of the metaphysics of religion. But he is aware of the emotional aspect of the religious consciousness, and does not think that religious knowledge can be divorced from feeling and will. Nevertheless he believes that faith can only harmonise with knowledge if the religious principle is not identified with any particular historical and psychological manifestation of it: the religious ideal is justified by the scope it gives for continued development.

Professor Dorner's book is luminous and thoughtful, and is in sharp contrast to the Neo-Kantian attitude to philosophy. But, partly in consequence of his method, his speculations lose touch with reality. His theory of undeveloped elements in the divine nature is full of difficulties, nor does he seem justified in setting reason over against will in God as real and ideal aspects. His doctrine of the putting forth of "potencies" belongs to the region of figurative rather than of exact thought.

Ere I pass from Dorner I must refer to his treatment of the ontological argument ; and in this connection it will be convenient to deal likewise with the work of Class—*Die Realität der Gottesidee*—and the brochure of Bohatec, which is mainly an exposition and criticism of the theories of these two writers. It is curious to see the fascination the ontological proof has for certain minds, and the persistency with which they try to find some valid evidence in it. In the case of Dorner—and also in that of Professor Howison, whose book we refer to later—the argument is justified on the ground of a particular epistemological theory. As opposed to Kant he distinguishes real from purely logical categories. The former have a trans-subjective reference ; their meaning is that they apply to *reality*. These are the

categories of substance, cause, and interaction. If, therefore, we must judge the most real to be substance, the judgment must be of reality; and, as Dorner finds we are obliged so to think God, His existence follows. All the cogency of this proof depends on the theory of knowledge behind it, and the theory is highly questionable. Class does not attempt to cross the "ugly ditch" between idea and reality by any such *tour de force*; but he tries to find the idea of God involved, at least indirectly, in the activity of pure thought. Deep in the nature of mind lies the tendency to postulate the absolute, whether as thought, power, or substance. So we cannot but think the absolute as the background of our life. Class does not hold that the argument amounts to a proof, and he endeavours to supplement it by indirect evidence from the consciousness of moral obligation as a rational demand, and from religion in history. The small work of Bohatec may be recommended, for, though it is not constructive, it contains a clear exposition and some valid criticism of the foregoing theories. On the whole, neither Dorner nor Class convinces us that it is possible to say more than that it is difficult to regard the idea of God as a purely subjective one.

Before leaving this group of thinkers we may notice the work of Walker, *Christianity and a Spiritual Monism*. But, while advocating this form of monism, the writer does not pretend to represent absolute idealism, though he is in sympathy with its conclusions. These conclusions, however, he thinks "must be reached by a different and more empirical way." So he approaches his subject from the scientific side, criticising the systems of Spencer and Haeckel. Mr Walker's goal is a spiritual monism which has a place for God, freedom, and immortality; and by monism he means that "there is one sole element which is revealed in two aspects, the spiritual and the material." The volume is interesting and fairly well informed; but its monism is far too easily reached, and the author does not raise and discuss thoroughly fundamental problems and difficulties, a thing which is necessary if his conclusions are to have weight.

The need of keeping in closer touch with the facts of experience, and of giving a fuller recognition to the unique meaning and value of the personal life, has led to the phase of philosophic thought which is broadly termed Personal Idealism. Hence the stress laid by thinkers of this type on psychology, and on the demands of the feeling and willing self. This tendency is a feature of the works we have still to mention, though it is not suggested that all the writers would accept the particular title.

The phase of Personal Idealism, which is known as Pragmatism or Humanism, is not yet represented by any complete work on the Philosophy of Religion. Professor James, the leader of the movement, has, however, given some hints in this direction in his well-known Gifford Lectures. The volume has been much discussed, and I do not propose to discuss it again. But I may remind the reader that James is quite sceptical of the value of a philosophy of religion worked out on the older lines. He accentuates the personal and psychological character of religion, and deems speculative theories put forward to explain it to be of doubtful worth. James especially distrusts all attempts to base the varieties of religious experience on a monistic philosophy; a fundamental pluralism has greater claims on our acceptance. His type of thought is empirical throughout, and he would solve the question of truth or validity in religion by the idea of "working-value." The test of religion is fitness, and the criterion of a belief is "the way it works as a whole." This purely empirical treatment of religion leaves its ultimate meaning vague, and, among other drawbacks, affords little explanation of the universality and continuity of religious experience. Höfding, whose *Religionsphilosophie* has appeared this year in an English translation, is aware of this difficulty, and tries to meet it.

While the Danish thinker names his own system "critical monism," his monism is very much a *Grenzbegriff*, and does not vitally affect his view of the nature of religion. But in contrasting institutional and personal religion, in tracing the root of religion to the feeling life and its experiences, and in

rejecting the theological formulæ by which men have sought to express the meaning of that experience, James and Höfding are in substantial sympathy. Indeed the latter thinks that, under the process of critical reflection, dogma must dissolve into a symbol of a reality which cannot be defined. The negative aspect of Höfding's thought comes out very clearly in his refusal to find a metaphysical ground for the religious consciousness in a personal Absolute. He holds that personality involves limitations which make it impossible to apply the idea to the ultimate ground of experience. In common with many others Höfding believes that the religious consciousness takes its rise from a feeling of strain or discord between the self and its environment. This discord he interprets as one between value and reality. In the lower forms of religion value is conceived materially, while in its higher stages the notion of ideal or spiritual values is developed. The striking point in the writer's theory of religion is the construction he puts on this experience. The essence of the religious consciousness is, he says, a "faith in the persistence of value," in other words, a postulate of the subject that value conserves itself in the world-process, and that the continuity of values is maintained. The objection to this principle, regarded as constitutive of religion, is that it is too abstract: if faith in value were not associated with a trust in a Power or Powers who could guarantee the realisation of value, it is difficult to see how either the origin or the continuity of the religious consciousness could be secured. But though Höfding does not find the justification of the religious postulate in a supra-mundane reality, he is not unaware of the difficulties of the position. In a later publication (*Moderne Philosophen*) he remarks that the sting of the religious problem is that the value-principle wants to be interpreted not only psychologically but cosmologically. But he leaves the ontological postulate of the religious consciousness without any real justification.

Höfding recognises the significance of personality, and notes the growing importance of the idea with the development of religion. Values have their living centre in the personal life. In what sense, then, do those personal

centres which make value actual persist? Here Höffding leaves us in the dark; he will not say that faith in the persistence of value warrants faith in immortality or the final persistence of individuals. On the whole, it is just because Höffding attaches so little weight to the rational aspect of the religious consciousness that he merges the ontology of religion in its psychology, and gives his theory of the nature of religion no adequate foundation.

Different from Höffding in this respect, yet in sympathy with him in accentuating the psychological and personal aspect of religion, is Professor Eucken, whose important volume, *Der Wahrheitsgehalt der Religion*, appeared in a second edition last year. Though Eucken is widely known as an original thinker in his own country, he has not received so much attention here. The main reason for this, it seems to me, is that his point of view is unusual and not easily grasped. But in addition he has a terminology of his own, while his language is sometimes misty and perplexes the reader who seeks a clear meaning. In the work before us Eucken has tried to expound the substantive nature or the true content of religion. He does not find the deeper being of man in thought or will by itself, but in the essential life which reveals itself in both. The conception of spiritual life in which consciousness and act are united is fundamental with Eucken, and distinguishes his system from naturalism as well as from intellectual idealism. Stress is laid on the act as the expression of the spirit, and operative in the development of personality. From the importance attached to personality as the centre of spiritual life and value, the system might be termed Ethical or Personal Idealism. But Eucken does not look for the source of values in the empirical order of things. He maintains there is a substance behind the appearance, and that an absolute and eternal principle of spiritual life is the presupposition of its temporal manifestation. Through this inner relation to the Absolute and Eternal, man has his essential being and is religious. And "without religion spiritual life has not truth, man has not greatness." As against Höffding, Eucken believes that we can only find the

pledge for the maintenance of values when we acknowledge that the changing and divided life of the spirit in time has an undivided and eternal form of being in a higher Reality.

Eucken does not trace the impulse in which religion originates to any empirical motive, such as the desire for happiness. Its true explanation is the contrast between the essential being of man and the outward form of his existence. In his temporal circumstances and surroundings man is confronted by entanglements and oppositions. But the sense of these thwarting elements and the sufferings they cause is a token of the depth of the nature which reacts against them and of the presence in it of higher forces. There is an indomitable energy in the human spirit, derived from its source, in virtue of which it strives to gain a new world over against the old. As Eucken is never tired of urging, the doubts and oppositions which assail man in his development have to be met by a fresh concentration of the spiritual powers and a deepening of the inner life. So religious progress is a dialectic movement; but it is the dialectic of life, not of categories, and is marked by the growing importance of personalities.

It is here that the distinction between *Universal* and *Characteristic* religion is brought forward. So far as I understand Eucken, he means by universal religion the general presence and operation of the higher spiritual forces in human life. They are not limited to any particular sphere. Characteristic religion, on the other hand, is marked by definiteness of content and independence of attitude. It is intensely personal, for here the spiritual elements are brought to an inward focus and the self reacts as a living unity against the world; the Eternal is defined as personal God whose attributes are power and love. But the two forms of religion are not exclusive, and their existence alongside of one another in society is psychologically intelligible. It remains to be noted that Characteristic religion is not the monopoly of any one historic religion, though it is admitted that Christianity was a means of bringing about that spiritual deepening

which is its feature. Indeed, though Eucken's thought has marked points of contact with Christian teaching, his attitude, like that of Dorner, to the traditional theology is distinctly negative. I may add that, like Höffding, he does not think that the higher religious experience can be expressed in conceptual forms: we can only use imaginative symbols. This higher spiritual life can only be explained *noölogically*. By this strange phrase Eucken means that we can fit the special activity into the whole of spiritual life, and show its function and value there. The affinity with Pragmatism is noticeable at this point.

The independence of Eucken's thinking, and the semi-mystical spirit which colours it, make it somewhat difficult to appreciate his system fairly. One feels his views are not objectively convincing, though beyond a doubt they are original and suggestive. Those whose test of validity is purely logical and impersonal will find something subjective and unsatisfying in this work. The truth seems to be that Eucken's thought is, in a special degree, the outcome of a personal attitude to life, and one must sympathise with that attitude to grasp the full significance of his system. Those to whom the principle of a spiritual life conquering the antagonism of the world strongly appeals will be greatly attracted by the presentation of the idea in the present volume. But those who cling to the notion that philosophy is "the thinking view of things" will judge that conclusions reached by Eucken's method will always lack cogency.

The little volume of lectures by Dr Jevons, *Religion in Evolution*, is slight and unsatisfactory. The writer's main purpose is to show the limitations of science and its incapacity to criticise religion. He distinguishes in religion between origin and validity, and also urges that the Science of Religion, in taking religion apart from the living belief, which is its breath, is dealing with an abstraction. Enlarging the scope of his argument, he declares that the scientific views of nature and of evolution are abstractions, for they ignore the freedom of the will, and treat space and time as real; and Dr Jevons is certain that the will is free, and strives to show that space and time are purely mental

creations. In this way the results of science are reduced to appearance and proved innocuous to religion. The book is full of confused thinking and paradoxical statements, the author, for example, asserting that consciousness is not in time, and supposing that, because he has shown that we have reflectively developed our present ideas of space and time, he has disproved the epistemological validity of the ideas themselves. Having pulverised science to his own satisfaction, Dr Jevons might have been expected to show that great benefits to religion ensue. But we are told that God cannot be inferred from experience, and can only be a fact of experience. We may put ourselves in the way of this experience by assuming that there is a God and by acting on the assumption. If we do not have the experience, apparently no more is to be said; and similarly we either feel God to be personal or we do not, and that is the end of the matter. The divorce between science and religion and between reason and faith could not be more complete.

I have ventured to include Professor Howison's book, *The Limits of Evolution*, in this survey, because of the originality of his views and their bearing on religion. Though he terms his theory Personal Idealism and his system is pluralistic, he entirely rejects the empiricism of Professor James and other humanists, and holds fast to the Kantian principle of *a priori* synthesis. What led him to break with the monistic type of idealism is the value he attaches to personal freedom, and his conviction that this cannot be assured so long as the finite self is involved in the chain of efficient causality. The eternity of free beings is implied in "any serious demand for freedom," and each self is a *causa sui* in the sense of Spinoza. Hence Professor Howison is led to postulate the eternity of self-acting spirits, which are for themselves, and define themselves over against other selves. Here he is in close agreement with Dr Mactaggart. But while the latter holds that there is no God, but only the eternal system of selves, the former thinks that God is one of the selves, in fact the ideal or perfect Self. The *idea* of every self and the idea of God are inseparably connected, yet neither depends for its *being* on the other, and God is only *primus inter pares*. We are

told he is the Perfect Type, or Supreme Instance, by reference to which every self defines itself in the first place, and so is able to define itself in terms of other spirits. The office of God is teleological. He is the ideal goal or perfect fulfilment of spiritual life, and moves the complementary world of spirits, not dynamically, but as their final end : *κινεῖ ὡς ἐπώματον*.

Such in bare outline is this theory of Personal Idealism. The presentation of it suffers from the fact that it is not systematic, but is developed through a series of essays on different philosophical topics. The first thought which strikes one is that Professor Howison has purchased freedom at a great price. So far as the process of experience in space and time is concerned, the company of spirits is operative but God is powerless. We must question the view that the ideal End of active beings, an End involved in the conception of progress, could be so if effective relationship were excluded. There are serious objections against identifying God with the whole of reality, but there are objections equally serious to a Deity who is only one of a company of spirits over whom he has no control. From the religious point of view a great difficulty in the way of accepting this form of idealism is its incompatibility with a central principle of the religious consciousness — the principle of dependence. Professor Howison foresees this objection, and tries to meet it by his notion of a purely logical or conceptual dependence. But the God of religion must be more than this, he must be a living Power, with whom are the issues of life. I cannot but think that if Professor Howison applied his bold and acutely argued Idealism to the interpretation of the facts of religious experience its inherent incapacity to do justice to these facts would be very apparent.

As representing a type of Personal Idealism more nearly related to the thought of Berkeley, we may mention two valuable essays by Dr Rashdall on *The Ultimate Basis of Theism* and *Personality, Human and Divine*. They appeared in the volumes of Oxford essays entitled *Contentio Veritatis* and *Personal Idealism*. The writer may also refer to his own volume of *Studies*, which stands nearer to the idealism of Lotze.

The *Philosophy of Religion*, by Professor Ladd of Yale, is the most elaborate and complete treatment of the subject which has appeared in recent years. The writer, who is greatly influenced by Lotze, while he is concerned to conserve the personal values of life, is equally anxious to uphold the claims of the theoretical reason. For religion involves all the activities of the soul, and we cannot interpret it rightly through any one of them. In the space at my disposal I cannot attempt to give even an outline of the contents of these lengthy volumes; it must suffice to refer to one or two points of interest, and to record some general impressions.

Professor Ladd's aim throughout is to keep in close touch with religious experience and to develop his philosophy of religion by reflective thinking on that experience. Hence he devotes much attention to the historical development of religious beliefs, and displays a wide knowledge of the literature of the subject. The standard by which he would evaluate religious beliefs is rationality; but the term is used in a broad sense, and implies the coherence of psychological, logical, and historical values. Ladd further shows that the religious mind always postulates the reality of its object—a point sometimes forgotten—and that the function of reason in religion is to make objective the grounds of the religious impulses. In his treatment of the idea of God he strives to rise to the conception of a world-ground which will harmonise experience, religious experience being part of the whole which has to be harmonised. The conception involved is found to be that of perfect Ethical Spirit, at once immanent in the world and transcending it. From the idea of God thus reached certain metaphysical and moral attributes follow; and the writer discusses fully the manner in which we must conceive predicates like omnipotence, eternity, and holiness to apply to the Divine Being. The omnipresent and active Deity who is the goal of Ladd's idealism is in sharp contrast to the Perfect Type of Howison, but his theory is not developed with the same clearness and precision. It may be added that Ladd justifies faith in immortality as a

legitimate hope in the God who is perfect Ethical Spirit ; but he does not accept—save in a very qualified sense—the idea of a special as opposed to a general providence, and he speaks with reserve on the possibility of miracles.

These volumes embody the results of a great amount of reading and research, and the writer treats his subject from a comprehensive point of view and in a spirit of moderation. Professor Ladd professes his adherence to the Christian standpoint, and a reader's valuation of the work will to some extent depend on whether he accepts that standpoint or not. The critically minded will probably complain that the author writes at great length and yet sometimes fails to make his view quite clear and definite. A certain prolixity is a feature of the book, and it would have gained in impressiveness if the central problems had been more rigorously argued. But the work has the distinct merit of trying to conserve what is good both in the older and the newer idealism. The writer faces his task in the proper spirit and executes it by a right method.

Here our survey ends. If none of the books mentioned is of epoch-making importance, they show that there is a real interest in the great questions at issue. Meanwhile the work being done in the history and psychology of religion will furnish fresh materials for reflection, and the living development of speculation will suggest new ways of dealing with the old problems.

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Reviews

1. **DIE SCHÖNHEIT DER BIBEL**, von Aug. Wünsche.
I. Band: Die Schönheit des Alten Testaments. Pp. i.-x., 1-390. Leipzig, 1906. 8 M.; geb. in Leinw., M. 9.50; Halbfrz., 10 M.
2. **DIE BILDERSPRACHE DES ALTEN TESTAMENTS.** Ein Beitrag zur ästhetischen Würdigung des poetischen Schrifttums im Alten Testaments, von Aug. Wünsche. Pp. i.-v., 1-187. Leipzig, 1906. M. 4.60; geb. in Leinw., M. 5.60; Halbfrz., M. 6.20.

1. THIS is a volume of essays in praise of Old Testament literature, enthusiastically setting forth the claim of its writers to stand in the front rank of literary craftsmen. By quotation and comment attention is concentrated on the æsthetic side of the impression which the Old Testament makes on its readers. What the author calls formal beauties, *e.g.*, rhythm and poetic parallelism, are merely referred to in passing. Stress is laid on such effects as are easily preserved in translation. Most of the work is devoted to the various aspects and species of the poetry of the Old Testament. Two short chapters exhaust the treatment of its history and its prophecy, except in so far as these include strictly poetical pieces.

Parts of the work have already been published as separate essays, and this may account for the fact that the chapter divisions are not determined by any clear logical principle. The longest chapter, covering eighty pages, headed "Religious Poetry," restricts its subject to the Book of Psalms, and contains the greater part of the author's treatment of this book. Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song are dealt with separately in a chapter entitled "The Poetical Writings." All these books necessarily contribute also to the chapters headed "Poems in Praise of Jehovah's Mighty Works," "The Poetry of Death," and "Nature Poetry" respectively. Other chapters which treat of the poetical literature of the Old Testament are entitled "Volksdichtung," "Maschaldichtung,"

"The Poetry of Curses and Blessings," "Elegies and Laments," and "Taunt-Songs."

The chapter specially devoted to the Book of Psalms, after a general introduction, gives brief estimates on translations of about sixty psalms. Here and elsewhere throughout the book the author's translations are a special feature. They are smooth and rhythmical, and, at the same time, wonderfully exact. Discussions regarding the authorship and date of composition of the individual psalms are not attempted, being, in Dr Wünsche's opinion, altogether fruitless. Certainly the conjectures of the commentators on these subjects do not inspire much confidence. What this chapter contributes is a better appreciation of the literary beauties of the Psalter, and stirs a desire for a more detailed treatment of the subject. This may be regarded as evidence of the excellence of Dr Wünsche's contribution, and also of its limitations. The familiarity of the language in the Psalms is an obstacle to their appreciation by some, and the type of their religious sentiment a hindrance to others. Readers so prejudiced will not have their difficulties removed by what Dr Wünsche offers them, but they may be roused to the discovery for themselves of much unexpected beauty. Granted that the Psalter as a collection of religious lyrics includes a good deal that is commonplace, and that the continuous reading of the same kind of poetry is almost inevitably wearisome, there is still a rich reward in the Hebrew Psalms for those who read them in the light in which they are here presented.

The chapter on "Nature Poetry" is particularly interesting. The illustrations are taken chiefly from the Psalms and the Book of Job. It is specially noteworthy that this kind of poetry, as preserved in the canon of Scripture, is not primarily an expression of thoughts and feelings stirred by the mere observation of nature itself. The mystery and the wonder of the world do find expression, but always in the form of reflections regarding the extent of the divine knowledge. The processes of nature, also, are invariably described as exhibitions of the divine power. Reflections on God's ways and works are so much in the foreground as to raise the question whether this poetry may rightly be called nature

poetry at all. It is certainly the Hebrew equivalent of the nature poetry of other peoples, but it is hard to decide when, if ever, the poet is inspired by his interest in the universe as such.

The chapter on "The Poetry of Death" takes the form of an account of the Hebrew conceptions of death and the state of the dead as reflected, firstly, in the older literature of the people, and then in their later writings, including apocryphal and pseudo-biographical works. Three or four pages at the end are devoted to Hebrew mourning customs. Numerous illustrative quotations are given throughout the chapter.

Most of the chapter on "Old Testament Historical Writings" is made up of paraphrases of the narratives of the Book of Genesis, with comments on their attractiveness and charm. That on the "Prophetical Writings" indicates by its title that it treats of the moral and religious significance of the Prophets, as well as of their æsthetic character. The chief quotations are arranged under the headings of "Prophecies of Judgment," "Prophecies of Promise," and "Visions." Necessarily quotations from the prophets and the historical books are to be found in the chapters which treat professedly of the poetry. Since, however, justice is not done to the subjects of these chapters, it might have been better to include portions of them in the introductory chapter, and restrict the subject of the book in name as well as in fact to Old Testament poetry. A discussion of the relation between Old Testament oratory and Old Testament poetry would have been welcome.

Dr Wünsche's object is to do for the present what Herder did for his day in his "*Geist der ebräischen Poesie*." Herder's influence may account for the introduction of a great variety of material which is connected with the main subject more indirectly than might be expected in a modern work. The last chapter, on "*Das Alte Testament in der bildenden Kunst*," may be treated as a welcome appendix; but in most chapters there is much that equally goes beyond the promise of the title. Taking the work, however, as it stands, in spite of its omissions on the one hand and its

repetitions on the other, it deserves a most hearty welcome. It should certainly stir a fresh interest in a much neglected aspect of Old Testament literature. After the grammarian, and the historian, and the theologian, and the textual critic have all said their say, it is reinvigorating to commit oneself to Dr Wünsche's guidance. If some readers wisely take Herder along with his modern representative, the result will surely be to stimulate further excursions in a most promising field of inquiry. Such related topics as the moulding forces which impressed on Hebrew literature its prevailing characteristics, the periods of national history round which it clusters, the achievements of its greatest writers and their comparative rank in the roll of the world's poets, historians, and orators, are only some of those which still remain almost untouched by modern writers.

A single matter of detail may be referred to in conclusion. Wünsche speaks uncertainly of the use of rhyme in Hebrew poetry (pp. 9, 183), and current opinion on the subject seems to be somewhat indefinite. In the Old Testament rhymes are certainly unusual, but may not Isa. xxiii. 16 be regarded as decisive proof that it was in use in popular poetry?

ḵəḥf kinnór, sôbbi 'îr,
zôná nishkāhâ,
hētfbi naggén, hárbi shîr,
l'má'an tizzākéri.

2. This is practically a supplement to the preceding work, and is a valuable aid to the study of one part of the literary character of Old Testament poetry. In the first of six chapters the figures of metaphor and simile are explained and illustrated. Then the contributions of the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms to these figures in the Old Testament poets are successively dealt with. The writer enumerates in detail the animals and objects which supply the figures, points out the use made of each, and quotes illustrative passages. A chapter is given to "cosmic" imagery, in which the figurative references to the sky, sun, moon, and stars, dawn, wind, rain, and storm, are collected.

The subject of the last chapter is fire and water in Old Testament imagery. The quotations and references are by no means confined to the poetical books, and are very full throughout, although not exhaustive. Under the heading "cattle" fifteen passages are given, to which Mal. iv. 2, Ezek. i. 7, Jer. xi. 19, Isa. xi. 7, Dan. iv. 25, and others might be added. Under "horns," with ten passages, 1 Sam. xxii. 3, Micah iv. 13, Ezek. xxix. 21, Ps. lxxxix. 17, xcii. 10, cxii. 9, and cxlvi. 14 are wanting. About twenty references are given in the case of "sheep," "lambs," etc., to which might be added 2 Sam. xxiv. 17, Ps. lxxiv. 1, lxxix. 13, c. 3, cxiv. 4, 6, Isa. xlii. 14, Zech. xiii. 7, Song vi. 6, Jer. xi. 19, li. 40, and Hos. iv. 16. "Sand" is given ten passages, in which Josh. xi. 41, Judg. vii. 12, 1 Sam. xiii. 5, 1 Kings iv. 20, 29, Job xix. 18, Hos. i. 10, and Isa. xlviii. 19 are omitted. When the objects named contribute little figurative language the references seem to be more complete, but Ps. lxxx. 10 is not referred to under "cedar," nor Jer. xxix. 17 and Isa. xxxiv. 4 under fig and fig tree. There is a useful index of the objects classified, but not of the passages referred to. In the companion volume there is a good index, both of names and passages. Both volumes are excellently printed on good paper.

WM. B. STEVENSON.

THE PSALMS (The Century Bible; *Vol. II., Psalms lxxiii.-cl.*). *Introduction, Revised Version with Notes and Index, edited by Rev. T. Witton Davies, B.A., Ph.D.* Edinburgh: T. C. & E. C. Jack, 1906. Pp. 380. 2s. 6a. nett.

THE "Century Bible" makes good its claim to present "in lucid form the results of the best modern scholarship," each volume being "an original and adequate commentary." The Book of Psalms has been divided between two editors: vol. i., embracing Psalms i.-lxxii., being undertaken by Prof. W. T. Davison, and vol. ii., embracing Psalms lxxiii.-cl., by Prof. T. Witton Davies. Whatever may be the editorial convenience in such a division of labour, there is a certain

inconvenience to the reader. No doubt there are so many things that may be included in General Introduction to the Psalms that the matter may be arranged under different heads without much overlapping, and the individual Psalms themselves are so varied in contents and literary form that they may be treated separately. Yet the Psalter is more of a unity than the collection of the Minor Prophets, or even the Book of Isaiah, both of which are similarly divided between different editors in this series; and the English reader who has already made himself familiar with this first volume cannot but feel that he is following a different guide in the second.

The subjects included in General Introduction have been so apportioned between the two editors as to supplement one another. In the first volume Dr Davison takes up (1) the name and character of the Book; (2) the formation of the Psalter; (3) the titles; (4) date and authorship; (5) poetical structure; (6) versions and use in the Church; and (7) literature; while, in the second volume, Dr Davies treats of (1) names of the Psalter and of individual psalms; (2) divisions of the Psalter—books, groups, psalms and verses; (3) the Messianic idea in the Psalms; (4) testimony of the Psalms concerning the life beyond death; (5) the speaker in the "I" Psalms; and (6) sacred music among the ancient Hebrews. From this enumeration it will be seen that, except in the earlier sections, the writers traverse different fields. Between them they have presented to the English reader just what he wishes to know, in a lucid and interesting manner, the best and most recent results of scholarly study being conveyed without the perplexity of scholarly details.

Of Dr Davison's part of the work it is enough to say here that it sustains the reputation he has made for sound, sober criticism, fine insight, warm tone, and sympathetic handling of the Psalms. No better pocket companion could be suggested to the traveller than his little volume.

The second volume, which is now specially under review, displays the multifarious learning for which Dr Davies is distinguished; and, particularly in the Introduction, dis-

cusses, in an able and effective manner, some of the weightier problems connected with the Psalms. Fully abreast of the most modern developments of criticism, he knows how to steer his way between extreme views, and to appraise theories at their true value. Although it is not a matter of much importance, the present writer may be allowed to say that he is credited (see p. 5) with a view of the composition of the Psalter which he is not aware that he ever propounded, viz., that "each of the *five books* existed, probably, as an independent hymn-book before it was joined to the rest." The existence of different "collections," as Dr Davies points out, is different from the separate existence of the present "books."

In the able and suggestive section on the testimony of the Psalter concerning the life beyond death, it is stated as an explanation "in a measure" of the absence in the pre-Exilic writings of the Old Testament of the belief in the life beyond death, that "in early Israel, as in the ancient world generally, the sense of personality was hardly realised. The human unit was the nation, the community, or, at most, the family, and not the individual man." This sweeping statement, with which Smend, in another connection, plays havoc with anything like personal religion in pre-Exilic (or even pre-Christian) times, requires qualification. Whatever may be the explanation of the fact in question, the sense of personality and of personal responsibility can be shown to be quite consistent with the distinctive corporate feeling of Israel, and may exist whether there is a doctrine of immortality or not. Dr Davies himself goes on to say (p. 15) that "in the thought of the Israelites it is in the present life that Jehovah metes out to men their deserts." He admits that in the belief in Sheol, which he says belongs to "Semitic heathenism," there was an eschatology of the individual, and he surely would not place Semitic heathenism on a higher level than Yahwism in the matter of moral responsibility. And when he says that "with the breaking up of the nation at the Exile, thought gravitated from the nation to the individual," and "in the writings of Jeremiah and Ezekiel the sense of personality stands out clearly,"

it may be remarked that there is not perceptible in these writers any advance toward the belief in personal immortality, for even the resurrection of Ezekiel is a national one.

In his treatment of the individual Psalms, Dr Davies would have been more effective if he had given a more connected commentary instead of disjointed comments or annotations. The volume would thereby have been more uniform with that of Dr Davison as well as more readable. If more space had been required for this, it could have been obtained by the avoidance of repetitions, and by the omission of remarks which, interesting in themselves, have no immediate bearing on the elucidation of the texts. What, for example, is the ordinary English reader to do with the remark (to select a case at random) on Ps. cxxviii. 2, that "this verse is quoted in *Pirge Aboth* iv. 3 (Taylor)"?

The proofs might have been read more carefully. On page 16, line 1, for xxxvii. read lvii. ; on page 32, last line, for Amos vi. read Amos v. ; and other slips have been noticed. On page 368, second line from below, for "*west* of the Tyropœan valley," should we not read "east"?

Glasgow.

JAMES ROBERTSON.

DER CHACHAM KOHELET ALS PHILOSOPH UND POLITIKER. Ein Kommentar zum biblischen Buche Kohelet, zugleich eine Studie zur religiösen und politischen Entwicklung des Volkes Israel im Zeitalter Herodes des Grossen, von *Adolf Gerson*. Frankfurt: J. Kauffmann, 1905. Pp. vii., 122. M. 4.

THE title which Gerson has given to his book is rather cumbrous, but represents pretty well the contents of the book.

Undaunted by the discrepant conclusions to which previous students were led by the apparent inner contradictions, Gerson, like Zapletal, finds a consistent plan and structure. The apparent discontinuity is explained as due not, as with Siegfried or Haupt, to difference of authorship,

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but to a threefold purpose. The book was to be a philosophical treatise, a political pamphlet, and a poetical proverb collection. On the removal of the political and the proverbial passages, what remains is a philosophical disquisition. Only, it is full of contradictions. Systematic tabulation, however, showed that, with one exception, all the statements belonging to it are judgments on the worth or unworth of earthly goods, or the good and evil acts of men, and that they are practically confined to iv. 4-vii. 12. Gerson's explanation is that the author is trying to develop methodically the nature of good and evil on the basis that value is not absolute, but depends on time and circumstance; vii. 13-22 draws the conclusion that man must steer a middle course between good and evil; viii. 6-x. 15, forming the main body of the second half of Ecclesiastes, investigates human destiny, and leads up to the final doctrine as to conduct in view of destiny (xi. 1-xii. 6). The transition to this second half is indicated in vii. 27 by the introduction of Solomon again as speaking, as in the general introduction (i. 12-ii. 26).

After a systematic tabulation of the doctrines of Koheleth, under such headings as Knowledge and Will, Destiny, the first part of Gerson's book ends with a collection of notes on points not correctly or adequately explained by other exponents. Contrary to the opinion of other recent writers (Haupt, Grimme, Zapletal), Gerson assumes the book to be written in prose. For the most part he adheres to the traditional text, and seldom even deals with the versions.

Gerson's real interest is in the second part of his book, entitled Historical Explanation.

A sketch of earlier attempts to determine the date of Ecclesiastes (in which we miss any reference to Haupt) leads up to an exposition of Gerson's own conclusions in respect of date, author, and history of book, and relation of book to historical situation. An appendix was to have dealt with the relation of Ecclesiastes to Greek philosophy, but has been withheld for separate publication.

The linguistic character of the book, Gerson thinks, proves it later than Sirach and Daniel. He inclines to accept a statement implying its currency in the time of Hillel, about

20 B.C., and concludes that Koheleth began to write shortly before the year 37 B.C., when Herod was trying to get possession of his capital, Jerusalem. The much-debated passage, iv. 13-16, belongs to the time, about 36 B.C., when Herod recalled Hyrcanus from Babylon. In this part of the book Koheleth seems to have been a partisan of Herod; in the second part he appears as a bitter enemy, and this second part Gerson thinks can hardly have been written before 30 B.C.

On account of the contents of the book—open attacks on Herod and on current conceptions—its author would fear the results to himself of its going into circulation; nor could he expect that the unaided influence of his pen would go far to give currency to his doctrines. Both these difficulties would be met by issuing his book under the authority of some great name of the past. The Books of Proverbs and Canticles were traced back to Solomon, although parts of Proverbs are expressly said to have been collected in the time of Hezekiah. All that the author of Ecclesiastes, therefore, had to do was to give it forth that he had collected the matter of his book from the lips of the people; and this, according to Gerson, is what the postscript does. In fact it goes farther: Gerson explains xii. 11b as stating that it was from the lips of a shepherd that Koheleth learned the wisdom of the people.

The references to contemporary politics, however, could not plausibly be derived from Solomon, and so the author included in his book poetically cast verses imitating popular sayings, and then, to cover the contents which any one can see are not popular sayings, were inserted the first two words of xii. 12, "and besides these others"—for that is Gerson's explanation of those words.

The mystery of the ascription to Solomon of the name Koheleth Gerson explains thus: the author wrote "Solomon" (in i. 1, 12; vii. 27; xii. 8). Later it became known that the author was really a man named Koheleth, and his name was substituted, part of the name Solomon remaining in vii. 27; xii. 8 in the form of the unexpected definite article (p. 80). The fact that in the body of the book Solomon

appears only in vii. 27, Gerson explains by suggesting that the ascription to Solomon was an after-thought, due to the apprehensions felt by the author with regard to the character of the latter part of the book. The arguments in favour of a later origin for the postscript (xii. 9-14) Gerson thinks convincing; but, as implied above, he holds that their claim as to the source of the matter of the book goes back to Koheleth himself.

The main interest of Gerson is in the discussion entitled "Koheleth and Pharisaism" (pp. 87-118). He insists that Pharisaism is, in the first instance, a political party. Josephus and the Talmud projected the conditions of their own time into the past. According to Josephus' account Koheleth's opinions would class him with the Sadducees rather than with the Pharisees, and he denied the fundamental ethical principles which had their root in the law. References in his book, however, convince Gerson that he was decidedly a member of the popular party. Gerson therefore attempts to show that Koheleth's general views were represented before him in Hebrew literature, and, moreover, in writings of men who belonged to the same party—the popular party. In fact it was the popular party (which ultimately became the Pharisees) who favoured freer views, whilst the conservative element, with its respect for the authority of the Law, was represented by the Sadducees. In iv. 17-v. 5 Gerson finds Koheleth opposing the priesthood. He finds no evidence that the popular leaders (Hakhamim) systematically prosecuted the study of the Law before the time of Hillel. Most of the popular party, however, ere long broke with Herod, who had to create in place of the Sadducees a new aristocratic party. Through the guidance of Hillel and Shammai the popular opposition to Herod took the form of legal refinements for avoiding dues that would enrich the priesthood, and for checking foreign trade. The effect of this attention to the Law was to turn the popular political party into a religious sect. That led in turn to the formation of fellowships (Haberim), and the separatists came to be called Pharisees. It was in these ranks that the value of settled dogma was given to the

doctrines of future life, retribution, etc. This change in the popular party was strongly disapproved of by Koheleth, who, indeed, wrote his book in protest against it. That is proved by the attempts to keep it out of the Canon, and the editorial additions made to it (ii. 25 ; iii. 17, 21 ; xii. 7, 13, 14). The last two verses of the book Gerson thinks were added by an adherent of Koheleth, who wrote the first of the verses against his better convictions, to secure the acceptance of the book—in which, indeed, he succeeded.

In a postscript Gerson tells how the popular party, which rejected Koheleth, severed itself in turn from the Pharisees and threw itself into the arms of the Zealots ; whilst Pharisaism, after uniting with the lower ranks of the priesthood, developed in turn into Rabbinism. The conflict with Pharisaism, which Koheleth had begun through Reason (*Vernunft*), Jesus continued with larger success through the Heart (*Gemüt*). The avoidance of the name "Yahwè," Gerson thinks, may be due to Koheleth's not daring to use it, but is, perhaps, more probably due to his not caring to use it. If the Hakhamim were led by their opposition to the priests to such an attitude to the name Yahwè, Gerson thinks that we may have "at last" a clue to the solution of the riddle of the Pentateuch, and the origin of the Canon.

It seemed well to sketch at some length the ingenious theory that Gerson has worked out, for the various parts of it are reached separately in different chapters, and nowhere gathered together. The writer is a keen thinker. We shall doubtless ere long have from him a work of wider scope, dealing more systematically with the various questions which he has here incidentally discussed, and setting forth their general historical relations. So much turns in Gerson's theory on Koheleth's belonging to what he calls the popular party that the establishment of that fundamental point needs fuller treatment.

That Koheleth belongs to the time of Herod the Great is, of course, no new theory : it has been held by Grätz, and in 1900 by Cheyne. Grimme's recent proposal (published after the appearance of Gerson's book) to ascribe the work to ex-King Jehoiachin towards the end of his life is quite as

ingenious as Gerson's; the parallelism of Eccles. ix. 7-9 to a Gilgamesh epic fragment is striking; and the series of passages that Grimme is able to explain by his theory is quite as imposing; he, too, can account for the avoidance of the name Yahwè; but could such Hebrew be written in the sixth century B.C.? Gerson's date seems to do better justice to the linguistic phenomena, although the arguments of Schechter, endorsed by MacNeile, must not be overlooked. They would support the date favoured by the other recent commentator on Ecclesiastes—Zapletal—who suggests 200 B.C.

We conclude with a word of comment on Gerson's argument for the Herodian date.

Let us take, for example, Gerson's treatment of the much-discussed passages, iv. 13-16, and ix. 13-15. The clever young man of obscure origin is Herod, who summons from Babylon the old and foolish King Hyrcanus II. to share his power. Koheleth, in preferring the young man, shows himself a partisan of Herod. He warns, however, not to trust too much, since a second young man, Antigonus, the second son of Aristobulus II., after having been enthusiastically followed by "every one under the sun," later lost their favour. This is very ingenious; but it is not clear that the man who is brought from confinement is distinct from the man of poor birth, and even after Gerson's remarks it is difficult to accept "second" as applying to one who was Herod's predecessor on the throne. The "little city" passage is explained thus: the "great king" is Pacorus, son and co-regent of the King of Parthia. The "little city" is Drymi, and the poor ḥakham who delivered it by his sagacity is Koheleth himself. Apart from the objections made by MacNeile to any such interpretation, however, Gerson has to admit that Josephus says nothing of Pacorus appearing before Drymi in person, or of the building of siege works. He suggests that Koheleth, to bring out the ingratitude of the townspeople, exaggerates the critical nature of the occasion. It may be questioned, however, whether the statements of Josephus are not quite too obscure to justify the use to which Gerson puts them. These

criticisms do not, of course, disprove Gerson's general theory ; but they indicate the precarious nature of some of the props on which it rests.

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JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY: Short Studies. No. II. The Spiritual Teaching and Value of the Jewish Prayer-Book, by the Rev. G. H. Box, M.A. Longmans, Green & Co. Pp. 1-51.

A HIGHER critic who was staying with a Highland laird is said to have noticed that his host used precisely the same intonation of voice in pronouncing the Grace before meat and in reproving trespassers in pursuit of game. It was inferred that the deepest elements in the man's nature could be traced in his devotions. If this inference applies to national history, Mr Box may be right in regarding the Jewish Prayer Book as a better index to the master motives of Judaism than either the Old Testament or the Talmud.

The Jew's appeal to Jehovah is not free and spontaneous ; its terms are prescribed by the Law in the Pentateuch. Sin to the Jew is any breach of the 613 bye-laws ; to the Christian sin is opposition to a Living Person. The merit of the patriarchs, the atoning virtue of the act of dying, the ritual of the Day of Atonement coupled with repentance are among the means whereby the Jew may attain to forgiveness. A strong element in the Jewish Liturgy appears in thanksgiving, to which about one hundred paragraphs are devoted. There is also a full inventory of transgressions, one department using the alphabet twice over to indicate in acrostic form the breaches of the covenant to which the people were prone. "The element of intercession, as we understand it, is almost wholly absent," p. 49.

The fundamental ideas and aspirations of the Jewish Prayer Book are investigated in a commendable spirit of generous appreciation ; and now that Christian students have sated themselves with inquiry into savage religions and obsolete idolatries, there is some chance that Mr Box's

invitation to reconsider the venerable predecessor of Christianity may be accepted. It would be unwise to suppose the average reader has much familiarity with the Jewish Prayer Book, and references should explain themselves.

St Andrews.

D. M. KAY.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT,

by the Rev. David Ross Fotheringham, M.A. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co., 1906. Pp. 1-143. 3s. nett.

THE historian cannot tell his tale without a chronometer of some kind. The sun and the moon have served as time-keepers; and much perplexity to writers and readers has resulted from the effort to oblige these two discordant masters. The Semite is less troubled than the Aryan by pluperfect and paulo-post-futurum tenses; yet both are compelled to presuppose something which will mark off equal spaces in equal times. The Priests' Code is the most conscientious document of the Old Testament in this respect; and, though it appears to have allowed Methuselah to be drowned in the Flood, its numbers have a careful consistency of their own. Mr Fotheringham does not start from antediluvian epochs, but finds firm ground in the period of the Kings. He dates the Fall of Samaria in 711 B.C., instead of in 722 B.C., the current fashion. The Fall of Jerusalem remains, according to his computation, in 587 B.C. The period of the Judges, which, according to the Book itself, would seem to be about 430 years, is shortened to some 250 years. The date of the Exodus is thus found to be about 1250 B.C. Mr Fotheringham writes with ease, and his conclusions have been deliberately worked out. The general effect of his revised chronology is to restore a new kind of credit to the biblical system, and to show that Peta-vius and Ussher must not be summarily dismissed by casual allusions to the sequence of events in Assyrian or Egyptian annals.

D. M. KAY.

St Andrews.

THE FAITH OF THE BIBLE, being a Collection of Extracts gathered out of the Old and New Testaments, with Notes and a Preface, by *J. A. Cross, M.A.* Methuen & Co. Pp. 1-231. 2s. 6d. nett.

THESE passages of Scripture are so selected as "to show that whatever uncertainty or certainty we may feel about the question of miracles, we may still find in the Bible the precepts of the Law and the faith of the Prophets, the wisdom of the Proverbs and the devotion of the Psalms, the person and teaching of Jesus and the teaching of His Apostles" (p. vi.).

The extracts are well chosen, arranged under attractive headings, and often illuminated by a judicious note. The natural man, who would not face chapters and verses, may here discover how much good sense and real truth there is in the Bible. The sectarian will be the better for perceiving that his watchwords are ignored in the primal elements of biblical religion. Such a collection as this might also be useful for presentation to intelligent readers among non-Christian peoples.

D. M. KAY.

St Andrews.

VON REIMARUS ZU WREDE: Eine Geschichte der Leben-Jesu-Forschung, von *Albert Schweitzer, Lic. Theol., Dr Phil. zu Strassburg.* Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Edinburgh: Otto Schulze & Co.), 1906. Pp. xii., 418. 8 M.; geb., M. 9.50.

DR SCHWEITZER, not without justification, claims that, among the greatest enterprises and achievements of the human mind, the investigation of the life of Jesus by German scholars during the last century and a half takes a high place. The amount of labour spent upon the subject is indicated by the vast number of books, articles, and monographs which have gathered round it. But the quantity of toil expended is quite eclipsed by its quality. It might with truth be maintained that in the course of this investigation criticism has become a new science. But the amazing thing is not even the scholarship, and patience, and

insight which have created this science, but the courage, love of truth, and self-sacrificing impartiality which have applied it to the life of Jesus. Too often we fail to give credit to the men whose determination to know and to face the truth has compelled them to abandon beliefs they have cherished among their most sacred and inalienable possessions.

Certainly there was room for such a history of this notable movement as Dr Schweitzer has given us. One could gather a fair conception of its development either from reading the leading *Lives* of our Lord, or from the various works which present a more or less complete account of the period; but, unquestionably, this full and critical survey fills a gap and supplies a want. It may be regretted that the author has confined his attention to German literature, for the knowledge of such books as Professor Shailer Mathews' *Messianic Hope in the New Testament* might have led him to modify some of his statements. Nor will English readers be conciliated by his naïve statement that only in Germany is there native ability sufficient for such studies. At the same time all readers will cordially acknowledge the world's indebtedness to the men whose names are here celebrated, if not immortalised, and whose labours have made the path to truth somewhat easier to those who follow.

The *termini* of Schweitzer's history call for a word of explanation. Reimarus he considers the true anticipator, or at least forerunner, of Johannes Weiss; and this latter, again, is completed by Wrede. The starting-point is connected with the goal in the following way. Of itself, the entire history of *Leben-Jesu-Forschung* falls into two periods, that before Strauss and that after Strauss. The former period is dominated by the problem of miracle: how can the historical presentation of the life of Jesus come to terms with the supernatural? Strauss furnishes the solution. Supernatural events form no part of the history, but are merely mythical elements in the sources. But the miraculous being eliminated, there returned the question suggested by Reimarus—What significance has the escha-

tology of Jesus for His whole work and teaching? With this question was closely associated the scrutiny of our Lord's self-consciousness. This double problem was presented in its full significance by Johannes Weiss in 1892, in the first edition of his epoch-making book, *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes*; and no sooner had the critical mind assimilated the fresh material here furnished than Wrede published his *Messiasgeheimnis*, in which the author renews the attempt of Bruno Bauer and Volkmar to eliminate the Messianic wholly from the life of Jesus.

The importance attached by Schweitzer to the work of Johannes Weiss appears in another significant distribution of the whole period which he makes at p. 235. "Weiss' *Predigt Jesu* has, in its way, the same significance as the first *Leben Jesu* of Strauss. He presents the third great alternative in the *Leben-Jesu-Forschung*. The first was presented by Strauss: either purely historical or purely supernatural. The second was discussed by the Tübingen school and Holtzmann: either the Synoptic Gospels or the Fourth. Now we have the third: either eschatological or noneschatological." And this precisely is, according to Schweitzer, the merit of J. Weiss, that he perceives that reconciliation of the two views of the Messianic kingdom is impossible, and that an alternative presents itself to the reader of the Gospels: either our Lord's view was eschatological or it was not. He is fully alive to the fact that those who put this alternative sharply have to reckon with the law of inertia, which compels the multitude still to seek to reconcile the irreconcilable, and indeed to count it their peculiar wisdom to give due weight to the *other* side of the question.

As a history giving a fair account of the contents, place, and significance of all the German writings which have served to develop the criticism of the life of Jesus, Schweitzer's book will be found most useful. The classification of the various books under such headings as "At the close of rationalism; Hase and Schleiermacher," "The Mark Hypothesis," "The liberal lives of Jesus," "The eschatological question," "Aramaic, Rabbinic, Buddhist influences," is instructive, and

under these headings no book is omitted that one would like to hear about. An index, unusually full for a German book, also aids the reader to find at once what he wants; and while one cannot always agree with the criticisms offered by Schweitzer, it will be felt that he accurately indicates the permanent contribution which each writer made to the continuous development of criticism.

The result of this 130 years of critical investigation of the life of Jesus is, according to Schweitzer, the shifting of the basis of Christianity from a historical to an experimental foundation. All this elaborate scrutiny of the history reaches the conclusion that our old-fashioned belief in the Jesus of the Gospels had no justification in fact. "There is nothing more negative than the result of the *Leben-Jesu-Forschung*. The Jesus of Nazareth who appeared as Messiah, preached the morality of the Kingdom of God, founded the kingdom of heaven on earth, and died to consecrate His work, never existed. He is a figure, devised by rationalism, vivified by liberalism, and clothed by the modern theology with historical science. This figure has not been destroyed from without, but has in itself collapsed when confronted with the historical problems raised by thorough investigation." This investigation set out to discover the real Jesus; and it did dischain him from the rock of dogmatic tradition, and congratulated itself on restoring life and movement to the benumbed and paralysed figure. But He passed out of our time and reverted to His own; and the theology of the last forty years has been surprised and shocked to find that, with all its devices of distorted and violent interpretation, it could not retain its hold upon Him. To our time the historic Jesus is either an alien or a riddle.

In other words, the historical foundation of Christianity as the rationalist, the liberal, and the modern theology have represented it, exists no longer. But this does not mean that Christianity has lost its historical foundation. The labour which the historical theology felt itself constrained to carry through, and which it sees crumble at the very moment of its completion, is only the brick covering of the true and

indestructible foundation which is independent of all historical knowledge and justification. To our world Jesus is a real existence (etwas), because from Him a powerful spiritual influence has proceeded, and permeates even our own time. This fact is neither demolished nor established by historical knowledge. It is the veritable basis of Christianity.

The conclusion, then, to which Dr Schweitzer believes this long process of criticism leads, is that to which certainly many are finding themselves driven, that it is not the historic Jesus but the spirit which proceeds from Him which conquers the world. It is the spiritual risen Jesus which alone can avail for our time. It is the knowledge which comes through experience of His power which is alone valuable. "Soviel Geist Jesu, soviel wahre Erkenntnis Jesu." As Schweitzer says in the closing words of his valuable book: "As an unknown and nameless One, He comes to us as He came on the shore of the lake to those men who wist not who He was. He utters the same word, 'Follow thou Me,' and confronts us with the problems which He in our time must solve. He commands. And to those who hearken, be they wise or unwise, He will reveal Himself in that which they are able in His fellowship to do and to suffer, and as an unutterable secret will they learn who He is."

It may be permissible to add that historical criticism has perhaps not said its last word, and that when the pendulum settles it will be found not quite so far from the extreme of the absolute historicity of the Gospels. It is significant how little has been made in this inquiry of the greatest apologetic asset of Christianity, St Paul.

Edinburgh.

MARCUS DODS.

ORIENTALISCHE STUDIEN, *Theodor Nöldeke zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag (2 März 1906) gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern, und in ihrem Auftrag herausgegeben von Carl Bezold. Mit dem Bildnis Th. Nöldeke's, einer Tafel und zwölf Abbildungen. 2 Bände (liv. u. 1187 S. gr. 8vo). Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann (Edinburgh: Otto Schulze & Co.), 1906. Geheftet, 40 M.; Gebunden, 46 M.*

ON the 2nd March last, being the seventieth birthday of the world-renowned orientalist, Professor Nöldeke of Strassburg, a number of his more intimate friends met at his residence, and through their convener, Professor de Goeje of Leiden, presented him with the splendid collection of original articles and essays now before us. In the dignified and feeling address which Dr de Goeje delivered in making the presentation, and which is reproduced here as the preface of the book, he was able to say that these volumes would remain as a lasting monument of the sincere admiration and profound esteem entertained towards Dr Nöldeke by the numerous contributors to the *Festschrift*, and by the still wider circle of scholars and friends whom they represented; and he added that many, both far and near, regarded Dr Nöldeke not only as a revered teacher but as an honoured counsellor and a trusted friend. Not a few in our own country will re-echo these sentiments, and join in wishing the venerable and amiable scholar many years still of health and happiness in which to enjoy his well-earned fame.

The collection itself consists of some eighty-five "studies," from as many distinguished scholars, hailing from various parts of the world. These articles, specially written and collected in this form to do honour to Professor Nöldeke, are appropriately preceded by an elaborate list, prepared by E. Kuhn of Munich, enumerating the works which the veteran orientalist has contributed to philological and historical inquiry during the last fifty years. Dr Kuhn's list, occupying about forty pages, is a very interesting portion of the book.

The individual "Studies" vary in length as well as in im-

portance. With the exception of a few, which discuss points of Greek and Latin philology, or ancient and modern Persian, or Turkish or Egyptian, the articles are confined to the Semitic field, though unrestricted within that field. The collection opens with a brief but most interesting article on "The Call of Mohammed," by Dr de Goeje, in which, besides defending vigorously the sincerity of the founder of Islam, he develops an ingenious theory, first propounded by him in 1899 in the *Theologisch Tijdschrift*. Professor de Goeje believes that Mohammed's vision of the angel Gabriel on Mount Hirā—which had such a determining influence on his career—was not a mere mental hallucination, as is commonly supposed, but was founded on some optical phenomenon like the "Spectre of the Brocken." This rationalistic explanation labours under the difficulty of a want of proof that such a spectre was ever seen in these sunny regions before Mohammed's day, or has ever been seen since. It has been interviewed frequently on the misty mountains of the Hartz and the Tyrol and even in the Caucasus, but there is no evidence that it ever travelled to Mecca.

Dr Houtsma signalises the re-discovery in India of ibn al-Habbārijja's metrical Arabic version of the widespread Eastern story, *Kalīla wa-Dimna*. Thirty years ago, as some may remember, Benfey, in his introduction to Bickell's edition of the Syriac version of this story, gave a minute description of the genesis of the Sanskrit original and its passage into Pehlevi, and then into Arabic, Greek, Hebrew, and so on. Thanks are due to Dr Houtsma for unearthing this version, which had been supposed to be irretrievably lost, but which he now describes and samples for our benefit.

"Muḥammad ibn Sallām al-Ġumāhī's Book of the Poets" is the title of Dr Brockelmann's informing and pleasing essay. In it he has brought together the scattered fragments which remain of the work just named, once famous and often quoted among the earlier native historians of Arabic literature.

In a careful study of the poetical remains of Umajja b.

Abi-ṣ̣ Ṣalt, F. Schulthess discusses the intellectual and religious position of that Arab thinker and poet. Samples are given of Umajja's curious cosmological and mythical poems, all bearing evident traces of the influence of Jewish and Christian faith and tradition, and of the later Babylonian culture. Umajja lived to see the establishment of Islam, and he sympathised with it, but he could never be induced to acknowledge Mohammed as prophet.

An article which is sure to attract attention is furnished by Dr Julius Euting, who gives a clear description of the camel's saddle in present use among the Bedouins, and accompanies his account with well-drawn designs of the saddle and its furniture.

Some valuable Arabic texts are printed for the first time in this collection. For example, L. Cheikho, of Beirut, contributes the text, along with a French translation, of a brief but most interesting treatise on the criteria of the truth of religion, by Honein ibn Ishāq, a famous Syrian and Nestorian physician, who lived in the ninth century A.D. Honein's rules for distinguishing the true from the false in religion are expressed with logical precision and force, and might still be utilised with advantage.

There is perhaps no essay in the book that is written in a more lucid and charming style than Dr Goldziher's article on "Magical Elements in the Prayers of Islam." It is abundantly supported by learned reference in the footnotes, but the erudition is not obtrusively thrust before the student; and the nature of the subject and the attractive form of its literary presentation combine to make it pleasant as well as instructive reading.

The articles which deal specially with Syriac and Aramaic are not numerous, but they are full of merit, such as: "Syriac Texts on the First General Council of Constantinople," by Oskar Braun; a curious versified dialogue in the Fellihī dialect of Aramaic, between "the Evil One and the sinning woman," by K. V. Zetterstéen; "Aramaic Fish-names," by Immanuel Löw; and "The Aramaic Root ܐܠܗ," by Dr Bevan.

A valuable essay is contributed by M. Chabot on the

"Garden of Delights," which is a Syriac biblical commentary of Nestorian origin—not, however, a commentary on the whole Bible, but on the lessons for Sundays and Feast-days throughout the liturgical year.

Dr M. Lidzbarski presents a short but most suggestive disquisition on the terms *Uthra* and *Malakha*, as employed in the Mandæan Gnostic system. He holds that the former term, which stands in that system for "good angel" or "emanation of the Deity," is traceable to the root ܘܬܪ in the sense of the Syriac word for "superabundance," and not to the root ܡܠܟܐ, in the sense of "riches." He thinks this derivation of his gets rid of various difficulties, and that it harmonises better with the emanation-theory. The *Uthrē* are the "good angels"—the messengers of God, as well as the product and expression of His central splendour, and they are at the same time the immediate protectors and patrons of men. The *Malakhē*, on the other hand, in this system are "foreign angels," wicked spiritual powers, to be classed with the "demons."

There are many and useful papers here which treat of Hebrew subjects. Grammatical points of considerable importance are ably dealt with by Professors Kautzsch, D. H. Müller, and Barth. More purely lexical themes receive effective attention from Drs Westphal, Seybold, and others. Among these others Dr Moore well exemplifies the ample erudition and keen, minute research ungrudgingly brought to bear on points, sometimes, which to the lay mind seem small ones.

Of more general interest, perhaps, is Dr E. Sellin's well-written essay on "The Israelitish Ephod"; and the same may be said of Dr Crawford H. Toy's article on "The Semitic Conception of Absolute Law."

Professor Nowack discusses the subject of metre in Hebrew poetic literature—its nature and its bearing upon textual criticism; Professor Stade discourses fully and instructively on the poetic form of the fortieth Psalm; and Dr T. Witton Davies furnishes some useful notes on several of the Psalms.

In the department of Ethiopic, F. Pereira of Lisbon sends

the text of an Ethiopic version of the Fifth Demonstration of Aphraates, which had been rendered from the Syriac, though loosely and freely enough, as Parisot pointed out in 1894, in the preface to his own edition of Aphraates.

Professor C. Bezold contributes a paper entitled the "Arabic-Ethiopic Testament of Adam." Dr Bezold informs us that in the Arabic and Ethiopic versions of the Syriac work *Cave of Treasure* (v. his own edition of that work) a Gnostic treatise has been interpolated, founded evidently upon a Greek original—which treatise has come to be known as the *Apocalypse of Adam*, or the *Testament of Adam*. The Arabic version and the Ethiopic translation are here printed side by side. The *Testament of Adam* is a curious piece, mainly devotional. It purports, in fact, to be a "Book of Hours" for the universe, describing the part supposed to be taken, at the several hours of the day and the night, by the various classes of created beings, and it winds up with Adam's parting counsels and predictions, the latter relating both to Adam's nearer future and to the final destruction of the world by fire.

An instructive account of the *Sawāsew* (i.e. "a ladder" or *gradus scalarum*)—the only grammatical system, or rather discipline, that ever existed among the Abyssinians—is given by Dr Ignazio Guidi, than whom perhaps no living man has done more to advance the study of Ethiopic and its cognate dialects. It appears that the Abyssinians, in marked contrast with the Syrians and Arabs, were poor philologists. It may be recalled here that Zar'a-Yā'qōb, the Ethiopian sceptic, who lived in the first half of the seventeenth century, mentions in his *Enquiry* (recently edited simultaneously and independently by E. Littmann and B. A. Turaieff) that he too was taught *Sawāsew* when a boy at school.

Subjects connected with the Tigrē language, a dialect closely allied to Ethiopic, are discussed by C. Conti Rossini and E. Littmann.

In the Assyrian field Dr Morris Jastrow, jun., writes on the "Composite Character of the Babylonian Creation-Story." Professor P. Jensen, in a paper entitled "Der Babylonische Sintflutheld und sein Schiff in der Israelitischen Gilgamesch-

Sage," seeks to trace, in various stories which we meet with in Scripture, the influence of the Babylonian account of the Deluge. M. J. Halévy has a learned paper embracing two subjects of interest for students of Assyrian—the first being "Words in Hebrew which have been borrowed from Assyrian," and the second being the "Names of the Cuneiform Signs."

Several excellent articles in this collection are devoted, as has been already said, to subjects not strictly within the Semitic pale, such as "Additional Data on Zoroaster," by A. V. Williams Jackson; "Smintheus," a short but suggestive paper by J. Oestrup on a point in Homeric mythology; and "Scenes of Common Life in Constantinople," taken by F. Giese from a Turkish romance by Hüsên Rahmi.

Of subjects in which the Semitic interest is coloured by other interests we have "An original document from the time of the Maccabees," well discussed by Prof. B. Niese. He shows that Josephus could sometimes be very remiss indeed in the handling of his material.

An article of some value for New Testament criticism is furnished by Wilhelm Soltau, bearing the title "Anecdotes and Legends of St Peter in the Acts of the Apostles." A short but instructive paper on "The Name *Panthera*" is presented by Professor Deissmann. This name, given in the Talmud as that of the father of Jesus, is shown to have been not uncommon as a man's name under the early Empire; and a gravestone at Bingerbrück is figured on which it occurs.

The collection closes with an account, by Dr Spiegelberg, of the Egyptian words which occur in the Aramaic inscriptions found in Egypt.

The essays which have been mentioned and briefly commented on in this notice are merely put forward as a sample of the riches of this collection; and many articles of high importance and authority have been regretfully left unmentioned from want of space. Enough, however, has perhaps been said, to indicate in some measure the variety, extent, and value of these remarkable volumes.

The practical usefulness of the book has been greatly

enhanced by a couple of full and apparently faultless indices, furnished by Dr Bezold, one dealing with proper names, and the other with foreign words explained in the work. In addition to his own contribution to the body of the work, Dr Bezold has given his invaluable services as editor. Both he and his fellow-contributors may well be gratified to witness the brilliant success of their united efforts to illustrate the renown of their teacher and friend.

A good likeness of Professor Nöldeke forms a suitable frontispiece to the work.

These two handsome volumes are admirably printed throughout by the famous Drugulin house, and in their bound form they are sumptuously presented by the publisher, Herr Töpelmann of Giessen.

Annan.

JAMES A. CRICHTON.

STUDIES OF ENGLISH MYSTICS (St Margaret's Lectures, 1905), by *William Ralph Inge, M.A., D.D., Vicar of All Saints', Innismore Gardens, etc., etc.; Author of "Christian Mysticism."* London: John Murray, 1906. Pp. vi., 239. 6s. nett.

THERE could not, perhaps, be found two systems of thought more sharply contrasted, in some respects, than Mysticism and Agnosticism. The very term Mysticism, to the complete agnostic, must seem an anachronism, and by many, we doubt, it is regarded as such. Yet, on the other hand, many mystics, if not all, are, in a sense, agnostics, in denying the power of the human mind to lead us to a knowledge of spiritual truth. And, conversely, there seems no reason why an agnostic should not also be a mystic, for all that the true agnostic denies is that the ordinary processes of investigation and argument, which seem to serve us so well in gaining knowledge of the physical universe, can yield us any reliable knowledge of that universe of spirit which we indicate as the Supernatural or Unknowable. There is, therefore, no reason why the agnostic, foiled in the use of one set of tools or weapons, should not make use of others. Having examined and scrutinised the world *without*, there

is nothing inconsistent in turning his gaze on the world *within*. It would, in fact, be difficult to find two systems or methods more thoroughly complementary than Mysticism and Agnosticism. Hence Mysticism, instead of being a subject which the modern man may cast aside as antiquated, like the Ptolemaic system of astronomy, is the very subject to which he ought to turn in order to complement or supplement his positive or scientific knowledge.

Dr Inge's book is, therefore, by no means out of place or of time in giving us *Studies of English Mystics*.

It might at first be thought that the English mind had little of the elements of Mysticism about it, being, as is usually reputed, of so eminently practical a turn. But, much as we have said with regard to the connection of Mysticism and Agnosticism, as both contrasts and supplements to each other and as having also points in common, we find in the practical Englishman very frequently a mystical element. But, curiously enough, we may remark almost in parenthesis, not so much in the Scotsman, who is equally practical, because the Scotsman is more intellectual and philosophic, and is usually a theologian rather than a pietist. The Englishman, speculating less, is more readily driven back on his emotions and inner consciousness. Hence Quakerism was more successful in England than in Scotland. Indeed, as a mere glance at the table of contents of Dr Inge's volume shows, Mysticism has had its representatives in English religious thought and literature from very early times, even in those ages apparently most hostile and unfavourable to it, up to the present day.

It would naturally have been too large and elaborate a scheme to have attempted a complete history of English mystics and Mysticism in the scope afforded by these lectures, but we have here enough evidence to show that Mysticism had a continuous life in England from the time of the *Ancren Riwe* in the thirteenth century to that of Tennyson and Browning in the nineteenth.

In monastic life, when it is pure, earnest, and sincere, Mysticism must always play a great part, for its main object is to seclude, as it were, God and the individual

human soul together. The seclusion is, indeed, at once the power and the peril of Mysticism, for except in this seclusion the soul cannot reach that sense of direct communion with the divine at which it aims; while, within it, the tendency is to get out of touch with everything else, including our fellow-creatures and the physical system of things. And there are two things freely admitted by the most confirmed and experienced mystics — first, that their ecstatic experiences occur only at rare intervals, and for short periods; and secondly, which is even more important, that some of these experiences may not only be illusions, but actual snares of the Evil One. From these admissions we may make two deductions—first, that this method of edification or illumination does not seem intended for *continuous* and *sole* use during this mortal life; and secondly, that some test or correction is required to prevent the mystic being deceived and led astray. The morals or lessons we gather from this are these, that this method of edification must be supplemented by others, and its results checked by some other tests or standards.

Very interesting and historically instructive are the accounts given by Dr Inge of the earlier mystics, and it would be pleasant for us to dwell on this part of his work; but, in spite of the fact that some of the utterances of these early representatives of Mysticism are surprisingly modern and valid to the present hour, the interest of the work rises as we approach more recent times.

William Law, author of the *Serious Call*, is one of the most striking phenomena in the history of English Mysticism, for he stands as far the greatest, if not the only, representative of spiritual enthusiasm in an age where cool reason dominated the religion and philosophy of the day, the early eighteenth century. For in nearly every department of thought and literature, rationalism was prevalent and usually dominant.

Law himself was a man of considerable ballast, as we may call it, and can hardly be termed a visionary. Perhaps his indiscriminate charity, and that of his two lady disciples with whom he lived, showed the greatest defect in his character

from the practical side. They spent little on themselves, and, it is to be feared, squandered the rest mostly on undeserving objects, or in a manner productive of little permanent good.

Another defect of Law's position, as Dr Inge very properly points out, was his excessive condemnation of reason. Because reason cannot explain every mystery of religion or furnish a proof of every dogma, it is not to be cast aside any more than one throws away a table-knife because one cannot shave with it. St Paul bids us "have a reason for the faith that is in us." We are bound to carry reason as far as it will go with us, and, if so, we shall find that faith travels on in lines which are the continuation of the direction in which reason had been moving.

Even when Law himself dogmatizes, or rather speaks in a dogmatic form, as in the following, we do not feel that he is flying in the face of reason.

"There is nothing that is supernatural," he says, "in the whole system of our redemption. Every part of it has its ground in the workings and powers of nature, and all our redemption is only nature set right, or made to be what it ought to be. There is nothing that is supernatural but God alone; everything beside Him is subject to the state of nature." Nature is here used obviously in its wider sense, as including all finite existences. Like William Blake and other mystics or spiritualists (in the proper sense), Law admits no delimitation between soul (or spirit) and body. Blake says the body is only a part of the soul, *i.e.* that perceptible by the "senses five." This part however, to use a homely simile, can be cast off, like the tail of the tadpole, but is replaced, so to speak, by what St Paul calls a "spiritual body."

Law's works are undoubtedly too much neglected, for they are good literature, and their moral and spiritual strenuousness would prove a splendid soul-tonic in an age in which a prevailing scepticism and materialism have so lowered our moral as well as our spiritual potential.

But in some ways the interest of this book must culminate for the modern reader in the two last chapters or lectures on

the Mysticism of the two great modern poets Wordsworth and Browning. We use the two terms intentionally, because it seems to us that these chapters or essays have suffered from being confined to the limits of a lecture, for we have the feeling that they might have been improved by elaboration and expansion.

At the same time these two chapters contain an interesting and, in the main, sound analysis of the mystic elements in the philosophy of these poets.

Wordsworth's distinction from the earlier mystics lay in his adding a contemplation of external nature to their attempt to obtain everything from a contemplation of and communion with God Himself, and his poetry is an attempt to interpret nature in terms of spirit, so to speak ; not freely, like a Shelley or Blake, but under the prepossessions of Christian religion and morality. Hence it comes that in one sense Wordsworth's regard of nature is partial and limited and in a sense superficial. The beautiful and grand aspects of nature in a specially beautiful country, the "light of setting suns," and the gorgeous pageants of sky, mountain, and lake, the beauty of simple flowers, the music of murmuring streams, the trumpet-call of cataracts, even the simple character and virtue of children and peasants spoke to Wordsworth of a spirit of goodness and beauty behind all these appearances. But these delightful and selected phenomena of nature are not the *whole* of nature, who has aspects appalling, destructive, and even revolting to the tender human heart. So Wordsworth shies off from the complex human existence of cities, which he regarded with greater horror than Charles Lamb did the country. So in this respect Wordsworth's outlook seems limited, compared with the broad and catholic outlooks of Shakespeare or Browning. Wordsworth, in fact, belongs to the mystics of seclusion, and this gives his poetry for the many a kind of isolation which it is difficult to penetrate. His Mysticism may be akin to that of St John in Patmos ; it is not the Mysticism, as we comprehend it, of Christ Himself or of the Apostle of the Gentiles, both seeking human souls in the busy haunts of men, and even at the marriage feast and the Pharisee's table,

in the fanatic synagogue, or among the curious listeners on Mars' Hill.

For the Mysticism which honestly strives to regard the *whole of life* from its own standpoint and bring, as it were, every detail into moral or spiritual focus, we must turn to Robert Browning. With Browning, as with the other mystics, the two great realities are God and the soul. But with some mystics it is merely God and *my* soul; with Browning it is essentially God and *the* soul, that is, God and *all souls*. So Browning cannot be too much in the thick of life, which bristles with interest for him, because, in every one he meets, he sees what we may call a Jacob, a soul wrestling with God, and one with whom God wrestles. For Browning, to use his own metaphor, every one is a vessel of clay in the hands of the potter, and to trace or even guess at its growth, its evolution, as we should now call it, is for him the perennial and perpetual interest of life. And his optimist conviction or temperament makes the struggle and process a pleasant subject of contemplation, because he foresees triumph and victory.

I think there is in mystics generally a tendency to optimism, resting on what we may call, for want of a better term, a favourable view of the nature and character of God Himself. In strong contrast to such a religious system as Calvinism, Mysticism denies that in the Deity such feelings as wrath, jealousy, or even the determination to execute full justice in the form of punishment can exist. The obstacles to the reconciliation betwixt God and Man lie not, according to them, on the side of the former but of the latter. Christ's sufferings and sacrifice, according to this view, were not necessary to appease the wrath or satisfy the justice of God the Father, but to win back the souls of men to peace and harmony with His Father, who was also their Father. The necessary and inevitable inference from such a view of God is a spiritual optimism such as we find in Browning himself. And here we must leave a very interesting and suggestive book, perhaps none the worse that it cannot be termed exhaustive or conclusive; but it is perhaps better than these in being suggestive and stimulating, and specially fitted to

complement and balance some of the prevailing tendencies of the day.

H. BELLISE BAILDON.

Dundee.

THE AUTHORITY OF CHRIST, *by David W. Forrest, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. xvii., 437. 6s.*

THERE is no question more vitally important in religious thought than the question of the nature and limits of the authority of Christ. It is not only from the side of Higher Criticism that the issue has been raised. No one can fail to be conscious of a widespread feeling of dissatisfaction, both within and outside the Churches, at the inadequate degree to which modern Christianity represents the mind of Christ. The cry, "Back to Christ," expresses an aspiration and ideal that are very widely diffused.

Dr Forrest's new volume, therefore, deserves a cordial welcome not only for its own sake, but also for the sake of the subject with which it deals. Starting from the Christological problem, Dr Forrest considers in turn the teaching of Christ on God, individual duty, corporate duty, and human destiny, and deals in a closing chapter with the subject of the Holy Spirit in His relation with the authority of Christ.

In considering the ground of Christ's authority, Dr Forrest concentrates attention on two points—the sinlessness and the Lordship of Christ. The word "sinlessness" conveys, it must be admitted, a very inadequate idea of the impression made on a Christian man now, or on the first followers of Jesus, by His character. For it was not the absence of something present in other men's lives, but the presence of a power and character of positive goodness, that constitutes the strongest impression left by that life. And Christ's authority grows out of this positive goodness and the appeal that it makes to the conscience of man.

Christ's claim to Lordship raises the central issue—the nature of the sacrifice involved in the Incarnation. For that the Incarnation did itself involve a sacrifice, a

"laying aside" on the part of the Divine nature that it might become human, is clearly the apostolic teaching. Dr Forrest rightly protests against the ignoring of this truth. To say that the Incarnation would have come apart from the fact of human sin is to indulge in an idle conjecture, since sin, with all its consequence, must have been included in the foreknowledge of God from the beginning.

But if the Incarnation involves the self-limitation of the Divine, what exactly is the bearing of that fact on the nature of the authority of Christ? Here Dr Forrest declines to follow other writers into *a priori* speculations as to what must have been the nature of the knowledge of Christ in His human life. He appeals to the recorded evidence. It is only in this way that we can hope to escape from the Doketic tendencies that have marked so many recent attempts to deal with the Kenosis problem.

"The Scripture records assign to Christ a place in humanity in a definite historic succession." His mind is moulded by the Jewish thought of His own time; His personality depends on external conditions for its self-realisation. What, then, distinguishes His outlook on life from that of other men? Not exceptional knowledge of the facts of science or history, nor exceptional versatility of intellect, but that "He looked at life only in the light of religion, and applied to it but one test—Was it lived with God or without Him?"

Was Christ, then, only a man of exceptional religious insight? Though Dr Forrest would certainly not accept this view, he is perhaps not quite careful enough to guard himself against being supposed to do so. A chapter on Christ's authority on Himself would have given him the opportunity of dealing with the vitally important question of our Lord's teaching on His own Being. For we cannot accept Christ's authority as final on any subject unless we first accept it as final with regard to His own relation to the Father, in His pre-incarnate as well as in His human life.

Yet he is right in insisting that if once we accept the idea of the Divine as revealed in humanity, we must not

shrink from giving the fact its full meaning. "We must not ascribe to Christ a humanity which is in no respect identical with ours in essential characteristics."

In His teaching on God, Christ proceeded not speculatively but ethically. "He verifies it to man not by intellectual demonstration, but by the illumination of the total moral experience." In reality Christ presupposes God as the ground of all that He teaches. And by doing so He takes hold of the universal ethical instinct of mankind, and brings not a philosophy for the learned but a gospel for the poor.

In treating of Christ's authority on individual duty, Dr Forrest lays stress on the important truth—important, yet often ignored—that Christ's teaching must be regarded as a whole, and that the isolation of particular aphorisms into universal rules of conduct is an illegitimate method. He points out that to ask "What would Jesus do?" is often an erroneous method of arriving at the proper conception of personal duty.

The chapter that follows, on corporate duty, or Christianity and the State, brings us into the thick of current controversies. How far can the State, in its corporate capacity, act on the same Christian principles as guide the life of the individual Christian? What is the true relation of the Church to the State?

On the latter question it seems to the present writer that Dr Forrest writes a little too much in the vein of a man who has a brief to defend. If once it be admitted that establishment is not of the *esse* of the Church—and no educated Christian would now deny that thesis—the question of establishment becomes one of expediency and historical circumstances, and not one that can be decided in all cases on *a priori* grounds. To combat Arnold's view of an Established Church now is dangerously near to fighting shadows. Church and State can never be wholly dissociated from each other while the Churches hold property, or while the State claims any moral influence over the lives of its citizens; and the question of the precise relation that should subsist between them is one on which no clear pronounce-

ment of Christ can be quoted. Disestablishment does not necessarily connote freedom, nor does establishment necessarily involve a sacrifice of spiritual to secular interests. Dr Forrest has not touched on the larger question of what Christ's conception of the Church was. How far was the development of a Catholic Church a legitimate result of His teaching? How far can His authority be regarded as prohibiting varieties of outward organisation?

On the Education question Dr Forrest has much that is valuable to say. He comes somewhat reluctantly to the conclusion that, under our existing conditions, facilities provide the only practicable solution.

"Under such conditions, seeing that the people, as a whole, desire religious instruction for their children, but differ hopelessly as to its character, the Churches must be left to supply it; and as they cannot adequately overtake the work by means of their public services and their Sunday Schools, facilities should be afforded to them to impart such instruction in the national schools at their own cost, and under the safeguard of a conscience clause."

In his chapter on human destiny, Dr Forrest notes the careful reserve of Christ in dealing with the ultimate things. He was more anxious to lay stress on the incalculable importance of the present opportunity than to satisfy men's natural curiosity as to what lay beyond. Moreover, the Jewish Apocalyptic mould into which the sayings of Christ as to the last things have been thrown, either by Himself or by those who reported His words, gives to His eschatological teaching a certain vagueness that makes all efforts to turn it into a definite system valueless. "A few great truths regarding destiny He teaches with authority: that the present life is weighted with unspeakable significance for the life to come; that a final judgment awaits all men; that He Himself is both the Judge and the standard of judgment; that the end of all will be the establishment of the Eternal Kingdom of the Father, from which all evil shall be shut out. When we go much beyond these and strive to construct a detailed theory, we are in danger of wresting His words from their proper intention, and turning poetry into prose."

In his closing chapter, on the Holy Spirit, Dr Forrest does not give us what we are all waiting for—a theory of development that will adequately explain the process by which the Holy Spirit is guiding the Church into all truth.

Why, for instance, does Dr Forrest regard the general verdict of the Christian conscience that decided on the free admission of the Gentiles as an application of the teaching of Christ by the Holy Spirit, while he regards the general acceptance of the Episcopal order in the second century as an inadmissible application of that authority? It seems to the present writer that Dr Forrest is disposed to give too little weight to the verdict of the general Christian consciousness, especially when acting along continuous lines of development.

But when all this has been said, a tribute of warm gratitude is due to the author for a stimulating and helpful book. We are all conscious sometimes of a desire to find shelter under a body of definite and unchanging commands, that shall give to life a permanent objective standard. But Christ's authority is not of this kind. He rules human life not from without but from within, clothing the permanent principles of His Kingdom in the changing vesture of each age and race. To apply the authority of Christ to any particular group of social or religious problems is no easy task. But it is by just this task that the Christian conscience lives and grows. "The measure in which we shall comprehend the true authority of Christ will be in proportion as we keep life on all its sides, intellectual as well as moral and spiritual, true to the highest."

Birmingham.

J. HOWARD B. MASTERMAN.

LOGIK: eine Untersuchung der Prinzipien der Erkenntnis und der Methoden wissenschaftlicher Forschung,
von W. Wundt. 3. umg. Aufl. I. Bd. Stuttgart: Enke,
 1906. Pp. 650. 15 M.

THE first edition of this work is dated some twenty years ago, the second about ten years later. The present volume corresponds to vol. i. of the two previous editions, while

their vol. ii. is to be expanded in this edition into two separate volumes. This first volume treats of "General Logic and Theory of Knowledge," corresponding to the "Erkenntnis" of the sub-title, as distinguished from the "Methoden." Comparison with the preceding edition shows considerable alteration in the mode of dividing and subdividing the contents; but the contents themselves have undergone little change, although the more epistemological portions of the book have (as the preface tells us) been recast, especially by way of "keeping in closer view present controversial topics."

The outstanding feature of Professor Wundt's book is its fulness—not to say exhaustiveness—of detail. It is in four parts, besides an introduction dealing with the nature and relations of logic. These treat respectively of the psychology of logical thought; the forms of thought, in its three stages of concept, judgment, and inference; the source and nature of knowledge, and its fundamental categories; the postulates of thought, and the principles of causation and teleology. The treatment is very largely governed by the conception of development, aims at completeness of survey, and is directed against formal procedure and superficial simplification. The central chapters—those on judgment and inference—give a very thorough account of the distinctions between various logical forms, mainly, though not altogether, without a corresponding effort to unify. The book is so arranged that, by the help of the table of contents, the discussions of the separate topics can be read almost independently of one another. Not the least interesting feature of the treatise is the application of the author's psychological principles to the elucidation of various problems.

It should be added that the separation of the remainder of the work in this edition into two volumes is to be done by keeping by itself the concluding portion—on the methods of *philosophy* and the *mental sciences*. T. M. FORSYTH.

St Andrews.

**THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH RATIONALISM IN
THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, by Alfred Wm.
Benn. 2 vols. Pp. xxviii., 983. London: Longmans, Green
& Co., 1906. 21s. nett.**

CAN deity be at once immanent and transcendent? Is naturalism the last word in the philosophy of science? Is a rational mysticism inconceivable or incompatible with beneficent energy? Has an ethical or intellectual pantheism any way of approach towards a higher unity? Does the working hypothesis of mechanical modes of development exclude the possibility of a superintending intelligence? When the universe is conceived as "a scheme imperfectly comprehended," is the partial knowledge which results vitiated for reason by the appearance of contradiction? And when the clouds of tradition and mists of superstition have been cleared away, will what remains be a mere aching void, or a religion at once simpler and more profound than heretofore? These, and other like questions, are suggested by the perusal of Mr Benn's remarkable book.

If, as Aristotle thought, the clear statement of difficulties and objections is a primary condition of sound inquiry, the present work should be welcomed as a distinct contribution to the future of religion. As the author says in his concluding sentence: "Wise and prudent conduct demands before all things that we should see the facts as they are; and those are not least among England's helpers who, regardless of consequences, in all ages, have taught her children, by using their reason, to distinguish what is false from what is true."

The author's avowed object is to trace the progress in England, or rather in the United Kingdom, of rationalism, as "the mental habit of using reason for the destruction of religious belief." He declares himself a rationalist, and he makes no attempt to find a substitute for that which is destroyed. The spirit of the work may be described, without offence, as "Der Geist, der stets verneint."

He traces with great skill the way in which the mutual contradiction of beliefs has led to their partial destruction

when reviewed by reason ; but it may be observed at the outset that while particular beliefs are from time to time in question ("Christianity as then understood," "the popular creed," etc.), there seems often to be a silently implied inference from the failure of particular beliefs to the evanescence of religious belief in general. It is only fair, however, to quote in this connection some sentences from the preface and the opening chapter. "It would neither surprise nor annoy me to hear that the religious convictions of no single reader have been changed. . . .

"No mistake would be greater than to assume that the thorough and sincere application of the method here indicated is necessarily fatal to religious belief in every mind, or even in every mind of great power. . . . We have to note the undoubted fact that there have been religionists of high ability and culture, who, after submitting their belief to such an ordeal, have carried it out unscathed, or even confirmed."

After such an admission it is rather surprising to find on what slight evidence the sincerity of such men as Arthur Stanley, William Wallace, and John Caird is called in question ; while, on the other hand, the personal bitterness which undoubtedly underlay Sir Leslie Stephen's anti-clericalism, however veiled under his charming gift of ironical humour, is discounted and ignored. Nor is it quite fair, either to Wordsworth or Browning, to assume that the Lake poet was the "lost leader," an imputation which I believe that Browning himself disclaimed.

The truth is that, under the appearance of the driest of dry light, there is an anti-religious *animus* which occasionally breaks forth. When Robert Browning protests against the notion of an unjust and cruel God, he is said to have "ceased to be a Christian" (ii. 283) ; and Sir Walter Scott's attitude regarding human life, as "a poor thing at the best," is described as "widely removed from any sincere form of Christianity."

Mr Benn has not always borne in mind the significance of his own generous words : "Charges of prevarication must not lightly be entertained, even by those whom circumstances have granted the rare felicity of speaking out their whole mind without disguise. We have to recall the delicate and

complex conditions, unknown to any other European country, under which new ideas have to be propagated in England, if they are ever to get a hearing at all."

These are trivial blemishes. It is a more serious drawback that the author sometimes forgets the principle which he is ready to apply in criticising opponents, that, as Plato took such pains to prove, contraries are not necessarily contradictory. "Because mutually contradictory propositions cannot both be true, it does not follow that different things cannot co-exist." In spite of this admission there are many passages in the book where simple negation counts for more than difference.

It is impossible in a brief notice to do anything like justice to so comprehensive a work, in which the study of many years is condensed with logical consecutiveness, and in a style at once connected, luminous, and incisive. But it may be well to point out some special characteristics which distinguish this from other efforts of the kind.

(1) One striking peculiarity is the importance attached to the Greek spirit as an emancipating and enlightening influence. References to Hellenic thinkers, from Xenophanes to Plotinus, are of constant occurrence. Mr Benn evidently agrees with Sir Henry Maine that all progress comes from Hellas.

(2) Our author's attitude to physical science is unlike that of other rationalists. "The idea of progress, whence the idea of evolution has itself been evolved, was a gift from the philosophy of human nature to the philosophy of all nature, and the fact is worth noting. For the relation between the two studies is now most generally conceived in the reverse order, as if ethics and sociology were the humble followers of physical science, rather than its inspirers and guides."

For, example, we are reminded that the nebular hypothesis owed its origin to Kant, and that the doctrine of evolution originated among philosophical students of human history.

(3) Mr Benn emphatically rejects ethical utility as a test of truth. To this rejected principle he gives the name of "Ophelism." His meaning may be illustrated by

quoting his remark on Kant's Categorical Imperative: "By a curious ethical irony, beliefs professedly based on a moral interest always remain open to the suspicion of immoral equivocation, and from this suspicion the critique of practical reason has not escaped."

(4) A useful distinction is drawn between scepticism—the universal doubt, agnosticism—the determination to remain within the Known, and atheism—the denial of the Absolute. But Mr Benn has hardly realised the personal motives both of Huxley in inventing, and of Sir Leslie Stephen in popularising the new term, which has given such a convenient handle to theological controversy. Huxley distinctly says that he was driven to it through being constantly pestered to adopt some theological label.

(5) Full justice is done in the present work to the great English deists of the eighteenth century, such as Toland, Collins, and Tindal, but less than justice perhaps is accorded to Bishop Butler as an apologist for Christianity. The *Analogy* is rather curtly dismissed. As Mr Pitt observed, it raises more doubts than it satisfies. Yet the general notion of "a scheme imperfectly comprehended" has much to recommend it, and the sermons on human nature deserved at least a word of reference.

(6) Mr Benn is impartial in his appreciations. He rescues from oblivion some names which are too much forgotten, such as Charles Hennell, who wrote on *The Origin of the Gospels*, and James Thomson, of *The City of Dreadful Night*; and Robert Chambers, the author of *The Vestiges*, regains a place in the story which has been too much obscured by the brilliancy of succeeding achievements.

(7) It is also much to our author's credit that, while of course dissatisfied with the concessions hitherto made by liberal theologians to rationalism, he assigns its full value to the Broad Church movement in the Church of England, and to the Judgment of the Privy Council in the case of *Essays and Reviews*. It has been a common opinion, both among liberals and conservatives, that the influence of the Broad Church leaders has evaporated and left no trace, and that the volume about which such a storm was raised in 1861 was

a collection of mediocre essays which in later years would have produced no impression. Mr Benn takes a wholly different view. Almost for the first time he has done justice to Henry Bristow Wilson, who suffered for the truth, if ever man did so ; and he asserts the fact that since the Westbury Judgment, and the vindication of Colenso, not only churchmen but laymen have been more outspoken. He has also recognised the independent value of Professor T. H. Green's contribution to spiritual philosophy, although, like all which has a touch of mysticism, it fails to satisfy him. On the other hand, his view of the success of the Tractarian Movement may be gathered from the following passage :—

“ It has been said that the Church of England is what Newman has made her. It might be said with as much truth that England is what the Stuarts have made her. They certainly did a good deal for her fleet, as the Tractarians have done for the comeliness and efficiency of the Church services. But the original purpose of the Tracts has been defeated not less thoroughly than the designs of the first Charles and of the second James. As Mrs Browning observed, they were rather Tracts against the Times than for the Times ; and the times have got the better of their authors. National apostasy, in Keble's sense, has been carried to an extreme, which makes the conditions under Lord Grey's Government seem mediæval in comparison. The State has gone its way, remodelling old establishments and reinterpreting old dogmas with the most complete indifference as to whether its decrees were contrary to the suffrages of the Bishops of England and Ireland or not. Worse still, by what Keble might have called a mysterious and awful dispensation of Providence, the chief instrument employed for this fatal work of secularisation has been the darling child of Anglicanism, the most distinguished ornament for intellect and character of the High Church Party, if not the most distinguished Englishman of the whole century. By Gladstone the endowment of Maynooth and of Peel's godless colleges was supported ; by Gladstone popular unsectarian education was sanctioned ; by

Gladstone the Irish Church was disestablished and dis-endowed ; by Gladstone's government theological tests in the English universities were abolished ; finally, an avowed and aggressive agnostic was admitted into Gladstone's cabinet, favoured with his confidence, and charged with the preparation of his biography."

(8) A special feature of this history is the co-ordination of political with intellectual movements, whether progressive or reactionary. One curious observation is that every triumph of Liberalism in politics has tended to check speculation in theology through the absorption of higher intellects in practical affairs. Great literary power is shown in focussing, or concentrating into a single view, the environment of English thought at a particular epoch. This also may be best illustrated by a quotation : "The geographical structure of the British archipelago has enabled it to harbour a number of heterogeneous nationalities, each with a distinct character of its own, the resultant of cross-breeding between divergent but not violently contrasted racial stocks, while the use of a common language by the vast majority of the total population has brought their respective idiosyncrasies into fruitful interplay. This primordial heterogeneity arose from successive conquests on the largest scale, extended over many hundreds of years ; nor did the foreign colonisation of these islands cease when the Norman settlement brought the era of armed immigrations to a close ; for considerable bands of fugitives sought within their shores a refuge from the religious or economical oppression of other States ; and these have not been so thoroughly assimilated but that startling reversions to the ancestral type are occasionally manifested in families bearing alien names.

"In the country so peopled an incomparable diversity or industrial opportunities, too well known to require enumeration, has come to complicate the original heterogeneity still further, at the same time softening down the resulting contrasts by the economic necessity of mutual dependence ; while, as another and remoter consequence of England's manufacturing and commercial activity, her children have been brought into fertilising contact, first of all with the

great neighbouring civilisations, and finally with every form of society on the face of the earth.

"The groundwork of character thus provided by physical and economical causes has received its final elaboration from political events. Whether inherited or not from our Germanic forefathers, English liberty indubitably owes its historical constitution to the very conquest which threatened to destroy it. A philosophical historian has shown that William the Conqueror, by weakening the power of his feudal nobility, unintentionally threw them for support on the people; thus preparing the balance of power between King, Lords, and Commons, the system of local self-government, and the representative institutions, by the early acquisition of which England was distinguished from the Continental States. Whether the distinction has been in all respects a gain we need not here inquire. For our present purpose the important thing to note is that, combined with those other circumstances above mentioned, it has led to the final formation of that most complex phenomenon, the English national character—complex and kaleidoscopic enough in the single type, complex and kaleidoscopic to a much higher degree of involution in the community to which it belongs."

We may also note in passing the happiness of single phrases: Newman's "Grammar of Credulity,"—Ritualism, "a debased popular version of the Tractarian Movement,"—Hegel, "more like a beacon with a revolving light to warn ships off the rocks, than a pillar of fire to guide men through the desert into the promised land."

A long and interesting chapter is devoted to Coleridge, "a master of the most impalpable distinctions and the most subtle equivocations," whose new Neoplatonism, founded on the Kantian metaphysic as modified by Schelling, forms the connecting link between German philosophy and English liberal thought. Utilitarianism is described as another source of rationalism, in which great honour is rendered to James Mill, with whom, as with Hume beforetime, fresh light proceeded from Scotland. Biblical criticism is further emphasised as an independent factor. Here Mr Benn remarks, with some surprise, that as between Matthew Arnold and Jowett,

"the superiority in breadth and grasp of thought belongs not to the layman, but to the cleric." Then follow two important chapters on "Reconstruction and Reaction," and "The Anti-clerical Movement"; and the work concludes with a discussion of the historical method. In this last portion, as it appears to me, undue importance is assigned to speculations and discoveries concerning human origins. Because religion, in some early phases, was bound up with magic, it does not follow that the religion of enlightened persons, in after ages, is unmeaning or unreal. Mr Benn has himself said, "To show how a belief came into existence is not necessarily to show that it is false," and as Mr Andrew Dickson White has pointed out in his *Warfare of Science and Theology*, the sciences themselves have had a similar origin. The chemist of to-day, who in Bacon's phrase is "cutting into nature," is not discredited because chemistry was evolved from alchemy.

One sign of the decay of religion on which Mr Benn insists is the diminished number of able candidates for ordination; and the spread of rationalistic argument has doubtless had to do with this; but other causes have co-operated. Chief amongst these has been the opening of so many new careers to the intellectual and serious-minded. Since the time of Dr Arnold the calling of a schoolmaster has strongly appealed to educated men who are devoted to human improvement. The Indian Civil Service since 1854, and the Home Civil Service from a more recent period, have given opportunities which formerly were closed except to a selected few; and since the nationalisation of the old universities,¹ the lay fellow and tutor has often exercised a spiritual function of which the work of the late Thomas Hill Green was a prominent example. Professorships in provincial universities afford an extension of similar facilities. In all these directions men who formerly would have been destined for the Christian ministry have not unnaturally diverged.

The outcome of the rationalist movement in the latter half

¹ See *The Nationalization of the Old English Universities* (Chapman and Hall).

of the nineteenth century is summed up by Mr Benn in the following words: "To make the attack more effectual it was no longer confined to the specific doctrines which distinguished the Roman from the Protestant creed, nor even to those which distinguish revealed from natural religion. The new scientific discoveries and theories, originally presented in a way as little offensive as possible to theology, were now as sedulously put in an opposite light, as totally subversive of the supernatural in all its forms. Prayer is an attempt to violate natural law. Freewill is excluded by the physiological mechanism of the nervous system. Mind depends so completely on that mechanism, that consciousness cannot survive its destruction. Evolution makes God superfluous; nor, apart from evolution, does there seem any possibility of his existence without a material manifestation of which the universe offers no evidence whatever." Whilst writing thus, our author does not anticipate another rebound of educated opinion in the direction of religious belief. He thinks that people will "continue to hold the same faith as before, but in a more attenuated form," and that "this sort of attenuated or imperfect faith is likely to do less mischief than the unquestioned creeds of a more ignorant age."

But if we may imagine the possible advent or emergence of a great religious genius, instructed in all the science and learning of the time, and with intellectual powers adequate to the emotional fervour, are we to suppose that his prophesying would not take effect? What relation it might bear to "Christianity as now understood," or to the "blessed word" Personality, it were at once irrelevant and vain to inquire. The messages of Moses to the Israelites, of Elijah to his countrymen, and of Ezekiel to the Jews of the Captivity—to come no farther down—were in forcible contrast to the "popular creed." But they have had an influence that is not exhausted yet. M. Paul Sabatier, the biographer of St Francis, in speaking of French Catholicism, has lately discoursed very suggestively on "the Church of yesterday" and "the Church of to-morrow." How the latter, which, according to M. Sabatier, is alone alive, is to crack the shell of accumulated tradition and

come forth to light, he does not explain. Yet things not less incredible have happened in the world. The Egyptian worship of animals appeared to Plutarch a fixed and immutable thing, whose irrationality could only be removed by allegorising. Yet in spite of Isis and Osiris, in spite of Mithraism, independently of Neoplatonism and Stoicism, Christian truth in its simplicity did win acceptance in a marvellous way. Another message, higher and more comprehensive than any hitherto, may yet be destined to prevail.

LEWIS CAMPBELL.

SYNTHETICA: being Meditations Epistemological and Ontological, by S. S. Laurie, LL.D. In two volumes. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1906. 21s. nett.

IT is now more than twenty years since *Metaphysica Nova et Vetusta*, by Scotus Novanticus, first saw the light, and readers of Martineau's *Study of Religion* (1887) will not forget the searching analysis to which its "causal" argument was subjected. With regard to its dualistic claim Martineau said he stood beside the author "in the forlorn hope against which all the batteries of modern philosophy are concentrating their fire," but his criticism revealed considerable divergence from his brother-dualist's views. A great deal of monistic water has run below the bridge of British thought since 1887, but still Scotus Novanticus stands forward as a dualist and a realist, though it must be confessed that much that he says does not differ materially from what is said by spiritual monists. Hegelian phraseology carries us at times so far that it is hard to remember we are in the land of dualistic realism.

Synthetica is a re-statement of Professor Laurie's former works, and is instinct with the settled conviction of years of meditation. The second volume represents the substance of the Gifford Lectures of 1905-1906, and deals with the metaphysics of God and man, while the first elaborates the positions of the epistemology of the *Metaphysica*.

It is difficult in a short paper adequately to give an

abstract of this epistemology, shading, as it does, so readily into the boundaries of other philosophical systems; but since Professor Laurie's whole philosophy rests confessedly on a criticism of knowledge, the task must be attempted. Mind is, then, an affair of stages. It is compared in one place to a spiral staircase. The first conscious plane which rises above the steps of pure feeling and sensation is the *attitudinal*, and it fills a not unimportant place in the metaphysic. It is the standpoint of the lower animals and of infancy, and I suppose of Romanes' *recepts*; its occupants are contemplating pure Being, and are in contact with reality, nay, "bathed in it." In it is the primal actualisation of subject-object, and the object is Being. Till Reason supervenes all is indefinite, Being and the diverse unrelated things that stream through it. Space and Time, Matter and Motion, are at this stage simply given and unquestionably received, for the attitudinal cannot question. This primal Being pervades feeler and felt, and is itself "the noun-verb of the Universe," to which all else is relative. Professor Laurie will not call it an innate idea or an *a priori* category—as object it is simply Reality felt, and beholding it the subject feels "I am in the Universal," so far as it can without ascending the next step of the spiral stair. At this stage, then, the mind is in the Universal Mind, and is in immediate touch with Reality.

The life ascends, and the Percept appears, and in the act of Perciency is the birth-moment of the Dialectic, of the Ego, and of man as a Rational Will. To Martineau the Percept was an object immediately given; on catching it he could not discover it to be a "secret pocketful of logical small change—only a single coin." But the analysis of Professor Laurie in its dissection of the Percept incorrigibly persists in revealing a logical process in the act of perception that practically is necessary as the basis of his whole philosophy. As the stair is ascended there is, first, a strange agitation in the subject, which is the *nisus*-birth of a will-activity; there is a pressing forward to the new task of differentiation. Self is differentiated from otherness, and the Ego appears; self-consciousness is constituted by none

other than self. This point, Professor Laurie says, is the only firm basis for Idealism. Towards the determined Percept there are at least three stages from the first Kinetic movement of will : (1) Mediating-ground (Negation and Formal Cause) ; (2) Determining-so, giving the Essence, Idea, or Law of the object ; and (3) the End or Determination. The point to grasp is that in the stage of Percipieny is at once found the Will-activity, in knowledge *per se*, and not first in moral choice. There, too, is the fissure between subject and object, the negation of the world from the self which accounts for all the later contradictions of the new-born reason. And the implication of this will-movement that pursues an end in the very birth of knowledge is that the Universal Mind, only dimly felt as Being in the stage of attuition, has advanced further in its finite externalisation. It is the Hegelian "Negation"—man's will-movement is the pulse of the Absolute Will, that can only enter into finite relations through the wicket-gate of Negation, and man is the unfolding of the potentiality of the Absolute. We must remember that emphasis is laid on the fact that the Absolute continues to hold all its Negations within itself, and is constrained to work henceforth through the Reason and ideals of man against the negations it has itself constituted. For this "other" that God has called into being "while revealing Him resists His acts from its own centre." So we must regard the essence and law of man as the Absolute made finite in man, and all that is inconsistent, casual, and evil as not the Absolute, but only the unavoidable means by which He becomes finite. Not less insistent is Professor Laurie on each "individuum" existing for itself, or there would be no Dualism, no Pluralism. The Negation is a real one, and validly constitutes other things, and the real subject contemplating them sees Reality. Sees, of course, as much Reality as it is possible for it to see, or for the Absolute to show it on its present plane. But since all is an unfolding of the Absolute, the higher view comprehends the lower, and what is true attuitually is still true when Reason or Dialectic has taken the crude substance and explained it ; and what is true to

our Reason will not be false to the stage that lies beyond and above Reason—that of Intuition.

From this point of view the author is entitled to disclaim any attempt to gain “a synthesis of the Absolute”; this he persists is a very different thing from the work on which he is bent, which is “to gain an absolute synthesis” of our present knowledge on our present plane. He sees Reality as it is for this plane, *e.g.*, the cloud exists exactly as it is seen, for our bodies and minds exist for the very purpose of bringing us the real cloud, while the cloud itself is constituted so as to come without any loss of reality into the grip of the human consciousness.

Let us attempt a diagram of the teaching of *Synthetica*. A series of concentric circles fading ultimately into infinite distance must symbolise the Absolute in their whole content. Each visible circumference will represent a negation or the existence of a “thing.” The little pin-point at the centre is at first dimly conscious of a surrounding space, but at length something within it induces it to leave its post and investigate to the best of its powers the boundaries of its environment. This represents the Will-nisus impelling the subject to invade reality and inquire into its distinctions. All goes on within the Absolute, whether affirmation or negation; circumferences are the inevitable means by which circles are made; the inner circles are *real* circles, so says Professor Laurie. But Dr M'Taggart would tell us that there is no containing circle at all, and no concentric lines, only a congeries of pin-points, some of which are aware of the others, and some not.

Synthetica is a very serious attempt to envisage in a Unity all that has to be taken account of, and to give all contending claimants their due rights. Thus it has the appearance of eclecticism, and may lack the force of a system that disregards obstinate facts that do not suit its scheme—that is why you may see in Professor Laurie the varying features of the Realist, the Idealist, the Monist, the Dualist, the Pluralist, and the Transcendentalist. At their roots philosophies have much common soil. But the most attractive elements in the envisagement are perhaps (1) the

sane and steady commerce with Reality, which very satisfactorily relieves either sense or thought from being the accredited messengers of falsehood ; (2) the recognition of the part played by feeling, as from the beginning to the end, the point of immediate contact with God ; (3) the central position gives to the Will, in striking contrast to all Intellectualistic systems, in the very fact of Knowledge as an active process ; (4) the theory of development so fully in accord with what we learn in physical science of the constitution and working of the world ; (5) The allowance for a higher sphere of Intuition above Knowledge, in which contradictions being solved, the mind may again apprehend the oneness of God's Being.

Let us turn to the second volume in which, upon the basis thus laid, the author builds his full doctrine of God and man. It is a grand piece of work alike for its close reasoning, and for the way in which its outward expression soars upward at the call of the great ideas dealt with in their ethical reference. What, then, is the notion of God that emerges from this conception of God as the Absolute, making Himself finite? He must be first the eternal ground out of which the many proceed, and within which they have their being ; next on the sentient plane in the mode of Feeling He is alike in the feeler and the felt ; and again on the dialectic plane His Will and End as perfectly good shine forth in the sum of ideals which draw onwards the soul of that humanity which exists to externalise Him. If not *a* Personality, the word being saturated with finite associations, as Creative-will in all persons He must be Personality ; and if not a self-consciousness in any human sense, yet in Him is the potentiality of all self-consciousness, and what shall we say of Him who is one with the whole progress towards an end that is wrought out in the whole drama of personal life, save that all our best is in Him and infinitely more? Professor Laurie is debarred from dogmatising further as to the nature of the Personality of the Absolute outside our own system of finite persons, but he holds determinedly in opposition to Hegel that "the Absolute does not exhaust itself in positing Himself as

His own difference"—infinite possibilities are thus left open. This is surely philosophical sanity, and a wide door of escape clangs open in this declaration for those who fear the encircling toils of Pantheism. In an eloquent chapter the "Feeling" character of God is upheld, the Universal Being must be the source of those "Universals of Feeling" which move and throb beneath man's life, and are indeed more practically potent than Intellect itself. Beauty, again, "the sensuousness of Reason," must be in Him, and æsthetic appreciation, and the inspirations of all art and poetry draw from His Life.

Yet for all this *Synthetica* does not teach more than that God works *through* His creation. His activity apart from that which is centred in the "individua" which He has called forth, is only "the constitutive idea and end" in things. "He creates and sustains the world by giving Himself to individua, and letting them work out the ideas." And man, so receiving God, may walk with Him in oneness of purpose as the closest of friends. The inevitable criticism to this is: What is meant by God giving Himself? To what extent beyond the imparting of an ideal does God give? Is any room left for grace, and the power that we have been taught to see coming down as an actual *force* to rehabilitate and strengthen the weak created wills? Is it that Professor Laurie, in his revulsion from Pantheism, seems to exaggerate the independence of his "individua," so that grace and divine help seems to be watered down to an intellectual vision of the ideal, and an assurance that in the absolute externalisation all is working towards good?

The doctrine of man from the individual and social side is but the logical outcome of the system. His part is to carry out in his own life the "affirmations" of the Absolute, and so to bring harmony into the world. His ethical end is a happiness, that is mediated through the happiness of others. Jesus Christ is admitted by Professor Laurie to have proclaimed the supreme ideal—"But neither as guide to daily conduct, nor in its application to social well-being is it comprehended by any man—'The darkness comprehended it not.'"

The State exists for the sake of Justice, and for the developing of the individuals constituting it, not they for it.

But the largest and most arresting portion of these lectures is devoted to the explication of the grim Problem with which all straightforward systems must reckon, and the measure of the author's realisation of its importance may be felt in the pathos and depth of his treatment of it. It is the Problem of Evil. Pantheistic systems cannot get away from evil being an external necessity. Professor Laurie has staved off Pantheism with his "individua," but yet the negation which constituted them is creatively willed—that is the heart of his system—and the Absolute contains in itself all its negations, so that he is still shut up to the fact that God is the source, if not the Author of evil. It stands up before God black and ugly from the first, the condition of His attaining any end at all. As a means to an end, Professor Laurie follows the beaten path and justifies God for allowing evil to be joined to the system as a condition of His own externalisation in the Finite. But he is even more frank, and goes on to admit what it is the instinct of all apologists to deny, that over and above the evil incidental to the externalisation there is a superfluous evil, "things that might have been otherwise without interfering with the divine purpose." There is prodigal waste of life, needless pain at death and birth, *la misère* growing as civilisation advances—this and much more. There must be a spirit of evil, a devil, a living power in the negation, some "wild Bacchantic purposeless forces," to explain all this. "The negation in the system of the Universe has somehow been too strong for God." It is roundly, soberly, and yet passionately stated.

And the outcome of such admissions? It is that God is a Spirit in difficulty, from which He is slowly extricating Himself, while we are called as partners, though unconsulted, to sympathise with Him, and to gird on our armour in His cause. "If it be that the great God Himself is engaged here and now in a very serious business, then even to be a humble private in His advancing ranks is a distinction." These are great and inspiring words.

We come round to the old dogmas of a war in heaven in which earth is involved, and we as earthly. The faith which the dead generations have grasped in picture-language—a warfare with a very devil that “infects the world.”

There is but little room left, save to draw attention to the argument for personal immortality, which occupies the final Meditation. It is based on the analysis of the Ego, already dwelt upon. The magnificence of that godlike conception is surety for its own continuance. It is implicit, this hope of immortality, in the moments of the Dialectic pointing as they do to ends and ideals and a futurity; it is implicit still more in the forward look of the characteristics of Feeling; implicit again in the doctrine of God as a Being that works rationally to an end; and finally immortality is so much of the texture of humanity that human nature instinctively recoils from “the cold negation of the bier.” But who shall continue? Surely none but those who have lived on their own plane, and not fallen back to the one below—that is to join the forces of anarchy, and to tread the path to death.

Such is a bare outline of *Synthetica*. It may be that some can only envy the agility with which Professor Laurie springs again from epistemology to ontology. Yet leaving epistemology on one side many may be drawn towards his account of the mutual relations of God and man. The closer the logical connection between the two volumes, the greater the assurance that if the logic is right any separate part will accord with truth and reality. On this ground the author will welcome readers of the second book, who do not follow his epistemology. As a bulwark against Pantheism, void of will and purpose, the work should stand; it puts into such strong form the protest of the individual against absorption in the All. Though temperament may incline us to a sunnier view of the doctrine of evil than Professor Laurie provides, yet what he has said wanted saying from the point of view of a faith that can fairly be called optimistic.

A wider outlook on the universe, and an inspiration to do to-day's work well as a real individual among realities, in

the light of the ideal and in the companionship of God, may be promised to all who undertake to study seriously these Meditations on Thought and Being.

Bethnal Green.

WILLIAM JOHN FERRAR.

KARL JOËL: Der Ursprung der Naturphilosophie aus dem Geiste der Mystik; mit Anhang, Archaische Romantik, Eugen Diederichs. Jena, 1906. (Edinburgh: Otto Schulze & Co.). Pp. xi, 198. 8vo. M. 4.50.

THIS work was published in 1903, in the form of a "Programm zur Rektoratsfeier der Universität Basel." It has now been revised, and with the addition of an essay on "Archaische Romantik," is issued in a more convenient form in the hope of its finding a wider public. This the work certainly deserves.

The book is mainly occupied with an interpretation of the pre-Socratic philosophers of ancient Greece. Its underlying idea is that the feeling of the Unity of Nature precedes the analytic process of scientific investigation. It is the subjective which gives the first impulse, and supplies the motive to objective inquiry. In man's knowledge of Nature there came first the simple sympathetic impressions such as are expressed in lyric poetry; then comes the deepened, intensified feeling of nature as a whole, and the union of the soul with it, which is characteristic of mysticism. This dissipates itself finally in the effort of analysis and scientific investigation to which it gives the initial impulse. Professor Joël finds illustration of this in two modern periods, in both of which the prevalence of a mystical nature-philosophy coincided with the beginning of a new era of scientific investigation, viz., the period of the Renaissance, and the opening of the nineteenth century. To the Renaissance period he devotes a chapter. He points to the fact that a rapid increase of knowledge of the external world coincided with the revival of religion which issued in the Reformation, and argues that both had their root in the mysticism which preceded. He confirms this by showing the essential mysticism of many traits of the

thought of the period, and their appearance not only in the pronounced mystics, but in philosophers like Bruno, and forerunners of science like Paracelsus, Cardan, Kepler, and Helmont.

The thinkers of this period give us an analogy by which we may interpret the less clearly known figures of the pre-Socratic philosophers. Joël is dissatisfied with the recently prevailing interpretation of these thinkers which represents them too exclusively as grounding their systems on dispassionate contemplation of external nature. There is the initial difficulty that nature-knowledge among the Greeks begins at once by occupying itself with the most distant objects—with astronomy: attempts at the very outset to comprehend the universe as a whole. This fact, he says, points to its origin in feeling, in the feeling of union with nature, the mystical feeling of the All. For mysticism the Far is as the Near. The feeling for the All leads to cosmology, and astronomy leads also to astrology and magic, which, as they appear in the pre-Socratic period, and again at the Renaissance, are not antiquated superstitions but too hasty speculations, springing from the lively feeling of the intimate relationship of man to the whole of nature.

That personal feeling does enter strongly into the thought of the pre-Socratic philosophers is evidenced by three characteristics which run through the fragments which have come down to us. First, there is the very egoistic tone in which they speak. The big "I" is very noticeable. Then they lay a stress upon the soul and upon life which we should not expect from the dispassionate observer of external nature. "There is scarcely a single one of these so-called *φυσικοί* who, even in the scanty fragments from which we derive our knowledge of them, has omitted to speak of the soul." Again, there is the anthropomorphism which is actually expressed in many of the fragments as in the saying of Anaximenes: "Just as our soul, which is air sustains us, so breath and air encompass the whole world." In fact, as Joël tries to show in detail, these thinkers start, in their theorising not from dispassionate objective knowledge, but from the subjective: they interpret nature from

their own soul outward. They do not seek a material principle; they seek rather the moving force of the world, which is felt as a living unity. At bottom one problem interests them all—the problem of Life. As he says of the water-principle of Thales, “a vivifying of the world lies in his liquefying of the world.” The mobility and restlessness of water is symbolic of the movement and life which he felt in his own soul, and which his mystical feeling of union with the All transferred to the world about him.

Enough has been said to indicate the point of view. Space forbids us to carry the exposition further. The style of the book is far removed from that of the ordinary learned treatise, and purposely so, for the author has thereby “sought to awaken in his readers something of the living influence of the ancient thinkers.”

The writing is at times slightly turgid, and the rein which is given to association and suggestion, while it shows how ready to hand lies the author's detailed knowledge, occasionally obscures the course of the argument. But the verve with which the whole is written carries the reader through to the end. The words with which the author closes are worthy of attention at the present time: “The investigation of nature must, in the course of its development, separate itself more and more from the mysticism which lies at the heart of it; but . . . nevertheless . . . it must preserve the connection with its mystical source, with those subjective . . . panentheistic . . . idealistic springs from which it draws ever new strength when it threatens to lose itself in the mechanical, to exhaust itself in specialism.”

RICHARD BELL.

Edinburgh.

THE MEANING OF TELEOLOGY, *by Professor Bernard Bosanquet. From the Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. II. London: Henry Frowde, 1906. Pp. 11. 1s. nett.*

IN their reaction against a mechanical theory of reality certain recent writers on philosophy have been carried so far as to go near to destroying the idea of the reign of law.

They "enthroned the finite subject as the guide and master of nature and history." According to some of them the realm of the finite consciousness is co-extensive with the organic kingdom; according to others, it extends through the inorganic world as well; in both cases the finite subject as purposive is made the key to the reality of things and the order of existence. Teleology extrudes mechanism.

This tendency is subjected to a searching criticism by Professor Bosanquet.

In the first place, it rests on a misunderstanding of the term teleology. The "end" is taken as the last term in a series, as a future ideal or conscious purpose, as a something which somebody wants; and, therefore, as introduced from without, and super-imposed upon a material which is intrinsically alien to it, or as subjectively selected from amongst the constituents of the material. But mere subjective selection is "poor work"; "objectiveness of selection is the test of true purposiveness." The "purpose" must be in and of the material. The *end* must be immanent, the meaning and *vis* of the whole process, a principle of individuality, and therefore of "completeness."

In the next place, this universal purpose, which is manifested in the structure and process of the whole, implies that the differences within the whole have a character, a nature of their own, though not their "own," except in relation to the whole. "Plan involves determinateness and determinates continuity, and that in all directions." Nature cannot be made up of miracles. Uniqueness does not exclude universality, and, in order that a thing may be, it is not necessary that it should be nothing in particular: in other words, universality is individuality, and not generality. The structural immanence of the plan, the teleology of the whole, carries with it the uniqueness, the relative individuality of the parts.

But, in the third place, this does not imply that the teleological or spiritual view of reality is *merely* antithetical to the mechanical view. It is a mere assumption, and a false assumption, that "the character of being 'mechanical' must either drop out the element of spiritual significance, or

must, at best, refer to the analogy of actual machines." "To define the mechanical by the exclusion of spiritual makes the spiritual, as well as the mechanical, partial and finite." "The penetration by the law of all things is the essence of spiritual inwardness and of mechanical explanation."

Hence we cannot regard nature on the analogy of a machine, unintelligible apart from the purpose of the inventor, nor even a machine as constituted of material, plus an alien purpose. Such action of purpose from *without* is impossible everywhere. There is no interaction between bare purpose on the one hand and bare matter on the other. "We have no experience, nor know any appearance of any machine interacting with anything which, in the interaction, is not also a machine." Purposes do not come direct from a naked soul and act on dead matter. "Mind and individuality, so far as finite, find their fullest expression as aspects of very complex and precisely determined mechanical systems." "The true spiritual ideal demands mechanical intelligibility." "The total failure of mechanical intelligibility would reduce the spiritual to the miraculous and destroy teleology, as a total failure of teleological intelligibility would reduce individuality to incoherence, and annihilate mechanism." The universe must be one, and must contain differences. It is an individual whole, and it is constituted of interacting members. The points of view of mechanism and teleology are complementary, and *more*: neither is possible apart from the other.

Professor Bosanquet applies this general conclusion to the doctrine that the finite consciousness is the source of teleology. "The foundations of teleology in the universe are far too deeply laid to be accounted for by, still less restricted to, the intervention of finite consciousness." The universe is already teleological, and its mechanical relations are a revelation or manifestation of its end. Further, the finite consciousness is itself "purposive only because reality is individual and teleological, and manifests this character partly in finite intelligence." The purposes of the finite consciousness are both secondary and limited. Man's

intelligence presupposes his bodily life, and vital responses to environment cannot be derived from his volitional behaviour. Finite consciousness focusses a huge complication of mute history and circumstances behind it and surrounding it; and, at its best, its purposes are narrow. Man's will can as little explain the world as it can explain itself. "It is not finite consciousness that has planned the great phases of civilisation, which are achieved by the linking together of the achievements of finite consciousness. Each separate consciousness reaches but a very little way, and, relatively to the whole of a movement, must count as unconscious." Christianity was no more the design of men than was the coral reef of insects: "they lay deeper in the roots of things." "The conscious self, in short, is the last word of an immense evolution which is practically from unconsciousness to consciousness, and presupposes the co-operation of unconscious nature." "The finite being has the duty and position of coming to himself and awakening to his own nature and his unity with what we call, by an imperfect analogy, a greater mind and will." He does not control the course of the universe, nor mould it as if he were an independent cause.

Students of philosophy will be interested to know what answer the "individualistic moralists" can offer to Professor Bosanquet's masterly criticisms. But they must be prepared for disappointment. It is not the way of these volitionists to answer such arguments; they will prefer to say that they have heard something like this doctrine before, that it is Hegelianism, or Absolutism, or Intellectualism, and that its propounders are growing old.

HENRY JONES.

Glasgow.

THE ETERNAL LIFE, *by Professor Hugo Münsterberg.*
London: Constable & Co., Ltd., 1905. Pp. 102. 2s. 6d. nett.

THIS is an attempt to maintain "eternal life," while denying the need and the value of continued duration in time. From the fact that experience holds things together, over-

coming the externality of time and space, it is argued that time and space are not real, but phenomenal only. Objects really have no space-extension, and events have no time-extension. "However many we may glance at together, we falsify their reality in constructing them as a temporal series. Their whole reality lies merely in their free agreement or disagreement with other will-attitudes, and fills as such neither a second nor a century." There are no realities except values, and values are found merely in the world of subjects, and these subjects and their acts are real outside of causality and time, valid in the world of eternity.

Hence, "if we are really will, and thus outside of time, there is no longer any meaning in the desire for a protracted duration, this one hope in which the open and the masked materialists find themselves together."

The book is interesting as an exhibition of "Voluntarism."

HENRY JONES.

Glasgow.

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Review of Theology and Philosophy

SURVEY OF RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

COMPARATIVE RELIGION

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by James George Roche Forlong. London: Bernard
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Das Wesen der Religion, dargestellt an ihrer Geschichte,
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Das Wesen der Religion und der Religionswissenschaft,
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der Gegenwart: Ihre Entwicklung und Ihre Ziele*.
Berlin and Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1906. Pp. x., 752.
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OF the six books whose titles are prefixed to this Survey,
it will be seen that the second alone puts forward a claim
to be an exposition of Comparative Religion; but unfor-

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unately it is restricted within such narrow compass, besides being faulty in its standpoint and spirit, that it cannot be accepted as a satisfactory manual. The other volumes expressly limit themselves to the treatment of a set of definitely selected topics, and so they likewise are not competent to give the reader a comprehensive view of the subject. Why then have these publications been preferred to others that might have been chosen? Because, on the whole, they are the fittest representatives of the rest. There are, indeed, scores of books in which, with more or less grasp of the situation, one religion is deliberately compared with another. Moreover, there are literally countless instances in which, in books of travel and the like, similar comparisons are found to have been instituted. But such undertakings, for the most part, render very uncertain assistance to the real student in this field. Anything like a detailed, or even approximately complete, exposition of Comparative Religion as a science is still a hope awaiting its fulfilment. Anything like a critical survey of the many complex problems which this study presents has not yet been even attempted. Accordingly, to speak with perfect frankness, the literature of Comparative Religion to-day is somewhat disappointing. This dénouement was of course rendered inevitable by the conditions of special difficulty under which thus far this study has been prosecuted. Nevertheless the fact remains that, if the literature of this line of inquiry be judged by a rigid standard, it must be pronounced meagre in amount and only moderately good in quality. Volumes dealing with the history of religion have multiplied with a quite astonishing rapidity, and books that seek to elucidate the themes proper to the philosophy of religion have also, especially in Germany, increased steadily in number; but the bibliography of that wide region which lies between these two well-defined domains includes but few works of genuine and outstanding merit.

The first book on the list, a thick royal 8vo, is the portliest of them all. Its large-sized page and thick paper make it needlessly bulky, and a wearisome weight to any reader who has long to hold it in his hand. Its modest title somewhat

belies its contents, which lead us through extended successive surveys of Jainism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Hinduism, Taoism, Confucianism, Judaism, Mohammedanism, etc. No separate study of Christianity is presented; but this omission is atoned for in part by the summaries of Christian teaching which are formulated in contrast (or in agreement) with those of the other religions which the author is engaged in comparing. At the close of each Study very full Chronological Tables are appended, packed with dates and events of contemporary interest. Nevertheless the book, viewed as a contribution to Comparative Religion, is very far from being satisfactory. The late General Forlong was not an exact scholar, and no concentration of interest upon studies which evidently fascinated him sufficed to make up for the lack of a course of special professional training. The fact of the matter is that General Forlong never contemplated writing a serious book on Comparative Religion: he merely drifted into that unexpected harbour. His earlier work, entitled *Rivers of Life, or Faiths of Man in all Lands* (1883, 2 vols. and chart, 4to, £5, 5s., now out of print), was a still larger undertaking which he did not deliberately project: it and its successor contain a selection of the material that accumulated in the workshop wherein, during many years, an elaborate Encyclopædia of religious terms, rites, and symbolisms was being slowly constructed. That work unfortunately remained unfinished at the date of its author's death, but it has since been published as *Faiths of Man: A Cyclopædia of Religions* (1906, 3 vols. royal 8vo, £5, 5s.). For an estimate of it, see vol. i. pp. 862-864 of this Review. Like his earlier studies, this thesaurus is at times not very satisfying. It reveals an incalculable amount of severe and conscientious labour; but it is fitted, and indeed designed, to render service rather in a popular than in a scientific capacity. As an auxiliary of the former sort, all of General Forlong's books possess merits which will ensure their continued sale, even at prices which are relatively high; but they are not good specimens of Comparative Religion, as that study is understood to-day.

The book that bears Dr Kellogg's name does not furnish

in itself any specially important contribution to Comparative Religion. Indeed it was intended to do no more than serve the purpose of an elementary text-book. It deserves commendation however, because, prepared at an early date, it remains to this hour the only "handbook" that has been issued in direct connection with this study. The fact that it made its appearance in the United States supplies us at the same time with a useful reminder, for to that country belongs the honour of having inaugurated this new department of inquiry. It was a professor at Princeton who, more than thirty years ago, published *A Comparative History of Religions* (1871-73, 2 vols. crown 8vo, \$3.50). It was a professor at Harvard who, in his *Ten Great Religions* (1871-83, 2 vols. crown 8vo, \$4.00), issued the first formal treatise on this subject. Further, it was a professor at Boston who was installed in the first university chair that was established expressly for the promotion of such researches. The date of this historic foundation was 1873, *i.e.* two years before the late George Smith began his famous correspondence in the London *Daily Telegraph*, and three years before he printed the startling narrative he embodied in *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*. The shadow of this British pioneer has become distant and dim to-day; but before he gave his first hint that a profound though unsuspected relationship indissolubly joined together the Hebrew and Babylonian religions—before Holland and France, beneath much wider horizons, had identified themselves so helpfully with the expanding interests of this science—American scholars had already entered upon the quest for the ultimate solution of these problems.

It need hardly be said that, as compared with General Forlong, Dr Kellogg was in a position to employ methods and announce results which were of a distinctly higher order. First of all, he approached his subject from a different point of view. For many years he had been a Professor of Theology at Alleghany, Pennsylvania. A profound scholar, his training for this post, and the experience he gained while filling it, lent him no inconsiderable help

when he addressed himself to his subsequent task. Yet further, long periods of professional residence in the East brought him into direct daily contact with those who confided to him quite frankly their varied spiritual perplexities. In this way he secured additional qualification for an undertaking which, as he foresaw, would tax his resources to the utmost. Anyone who has read his *Origin and Growth of Religion* (1892, crown 8vo, \$1.50) will be able to take correct measure of the man, and to bear witness to the maturity of his mental endowments. We are not surprised, therefore, that, in the volume now under review, the writer gives abundant evidence of patient, competent, penetrative insight. Nevertheless, in some respects, Dr Kellogg appears at a disadvantage when brought into comparison with General Forlong. His close identification with Christianity unfortunately tended to obscure, in faiths antagonistic to his own, the presence of qualities which might well have won his notice and esteem. In his Handbook he occupies—without concealment and without apology—the standpoint of the militant Christian missionary. He writes with the avowed purpose of exhibiting “the Divine authority and unique supremacy of Christianity” (p. 167), and “the exclusive position held by Christianity as the one only divinely revealed system of saving truth” (Preface, p. v.). Nay, more; he holds it to be a blunder “to exhibit that broad ‘sympathy’ with the ethnic religions which, we are now taught by many, it is the first duty of the intelligent Christian to cherish” (p. 160). . . . “It is not through any lack of charity, but under the constraint of an imperious logical necessity, that we affirm that Islam, Hindooism, Buddhism, Confucianism—in a word, all religions whatsoever other than that of Christ—must be regarded as false” (p. 173). Any contrary belief is declared to run counter to the express teaching both of the Old Testament and the New (see pp. 160-166), and to confuse and seriously jeopardise the whole outlook of the modern missionary movement! Further quotations are needless. This manual will serve no doubt a special purpose in the theological class-room, but it is not likely to lend much help to the

larger cause which it seeks to promote. It can expect little favour at the hands of a Shintoist, a Mohammedan, or a Hindu who, honestly desirous of dealing fairly with sundry conflicting beliefs, discovers that debate has already been summarily closed. In these circumstances, any dispassionate weighing of the issues which a study of religions is sure to bring into view becomes a hopeless dream.

Apart, however, from an attitude of mind which disqualified Dr Kellogg for a task of this sort, his book is unsatisfactory for two additional reasons. On the one hand, the amount of space put at his disposal—the contents of a thin crown 8vo—made it impossible for him to do justice to the subject. His handbook, in consequence, is little more than a carefully arranged primer. On the other hand, perhaps for the reason just mentioned, the volume restricts itself to merely one department of Comparative Religion. It presents the reader with a survey of the doctrines of God, sin, salvation, and the future life, together with some account of the existing moral standards of half a dozen selected nationalities. It would have been more exact, therefore, if this brief treatise had been entitled “A Handbook of Comparative Theology.” A comparison of the more or less carefully formulated beliefs of the divers faiths of man is, of course, a very useful discipline; but it occupies only a small part of that domain which is thought of when one speaks of Comparative Religion. Questions relating to early environment, historical development, organisation, ritual, literature, and indebtedness to alien cults—not to mention others—bulk largely in all comparative estimates that are sufficiently searching in character. Religion certainly cannot be compressed within so narrow an area as that of dogma merely, important as Dogmatics may be when viewed as a study by itself.

Had Dr Kellogg been spared to return to America, he was again to have filled a theological chair, for which generous friends had begun to provide an endowment. In that event, there is little doubt that his profound interest in Comparative Religion would have resulted in his preparation of a larger

text-book, and one that would have proved a worthier memorial of his busy and studious career. For reasons that have been referred to, however, it is questionable if it would have met the needs of the majority of inquirers to-day. As matters stand, Dr Kellogg is most likely to be remembered by students of Comparative Religion on account of a volume he published under the title *The Light of Asia and the Light of the World* (1885, crown 8vo, \$2.00). In this earlier work, he sets Buddhism and Christianity apart from all other religions ; and then, carefully comparing and contrasting them, he subjects them to a very rigid scrutiny. It is in this connection that Dr Kellogg has rendered students a real and permanent service. This undertaking he very thoroughly executed. It has been attempted more than a score of times within the last decade, but it has seldom been accomplished with more conspicuous penetration and skill.

Mr Macculloch has given scholars a book deserving of very high praise. It is of convenient size, a neat crown 8vo ; while the paper is so thin and light that one reads on from chapter to chapter, without a thought of the volume's steadily growing weight ! But it is the contents of this admirable treatise that arouse our liveliest gratitude. In the quiet study of the rectory at Portree in Skye, investigations which have been in progress for some years are now coming to light in various timely publications. *Religion : Its Origin and Forms* (1904, 12mo, 1s.), and *The Childhood of Fiction : A Study of Folk Tales and Primitive Thought* (1905, 8vo, 12s.), are but the first fruits, it may be hoped, of many similar contributions yet in store.

The ground covered by Mr Macculloch's *Comparative Theology* is, unfortunately, too narrow to permit of his book being regarded as representative of Comparative Religion as a whole. Like Dr Kellogg's handbook, it treats merely of one aspect of the subject. As its title indicates, the volume limits itself to a comparison of certain theological doctrines, which are brought successively under review. The question is put : What do these religions severally teach concerning God, the Trinity, creation, sin, inspiration, incarnation, atone-

ment, the future life, etc., etc.? The answers obtained are carefully compared and classified. In undertaking this task, Mr Macculloch does not claim to be a pioneer. He is found in the lineal succession to the late Professor Freeman Clarke, who anticipated him in this quest by the space of a whole generation. The second volume of Dr Clarke's *Ten Great Religions* deals substantially with the same topics that are handled by Mr Macculloch; but whereas the earlier book was a first attempt of its kind, and Dr Kellogg had to compress *his* statements within too compact a form, Mr Macculloch has had considerably more space in which to move, and he has also wisely included the abundant fruits of those studies in anthropology and psychology, which are being so diligently prosecuted to-day. His book, accordingly, possesses the distinction of being the first serious attempt within recent years to place the whole range of the dogmatic teachings of various faiths side by side, with the aim of detecting their numerous agreements and differences; and it must be said that its purpose has been achieved in a highly satisfactory manner.

The point of view of the author is not to be overlooked, for it is not without its influence in determining the conclusions to which he is ultimately led. Mr Macculloch believes that Christianity is the absolute and final religion for all the race. He finds in it (and in it alone) the power to satisfy man's deepest longings, and to fulfil his loftiest spiritual hopes. Yet he is far from undervaluing the functions performed by other religions. They may be, in some particulars, very little inferior to Christianity itself. Indeed, the wonderful resemblances between Christianity and some of the non-Christian faiths, are shown to be traceable to the fact that Christianity has directly borrowed from them. This process of more or less conscious assimilation has been going on for ages, and it has effected results (both in kind and degree) of which the majority of Christians are completely unaware. Christianity is related not merely to Judaism, but to Greek thought, to Zoroastrianism, to Babylonian religion, and to various other sources. Nevertheless, Mr Macculloch

is convinced that the essence of Christianity is not to be found in what it has borrowed, but rather in what is unique in it. In certain respects it is debtor to none. The spirit of Christianity is its own. The atmosphere it invariably creates is its own. The most striking of the results which it ensures are its own. One is inclined to feel that the author's aim in writing this book—a practical aim rather than a scientific one—unconsciously reveals itself in some of his arguments and conclusions; but, as already stated, the task attempted has been exceedingly well done. The writer's outlook is wide, his charity is appreciative, and his temper is dispassionate and fair. At the same time it is evident that this book is not fitted to serve as a manual of Comparative Religion.

Coming next to Germany, it might have been expected that, when one opened a volume dealing with questions bearing on Comparative Religion, it would have been found to present (however briefly) a thorough knowledge of a field which Germany is in a specially favourable position to cultivate. But those who are acquainted with the facts have almost abandoned hope that any material assistance is to be looked for from this quarter. Individual scholars in Germany have lent to the study of Comparative Religion much valued impulse; but they have been so few in number, and the aid they have furnished has been so restricted and sporadic, that Germany has contributed practically nothing to the general progress of the movement. This result is greatly to be deplored, seeing that the right of free inquiry, acknowledged skill in the use of the historical method, and the outstanding competency of many of the holders of University chairs, are privileges in regard to which Germany is not surpassed by any other country. Nevertheless, in so far as Comparative Religion is concerned, the position occupied by German scholarship to-day leaves very much to be desired. The attitude taken up towards this study has, from the outset, been aloof and unfriendly. Professor Harnack, and more recently, Professor Troeltsch, have undertaken to defend this marvellous state of affairs;

but their arguments sound strangely unconvincing. It will not suffice to say that the field is too wide; surely it is not necessary that any given Professor should master the whole of it! All that is required is that individual investigators, thoroughly trained for their work, should select definite (but judiciously limited) portions of it—the mastery of two, or say three, religions—and then confine the major part of their researches within these boundaries. In this way, before many years elapsed, the whole wide domain would be covered. In the interim, by the aid of the printing press, the results secured could easily be recorded and distributed. It is known to all that other countries, at any rate, are making this experiment; and although, in most instances, they are not dowered with those facilities which would make similar work in Germany so easy, they are facing the problem seriously, and are energetically helping to solve it.

To foreigners it seems a reproach to Germany that the few investigators she has furnished in this department “are still largely dependent upon the scholars of other countries for their books and critical apparatus. . . . It can afford no ground for pleasant reflections among citizens of the Fatherland that, meanwhile, all the foremost publications dealing with Comparative Religion—found in considerable numbers in German book stores, and occasionally cited in German class-rooms—bear foreign names upon their title-pages. The ablest textbook, thus far, hails from Holland. The ablest review has still to be imported from France. Even in the local *Theologischer Jahresbericht*, an authority of admittedly high rank, the section which deals with this department of study has long been conducted by a non-German editor.” (*Comparative Religion: Its Genesis and Growth*, p. 515.)

Professor Bousset’s book, if its title were strictly indicative of its contents, would not have been given a place in the present Survey. It belongs, in large measure, to the department of the History of Religion. Its author intends it to be a contribution to the Philosophy of Religion; and yet, incidentally, it contains considerable material that is proper

to *Comparative Religion*. Hence, like the companion volumes which surround it—all of which have been admitted to our list on the basis of a somewhat generous estimate of their fitness—it too may be welcomed as being fairly representative.

It is unnecessary to furnish any detailed criticism of a book which has already been examined in the pages of this Review (see vol. i. pp. 722-729), and the weak places in whose argument have been sufficiently disclosed. Professor Bousset has written, in this instance as always, an exceedingly attractive and stimulating volume. In singling out certain characteristic features of the various faiths, he endeavours to show that "there are essential principles which underlie all religions, and which reach their fullest expression in the highest form of religion." In the course of his treatment of the subject, he is led to sketch and compare sundry types of Primitive and Tribal Religion, National Religions, Prophetic Religions, Legal Religions, and Redemptive Religions. This undertaking is performed in a striking and luminous way. The discussion exhibits wide and exact knowledge, and is full of helpful suggestion. Unfortunately, however, the tendency to advance too rapidly towards some generalisation results sometimes in the slurring over of less obvious but significant details; and one occasionally gets the impression that the personal factor is allowed to predetermine the direction in which our leader seeks to guide us. In his later booklet *Jesus* (1904, crown 8vo, M.o. 60), while inclined still to be subjective in some of his critical positions, Professor Bousset gives additional insight into his conception of the essence of Christianity. But this brochure lies outside our present survey; and, in any case, it also has been referred to already in these pages (see vol. ii. p. 14).

Special reference to the contents of the next volume in this group, *Comparative Religion: Its Genesis and Growth*, would obviously be out of place; nor is it called for, inasmuch as this task has been sufficiently discharged by a disinterested hand in a recent issue of this Review (see vol. i. pp. 729-735). The author would merely take occasion to

make grateful acknowledgment to those who have expressed appreciation of his work.

The present opportunity may, however, be used to correct one or two impressions which, though not warranted by the publication in question, seem to have gained wide currency. Perhaps the author, quite unwittingly, was himself partially to blame. He must have failed to make his purpose sufficiently clear; but he supposed the fact to be self-evident that his book was merely introductory. Although it is stated (p. xiii.) that the volume "might yield service as a University Handbook," it is nowhere affirmed that it was undertaken with that aim in view. Nothing was more remote from the author's design than the preparation of a formal Text-book of Comparative Religion. *The Princeton Theological Review* describes the situation quite accurately when it says: "This work is not a treatise in Comparative Religion but on Comparative Religion" (July 1906, p. 402). The volume, in a word, is intended to be nothing more than a General Introduction to the subject.

As for the series of books the author has undertaken to write, "each volume will be complete in itself." A General Introduction having been provided, a supplementary publication will appear next year under the title *Comparative Religion: Its Opportunities and Outlook*. It will embody an earnest plea for the more systematic prosecution of this study; and, at the same time, it will point out how opportune is the present occasion for inaugurating a well-organised advance in connection with the promotion of such researches. Thereafter the demand for the preparation of a competent Text-book will be seriously dealt with. The task presents difficulties which are many and complex, but a book dealing exhaustively with this theme will be published before long under the title *Comparative Religion: Its Principles and Problems*. The work has been begun, but it may be some years yet before it can be completed. Its subject-matter will be restricted to the processes and progress of Comparative Religion proper, with a catalogue and analysis of its literature. It will make a volume of about three hundred and fifty pages.

We are brought, finally, to *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, a work that has been awaited with wide-spread interest. It has been a huge undertaking; but the names of its many collaborators will ensure for it prompt attention and influence. It has been decided to issue it in crown quarto form; even then, it is likely to extend to over forty volumes. Students of the History of Religion will be glad to learn that when the third volume of Part I. is published—*Die Christliche Religion* constitutes the fourth volume of this Part, but it is the earliest section of the work to come from the press—it will be devoted exclusively to giving a survey of *Die Ausserchristlichen Religionen*. But it will be one of the thinner volumes of the set; all the religions of the world, save Christianity, are to be granted only about half as much space as that set apart for Christianity alone! Indeed, the whole treatment of religion is to be compressed within these two volumes. There will be two volumes on philosophy, its history and sub-divisions; five volumes on literature, as represented in ancient and modern times; two volumes on art, Oriental and European; and one volume on music. These twelve tomes, together with two others—which are introductory in their nature, and which furnish a sort of preface to the whole work—make up Part I of this truly gigantic project. The subsequent volumes, which are to appear at uncertain intervals, will deal with law, medicine, science, architecture, machinery, manufactures, etc. etc.

The description of the Christian religion presented to us in this new Encyclopædia is at once careful and comprehensive: the names of the numerous contributors are a sufficient guarantee of accuracy and thoroughness in the framing of summary estimates. The history of Christianity, with an account of its dogmatic and ethical teachings, has been sketched in sufficient detail. But the place and value of Comparative Religion as a modern theological discipline, and its growing importance as a means of securing fuller light upon the question of Christian origins, have been characteristically ignored.

The choice of Professor Troeltsch to deal with the topic, *Das Wesen der Religion*, awakened at the outset a feeling of

genuine satisfaction. It was assumed, of course, that he would take account of the abundant material that has recently been accumulated by students of Comparative Religion, especially as he expressly undertook to relate his subject to current investigations in Religionswissenschaft. It seemed certain that, in a work which could scarcely afford to overlook the progress which Comparative Religion has been making during the last two decades, some comprehensive manifesto in reference to it would at last have been forthcoming. These expectations, it has to be confessed, have once more been disappointed. Professor Troeltsch's statement is compressed within very narrow limits; and that fact, taken even by itself, is not without significance. Then the sub-divisions into which he chooses to break up his exposition—Geschichtsphilosophie der Religion, Religionsphilosophie, the Metaphysik der Religion, the Erkenntnistheorie der Religion, etc.—make it abundantly evident that he too, after brief preliminary preparations, has headed his ship towards the Great Lone Sea! Professor Holtzmann speaks in the concluding pages of this big volume in a more serious tone, and with fuller recognition of the significance of the present situation. His contribution in this connection might very easily escape notice, for it appears under the heading of "The Future Tasks of Religion and of the Science of Religion." Happily his admirable article begins with a *Umblick in der Gegenwart*. Nay, more: he takes a comprehensive glance into the past. Going back as far as 1874 in order to commend the adventurous projects of the late Professor Max Müller, he writes: "From that time onward we observed a science of Comparative Religion grow out of the science of Comparative Philology and Comparative Ethnology. . . . Thus Christianity comes to be drawn into the scheme which is inclusive of all historical religions, the effect of non-Christian influences on the conception of doctrine and worship is demonstrated, and the narrow path along which the idea of revelation (as restricted in the Bible) was formerly moving has been widened into the broad highway of the history of the nations. . . . Hence the exclusively theological treatment, and even the

solution, of the problems relative to our Biblical studies is daily becoming more impracticable. Moreover where, as with us, relationship to the Churches makes it appear necessary to maintain special Faculties of Theology, the object in view must by no means be limited to lending assistance to the Churches, and to training preachers who shall meet the views of those persons (whether coteries or majorities) who exercise sway in any particular place, but must extend also to the promotion of science in general." It is truly refreshing to find these sentiments coming from the pen of so eminent a German authority. Though they echo the voice of one who makes his plea verily "in a wilderness," and though they occupy less than a page of space, they in a measure redeem *Die Kultur der Gegenwart* from the charge that, in so far as the study of Comparative Religion is concerned, it does not represent the attainments of twentieth century scholarship. One department of inquiry has no need to feel jealous of another, even though the new candidate for favour is evidently winning the majority to its side. It may require the advent of an "intellectual prodigy" to grapple with the problems of Comparative Religion after the manner in which German scholars think such problems *ought* to be mastered; but men of ordinary mental equipment, if properly trained, will have no cause to feel ashamed of their success, if they face this undertaking with a due amount of patience and energy. Germany "may continue to declare that she resents the intrusion within this domain of men who manifestly can offer no claim to scholarly recognition; but she will never get rid of these intruders—when unfortunately they appear, here as elsewhere—by merely sneering at them. There is a much more excellent way, and it would also prove to be a much more effective way: the German Universities should open to these men, or to others more worthy than they, the gateways to a fuller and maturer knowledge" (*Comparative Religion: Its Genesis and Growth*, p. 513.) Outside of Germany the promoters of this science have every reason to feel optimistic touching its future. As Professor Holtzmann frankly concedes, chairs and lecture-

ships are being endowed, special libraries are being collected, seminars are being organised, and all the other necessary apparatus for ensuring systematic and thorough inquiry is being rapidly provided. Holland, France, Great Britain, and the United States, have now openly identified themselves with the movement, and its success ultimately is no longer a matter of doubt.

But Comparative Religion will come to its own in Great Britain only when, in addition to providing periodic surveys of its literature, it possesses an influential journal, in whose pages workers, busy in all lands, may interchange ideas, offer and weigh criticisms, present summaries of the results of important current investigations, and impart and receive those many subtle impulses which are so necessary and so grateful in work of this kind. The splendid service that France has rendered in this connection, through the columns of the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, is deserving of unstinted praise. By means of such an organ, moreover,—especially at the outset of its career—this field, with its rapid expansion and its needs, could be brought more directly before the public mind. The multiplication and ready sale in England to-day of various series of primers—*Religions, Ancient and Modern*; *Studies in the Faiths*; *The Wisdom of the East*; *The Faiths of the World*; *The Oriental Classics*, etc., etc.—show that a genuinely popular interest, already widely aroused concerning this department of study, needs only to be deepened and enlarged.

In conclusion, as illustrative of the constant impetus that is being lent to this movement, it is gratifying to note that President C. C. Hall of New York has just sailed for India to deliver his second course of lectures in connection with the Barrows Lectureship on Comparative Religion, his subject being *The Witness of the Oriental Consciousness to Jesus Christ*. Dr Jevons also, Principal of Bishop Hatfield's Hall, Durham, is next March to be the first lecturer on a new foundation just created by the Congregational Theological Seminary of Hartford, Conn. His theme will be *Comparative Religion*; and as each of these annual courses of lectures is to be published shortly after delivery, a very useful addition

to the increasing literature of the subject may confidently be counted upon. And, last but not least important, Dr J. G. Frazer's well-known book, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Comparative Religion* (1890, 2 vols. 8vo, 28s.; 2nd edition, 1900, 3 vols. royal 8vo, 36s.), is shortly to be re-issued in a new form, being carefully revised throughout. It will no doubt occupy a prominent place among the publications to be included in an early subsequent Survey.

LOUIS H. JORDAN.

Reviews

THE BOOK OF ISAIAH AND OTHER HISTORICAL STUDIES, by the Rev. Charles H. H. Wright, D.D., Ph.D. London: Francis Griffiths, 1906. Pp. xii., 351. 6s. nett.

ONE-FOURTH of this volume is devoted to an essay on the Book of Isaiah which appeared as an article in Sir William Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, in the second edition of vol. i. The rest of the book consists of a series of historical studies which have been published in various journals, and are here reprinted by permission.

The writer attained his literary jubilee in 1905, and to mark the occasion has appended to these studies a list of his works during fifty years. Twenty-seven publications are named in this list, which does not include pamphlets larger and smaller. The subjects handled are for the most part connected with the Old Testament, which may be regarded as the writer's special province; but he has also dealt with questions of Irish language and history, and with controversial matters, chiefly Protestantism *v.* Roman Catholicism.

Dr Wright is a stout champion of every cause he espouses, and whether one agrees with his point of view or not, it is difficult to withstand the vigour and vehemence of his writing. Thus he compels sympathy for the conservative school of biblical criticism, for the Jews maliciously charged with practising human sacrifice, and for the persecuted

Lutherans in the Baltic Provinces of Russia. One of his most careful and most convincing essays is on the "Old Testament and Human Sacrifice," while one of the most interesting is entitled "Religious Life in the German Army during the War of 1870-1871," largely a record of personal experience. The "Site of Paradise" forms the theme of another study, and in this the writer upholds the finding of Professor Friedrich Delitzsch, who, we are told, considers the Garden of Eden to have been located in "that portion of Babylonia which lies immediately north of the city of Babylon, between the Tigris and the Euphrates, which formed respectively its eastern and western boundaries. Its limits on the north may be indicated by a line drawn from Bagdad on the Tigris across to Akkad on the Euphrates, while a similar line, parallel to the former, stretching from Babylon on the Euphrates to the Tigris, would designate with sufficient accuracy its southern boundary" (p. 113, cf. map facing title-page).

Reference may here be made to the other non-biblical studies, which are, "Some Great Jewish Rabbis of the First and Second Centuries," and a lecture on "Martin Luther, the Hero of the Reformation."

With regard to subjects wholly biblical, it may be remarked that the writer shows great familiarity with the Scriptures, and is most careful in all his references, quoting a parallel, or parallels, very frequently. His attitude towards the Isaianic question is, as hinted, conservative; and his position is well illustrated by such a passage as this: "A critic is not justified in tampering with the prophetic text on the ground of a theoretical assumption of interpolations, so as to force it into harmony with his peculiar theories. On the other hand, if the general integrity of the prophetic books is to be upheld, attention must be called to the fact that the prophecies of the Old Testament contain more of the ideal element than is popularly imagined. The reader of the Bible must be trained to observe that literal predictions are the exception and not the rule" (pp. 32, 33).

In conformity to this canon, Dr Wright maintains the integrity of Isaiah, and enters a protest against reducing the

prophecy to a selection of genuine "remains." Glosses pointing out fulfilments are, however, admitted, and certain post-exilian comments are conceded, "comments so frequently repeated for the consolation of the exiles that they came to be regarded as part of the original." He allows that it is probable that lxiii. 7-14 with lxiv. is a post-exilian meditation, but "Isaianic character" and "pre-exilian" are the dominant notes of his commentary.

The most satisfactory view of Isa. vii. 14 is reckoned to be "that which considers the mother of the Messiah distinctly pointed to, and hence the article is used, although the particular individual signified was not known." Isa. liii. is viewed as a distinct Messianic prophecy, and is treated at length in pp. 77-83. The article closes with a survey of the literature of the book.

The main purpose of the essay on "The Old Testament and Human Sacrifice" is to show that human sacrifice at no time formed part of the genuine religion of Israel. "Among the authorised usages of the Israelitish Church the barbarous practice of human sacrifice never at any period found a place."

The cases which seem to contradict this, viz., Abraham's offering of his son Isaac, Jephthah's vow, and the execution of the seven sons of Saul by order of David (2 Sam. xxi.), are discussed at some length, and in each instance a solution, not at variance with the writer's main position, is arrived at. This study conducts by natural transition to an examination of the charges brought against the Jews during the Christian era of having practised human sacrifice in their ritual. The odious charge is sufficiently refuted, particularly in the account of the trial at Tisza-Eszlar (Hungary), of fifteen Jews, who were said to have murdered a Christian girl to obtain her blood for purposes connected with the Jewish ritual (June to August 1882).

The concluding article, on the "Persecution of the Lutherans in the Baltic Provinces," closes with the significant paragraph: "God grant that the freedom of conscience, nominally granted (May 1905) to his subjects by the Emperor of Russia, may prove to be a blessed

reality. One cannot, however, as yet be certain whether it will be carried out into practice. Until full freedom of conscience be unreservedly granted to persons of all creeds and religions, Russia will never obtain her proper position among the nations of Europe."

Leslie.

WILLIAM CRUICKSHANK.

THE APOSTOLIC AGE, IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN CRITICISM, by *James Hardy Ropes*, *Bussey Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation in Harvard University*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1906. Pp. viii., 327. 6s. nett.

IN a course of lectures at the Lowell Institute in 1904, Dr Ropes endeavoured to interest a semi-popular audience in the critical investigation of the Apostolic Age. He publishes the lectures, substantially as they were delivered, in the belief that they may prove useful to the student as well as to the general reader. This belief, it may be said at once, is amply justified. The book, while popular in form and unencumbered with references and footnotes, is manifestly the work of an accomplished scholar who has thoroughly mastered the vast literature of his subject. His survey of results will be valued most by those who have laboured in the same field and who are able to supply the necessary background of detail.

Besides his scholarship, Dr Ropes possesses, in a high degree, certain qualifications which are all-important to the student of the Apostolic Age. He has insight and sympathy and religious feeling. He can throw himself back into the period of which he writes, and see its actors as living men, taking part in real events. He has an admirable sense of proportion, and never over-emphasises any one factor in the history to the exclusion of others. He writes, it may be added, with singular grace and lucidity, and has made a fascinating book of what might easily, in less competent hands, have been a mere dry summary.

There are nine chapters in all, of which the first is of an introductory nature, and the last a *resumé* of the history of

New Testament criticism, so far as it has dealt specially with the Apostolic Age. The titles of the remaining seven chapters will indicate at a glance the scope and character of the work: "The Earliest Christian Mission"; "Jewish Christianity and its Fate"; "The Apostle Paul"; "Paul's Theology"; "Life in an Apostolic Church"; "The Apostles and the Gospels"; "The Preparation for Catholic Christianity." It will be seen that the author does not arrange his material according to a strict chronological scheme. He presents not so much a formal history as a series of studies of the more important phases and episodes of his period. At the same time he intends that the several chapters should illustrate the three successive transitions which were effected in the first century, from the life of immediate fellowship with Jesus to that of membership in His Church, from the Jewish to the universal type of Christianity, from the primitive and apostolic to the Catholic Church. The idea of the book as a whole is to trace out the development of early Christianity in view of these three transitions.

The method adopted by the writer imposes on him certain necessary limitations. Aiming at a rapid survey which will embrace all the salient facts and set them in their due place and perspective, he is compelled in many instances to dismiss important questions with a wholly inadequate treatment. He refuses, for example, to devote more than a page or two to Paul's conversion, or the Council of Jerusalem, or the authorship of the Fourth Gospel, conscious that a full discussion would carry him beyond his scope. In regard to these questions and others of equal interest, he does not allow himself to offer a definite decision, since he would thus take an unfair advantage over the reader, who is not in possession of all the facts. One cannot but feel at times that this intellectual honesty is pushed to an excess. It is evident that on all the problems Dr Ropes has formed opinions of his own, which would be well worth hearing, although they had to be stated a little too dogmatically. As it is we are left to conjecture them, and even that poor satisfaction is sometimes denied us. The book undoubtedly suffers from this impression which it

leaves on the reader, that the main difficulties have been handled too cautiously or altogether evaded.

The inadequacy of the treatment is perhaps most regrettable in the chapter which deals with the theology of Paul. The outline is certainly a brilliant one, but within the limits imposed on him the author can only touch lightly on the crucial points on which we most desire to question him. He indicates the two different lines of thought along which the apostle works out his idea of redemption, but makes no attempt to determine their relation to each other. The eschatological element in Paul's thinking is duly admitted, but no suggestion is offered as to how far it modifies the doctrinal position. We are left in the end with an uncomfortable feeling that the apostle's thought has been rendered simple and consistent by the slurring over of much that is intractable.

The most valuable chapter in the book is that which traces out the process by which the Apostolic became transformed into the Catholic Church. To this chapter all the others are meant, apparently, to lead up. In the Apostolic age, according to Dr Ropes's view, the materials were gradually forming out of which Catholic Christianity was finally constructed. Paul contributed the idea of a universal gospel, the conception of the Person of Christ, the consciousness of the unity of the Church, the doctrine of the Spirit, the moral ideal. Yet the old Catholic Church was not Pauline. Other influences had been flowing in from various sides which profoundly modified the Pauline conceptions. Among these other influences Dr Ropes lays special stress on Greek intellectualism, sacramentarianism, asceticism, the idea of an exclusive Church, membership in which was determined by divine election. He finds these later influences at work in the Fourth Gospel, though he declines to commit himself to any definite opinion as to its origin. It is difficult to see how he reconciles the two views he apparently takes of it, as at once an authentic record of the life of Jesus and a theological document, mediating the transition from Paulinism to Catholic Christianity.

In his attitude to the sources generally, the author is

critical, though slightly inclined to conservatism. He accepts the authenticity of all the Pauline Epistles, with the single exception of the Pastorals. He admits a legendary colouring in the earlier chapters of Acts, but regards the book as a whole as trustworthy. While rejecting Second Peter, he argues, though with some diffidence, for the Petrine authorship of the First Epistle. The two-source theory of the Synoptic Gospels is unhesitatingly accepted, and Dr Ropes believes that it will prove possible, by a more exact investigation of Matthew and Luke, to discover the nature of the second source and the limits and arrangement of its contents. With regard to the Gospels he makes the pregnant observation, "They are not private memoirs, but public documents, in which the common tradition of the Church has found its record. This is attested by the fact that almost nothing of value relating to the life and teachings of Christ has come down to us outside of these Gospels and the Gospel of John."

The book is not so much an original contribution to the study of the Apostolic age as a clear and judicious summary of views which may be considered as fairly established. The author, indeed, seems purposely to have avoided any novel conjectures, since within the limits of his work he could not support them with sufficient evidence. He has the faculty, however, of opening up original points of view, often in a single sentence. Take, for instance, the following, chosen at random. "It became a principle in Roman administration that if the police chose to act, membership in the Christian Church was in itself a capital offence, somewhat as the mere profession of anarchist sentiments is nowadays regarded as a crime." "The Epistle to the Hebrews, intellectual and almost dogmatic in its character, has in some respects influenced the form of Christian theology more than Paul has done." "The Fourth Gospel has the quality which is said to belong to every great portrait, that it contains something of the personality not only of the subject, but of the painter." "Paul had not fully thought through and clarified the fundamental idea of God, at which as a Christian he had now arrived." Repeatedly we come

on sentences such as these, which place a whole subject in some new and suggestive light.

As a rapid and interesting survey, the book could hardly have been better done. We only hope that the author, having now marked out the ground, will turn his attention more closely to some of the outstanding problems. There can be little doubt that in a work more definite in its scope and allowing more room for discussion and independent judgment, he would make some valuable addition to our knowledge of the Apostolic age.

E. F. SCOTT.

Prestwick.

**DAS FORTLEBEN DES HEIDENTUMS IN DER
ALTCHRISTLICHEN KIRCHE, von Wilhelm
Soltan. Berlin : Georg Reimer. Pp. xvi., 307. 6 M.**

THE author of this book believes himself to be discharging a sacred duty. "Every honest man," he says, "in the *religious calamity* of our time should, as far as he is concerned, be active to bring about an improvement." What is this religious calamity? "The official Church-Christianity of the Catholic as of the Protestant Churches is a completed heathenism. This truth results from the history of the development which the primitive Christian Church assumed."

In the general part of his work he deals with the relations of heathenism and Christianity to one another. The distinction between them is not a temporal but an essential one. Under heathenism he includes all antagonistic to primitive Christianity which was previously current, even in Judaism. By primitive Christianity he understands a faith in God purified and determining the whole life ; a hope of a kingdom of God of moral worth and divine grace to refresh the labouring and burdened, and to relieve social misery, and of immortality for the soul ; a belief in Jesus as the Messiah, the divinely chosen herald of the kingdom, without any dogmatic definitions about His Person or the Trinity, or any definite views about the mode of the resurrection, or any sacraments. This primitive Christianity had affinity with the best results of ancient culture, and, therefore, further

developments due to the heathen environment can be described as heathen only in so far as they contradict the essential principles of Christianity. The tasks resulting from this relation are: (1) to appreciate the worthy contributions of ancient culture to the development of primitive Christianity, while recognising the uniqueness of Christianity; (2) to determine all foreign elements that have modified Christianity; (3) to distinguish so clearly these heathen elements that they can no longer be regarded as essentially Christian.

The special part deals with heathenism within the old Christian Church, that is the penetration and falsification of Christianity by heathen conceptions and customs in the course of the first three centuries. The instances of this change given are: (1) the false estimation of the Old Testament, or the dogmatism by which the doctrines of Judaism (angelology and demonology, anthropomorphism, belief in miracles, the proof from predictions) were introduced into Christianity; (2) the moral relapse into heathenism; (3) heathen anthropomorphism, or the human degradation of the divine and the deity, including the deification of Jesus, the personalising of the Spirit, the formation of the doctrine of the Trinity, as well as the exaltation of the Virgin Mary to the rank of a mediator with God; (4) polytheism in Christianity, in the shape of adoration of martyrs and saints, belief in angels and demons, and transference from heathenism of holy seasons and holy places; (5) the superstitious belief in miracles, foreign to primitive Christianity, as Jesus' works of healing are not to be so regarded; (6) the destructive influence of the heathen conception of sacrifice, to which Jesus' moral view was entirely opposed, and which brought with it the non-Christian institution of a priesthood; (7) the transformation of the Lord's Supper into the Mass; (8) the development of clergy, episcopate, and Papacy, in opposition to the fundamental Christian conception of the priesthood of all believers; (9) the inner ruin of Christianity resulting from its outer victory under Constantine. The historical result of this process, he concludes, is most deplorable, whatever may be said in explanation or excuse of it, as it constitutes a

serious retrogression in human history, as primitive Christianity has an *absolute value*. The exposure of this heathenising of Christianity has a present, practical purpose, as official ecclesiastical Christianity generally regards these heathen elements as the essentially Christian. "Scientific enlightenment may bring about a cleansing and cure of Christian communities, not by a sudden revolution, but by a gradually decreasing estimation of the dogmatic, the theological-mystical, and the hierarchical side of ecclesiastical Christendom."

While it would have been desirable if the author had supplied more fully the historical references in confirmation of his many startling statements, the extent and the variety of the learning, and its accuracy generally, may be freely recognised. What he proves regarding the development of the Mass, the priesthood, Mariolatry, saint worship, the hallowing of seasons and places, as the intrusion of heathenism into Christianity does not challenge contradiction. But there are other elements he condemns as heathen which can be excluded from primitive Christianity only by an extreme and violent exercise of the methods of literary and historical criticism. Is apostolic teaching and practice, wherever it is not a mere echo or copy of Jesus' words and works, to be treated as a foreign, or sometimes injurious element in Christianity? Is a purely humanitarian and naturalistic conception of the person of Jesus so certainly characteristic of primitive Christianity as the author assumes? Did Christ not conceive Himself as other than a human messenger of God? Can the doctrines of the Incarnation and Trinity be legitimately regarded as a human degradation of the divine as Mariolatry is? Have not these doctrines been so formulated as to confirm, rather than contradict a true and pure monotheism? Are miracles to be so completely excluded from the life of Jesus? Can the view of His death as a sacrifice be dismissed as mere superstition? To justify the answer I should give to these questions in opposition to the author's would demand far more space than can be allowed for a review. To sum up, the author's view of primitive Christianity seems to me to be far too

narrow, his own conception of what is essentially Christian appears to be altogether inadequate, his criticism of many doctrines and practices is lacking in the justice that goes with sympathy, the polemic spirit is too pronounced in him for the altogether fair treatment of a subject that requires the most scrupulous judgment. The book is valuable for the materials bearing on its subject it brings together; but the thesis the author sets himself to prove must be accepted with many qualifications.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

London.

THE SACRED TENTH: STUDIES IN THANKSGIVING, by *Henry Lansdell, D.D., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S.*
London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge,
1906. *Vols. I., II., 16s.*

DR LANSDELL is chaplain of Morden College, Blackheath, and has written several other works recording varied researches and the experiences of very extensive travel, such as *Through Siberia, Russian Central Asia, Chinese Central Asia.*

The main purpose of these two volumes is practical rather than investigatory, as the words of the Dedication imply at the outset: "These pages," the author says, "are dedicated to those persons of all countries and in every clime who, recognising that it is a religious and moral obligation to give, desire to study the extent of their responsibility; and having learned their duty, intend to do it." They are further, it may be added, "the outcome of eight years of study."

A large part of vol. i. is devoted to an account of the ideas and usages which prevailed in ancient times respecting votive gifts, first-fruits, and tithes among the Egyptians, Babylonians, Greeks, and Romans. The author devotes also about 100 pages to the discussion of tithe-giving among the Jewish people at different periods, Patriarchal and Mosaic to begin with. The two chapters which come under the heading "Mosaic" are those where the author seems at his best; they contain an exhaustive account,

conceived in a spirit of thorough inquiry, aided by wide reading, of the directions given in the Mosaic books as to the tithes—the three tithes—which the Israelitic people were commanded to bring to Jehovah as the Lord of Israel, the owner of their land. Then follow a careful enumeration and treatment of the references to Hebrew tithing found in the remaining books of the Old Testament, including the Apocryphal writings. Throughout this part we notice the author's earnest purpose leading him continually to dilate upon different kinds of *gifts* made to God or His sanctuary. We feel that our thoughts are frequently pulled up in this way almost to exclaim that the writer is leading us astray, or that his treatment of *tithes* is heavily over-burdened and beside the mark. But then we remember his leading object, well drilled into us by a perusal of the whole, and cease to raise objections.

Now begin the chapters on "Christian Tithing," where again we feel that *tithing* and *giving* are somehow constantly mixed. The author's opinions as to worthy giving are certainly sound, wholesome, and inspiring, yet we find that we ought to have been enlightened somewhat more as to the relation of Christian liberality to "tithing."

We feel this as we come to the following parts in the first volume: "Catholic Teaching," "Catholic Practice and Legislation," "Tithe Legislation in France, Germany, and Scandinavia"; throughout this part instance upon instance is given—the fulness of references is highly worthy of praise; but the distinction between the figurative use of the term *decima*, as when the writer leads us to passages taken from Cyprian, Augustine, with other Latin writers, and the implication conveyed by its use when ecclesiastical censure and civil legislation had set in is not adequately noticed. The author's moral aim, however, bids us absolve him and pass on again. The chapter on "Tithing in England" further leads us to severer criticism. A book of this character should hardly have allowed its pages to have narrated the mythical payment of tithes "from the time, and as due to the doctrine of Germanus and Lupus, who (about A.D. 445), at the request of Aurelianus and Ambrosius . . ."

Giraldus, as any one who has paid attention to the true story of Germanus must know, is simply dreaming. It is somewhat small to add, yet let it be observed, Lupus of Troyes followed Germanus here in 429, not 447, while Aurelianus and Ambrosius are simply one person, the Ambrosius Aurelianus of Gildas (*De Exc.* c. 25), who must be placed about A.D. 540. To quote Selden's dictum that the *Vita Cadoci*, in the direction quoted as to tithe, "involves no anachronism," though the work was not "written until after the Norman Conquest," stirs in us a not mild prejudice. Let any one read that *Vita* through, observing its other real anachronisms, he will find it hard to be patient even with Selden's statement. These criticisms are here advanced because Dr Lansdell says: "It will be apparent, therefore, from the foregoing, that tithe-paying was known and practised in this country by British Christians and in churches of British origin before, and apart from, the Italian mission of Augustine." Such a conclusion I believe to be very far indeed from being "apparent," whether on these grounds or any other.

One has an uncomfortable feeling that the author is depending too far on Selden, Spelman, and Comber. Lord Selborne's book is something different to cast oneself on; yet even that volume, so brimful of learned and illustrative matter, has been far from satisfying several who, with no bias, simply strive to get at things and behind books. It is quite probable that Dr Lansdell has himself no keen interest in the measures taken by civil law to *enforce* the payment of tithes, but his book may be taken by many, and even has the appearance of a search into the origin of such a payment along lines leading to the enactments that made it legally obligatory. His interest, even here, is in that which simply gives proof of the commendable liberality of kings or princes. There can be no doubt that tithe in England—Wales should be kept apart here—came to be payable, in the words of King Pippin, "*ut unusquisque homo, aut vellet aut nollet, suam decimam donet.*" So it came to pass in Wales and in Scotland, but these two countries equally deserve a separate treatment. Dr Lansdell has

gathered together a vast amount of material, and if here a criticism is passed as to times or causes, it is with a full consciousness that the work for *its own* aim is but slightly affected.

His account of abuses by impropriation and other ways raises in the mind a sense of proper indignation. Spelman's book, it is known, influenced several lay impropiators to make amends for the desolation that had made them rich. It is perhaps, for many reasons, out of the question now. Yet the long list of impropiators, and the amounts of alienated tithes, do certainly sober any thinking man. Quoting from Grove, the writer informs us :—

“The total of tithes alienated and belonging to appropriators and impropiators amounts to £1,605,485, 13s. 2d., or nearly twice the amount provided for the parish clergy! . . . In nearly 200 parishes the alienated tithes amount to £500 a year each, while, of these 200 parishes, no less than 43 pay at least £1000 a year each into the pockets of laymen.”

The second volume waits for notice, though notice cannot be given it. The volume is stimulating in the highest degree for any one who strives to cultivate, if not the religious temper of ready and liberal giving to God and His Church, and to men as fellow-heirs with us in the love of Him who pleased not Himself—if not so, I repeat, yet also stimulating to every worthy feeling of a trained or striving public conscience. Liberal giving, and methodical careful giving, of what we have—on this subject Dr Lansdell's second volume is a book to be thankful for.

The Theological College, Bala.

HUGH WILLIAMS.

LA MÉTAPHYSIQUE DE MAÏMONIDE, *par Louis-Germain Lévy. Dijon : Barbier-Marillier, 1905. Pp. 152. 2 fr. 50 c.*

As the author remarks, the subject of his memoir has hardly received the attention merited by one who, though himself

a Jew, was the chief means of familiarising Christian thinkers with Arabian speculations in the Middle Ages, from whom Spinoza learned much of his philosophy, and in whom Leibniz was so interested that the copy of his chief work, which fell into the latter's hand, was by him annotated "chapter by chapter, almost page by page." Perhaps, however, the reason is to be found in the absence of anything of striking originality, either in substance or in form, in the works themselves. This was the conclusion of Munk, whose edition, in Arabic and French, of the *Guide to the Perplexed* (Paris, 3 vols., 1856-66), still remains the authoritative work for the student.

The *Guide*, from which most of M. Lévy's material is derived, was originally written in Arabic, but was translated, in the year of Maimonides' death (1204) into Hebrew, as the *Moreh Nebuchim*, and soon after into Latin. It is an attempt to harmonise the philosophy of the day—Aristotle modified by Neoplatonism—with the Law as revealed in the Jewish Scriptures. Theoretically, Maimonides held that neither of the authorities can conflict with the other, because they derive from an identical source—the active intelligence—which is itself an emanation from the Divine Spirit. The object of the *Guide* was to show the reality of this harmony to those who were perplexed by the apparently contradictory assertions of Aristotle on the one hand, the prophetic and Talmudic writings on the other. Maimonides adopts the view of an esoteric teaching in the Scriptures, hidden under a veil of enigma and allegory; to penetrate the veil the mind must be purified from every anthropomorphic conception of the Deity and of His actions; hence the study of metaphysics, by which this aim is achieved, becomes "the supreme duty, the only true perfection, the most noble of ends"; for it is the knowledge of God, and in proportion to the knowledge of God is the love of God; the highest philosophy thus coincides with the purest religion, deepest knowledge with purest Love.

The chief points of deflection in the metaphysics from the Aristotelian theory are to be found: (1) in the doctrine of the Divine Attributes—no *positive* attribute can be asserted

of God, *omnis determinatio est negatio*; we may assert only attributes of *action*, which do not imply distinction or compositeness within the agent, or *negative* attributes; thus knowledge, will, existence, unity, eternity are not distinct, separate, or separable characters of God, but are in Him one and the same; (2) in the doctrine of the creation of the world: according to Aristotle the world is eternal, to Neoplatonism *matter* is eternal, but the *form* is created and changeable; with Maimonides the world has been created *ex nihilo*, both in matter and in form, and the sole and sufficient ground of its existence is the will of God. We may not say, however, that God *was before* the world, for time itself is part of the creation (p. 65 f.). To admit the eternity of the world is "to sap religion at its roots, to give the lie to all miracles, to all that religion has led men to hope or to fear."

The sections on the Problem of Evil, on Miracles and Revelation, on Prophecy, on Liberty and Immortality, in spite of their old-world setting, are remarkably interesting, and suggest the source of many of the later discussions in Spinoza and Leibniz, Locke, Clarke, and Hume. Maimonides is still, however indirectly, influencing thought, and the present work forms a useful introduction to his writings.

Aberdeen.

J. L. M'INTYRE.

THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD AND ITS HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT, by Henry Melville Gwatkin, M.A. In two volumes. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906. Pp. x., 308, 334. 21s. nett.

IT is impossible to look at anything to-day apart from its history. We can only explain it from its development. In that it has gradually revealed what it is. Its history is the record of the responses it has made to its environment. It is in such active response to stimulation that being is brought into actuality. And so you cannot explain anything apart from the process of its evolution. This is just as true of things human as of the unconscious world. They too are resultants of the response to continuous forces that

are ever at work, now building up and now disintegrating ; they too, whether ideas or institutions, must be studied as things that have grown and are still growing. And it is true of the religious and ethical ideas, as well as of less important notions. Though they be in some form inseparable from man, yet their actual form and content have varied with the progressive variations of mind and society, and are a *reaction* from the lapping of the waves of circumstance and passion on the intellectual nature. Now we believe that at the root of ethics and religion lies the knowledge of God, and we must be prepared to admit that neither can this be understood apart from the study of its development ; and therefore we expect great things from a mind trained in the study of history—when it attacks this central problem of thought. We expect the easy touch and subtle sense of one accustomed to trace great principles through their Protean forms, their time-robe of splendour or shame ; we expect the trained faculty of judgment, we look for an intuitive sympathy that is born of familiar and close knowledge. Of course the qualities of the theologian and the man of science are also wanted, but the equipment of the historian comes almost before them in this matter ; and therefore we take up Professor Gwatkin's book with unusual interest, for it claims to be a description from the historical point of view of the development of that notion to the value and reality of which all history bears witness.

Professor Gwatkin's book is, however, really two treatises, being two courses of Gifford Lectures for 1904 and 1905. The first is a rational discussion of the nature and possibility of revelation, and of the likeliest form which a purely natural theology might expect it to take. It is in the second part that the historical survey of the development of religion is given.

In a general introduction it is pointed out that there can be no demonstration, only proof, of the three ultimate postulates—the world, self, and God. In this matter they are all equal ; they are assumptions that explain facts, and the explanation they give of facts is their one proof. "In proper kind and quantity it is conclusive to every man in

his right mind." Thus the question of questions is whether Theism, Agnosticism, or Atheism most satisfactorily explains the whole of the facts of life. "Theism," says Professor Gwatkin, "has been the creative force in history, and remains the general belief of serious men." *Securus judicat orbis terrarum*. It is justified as the only *rational* religion. We are driven to it in our search for "a cause" for persons and things beyond scientific sequences, a sufficient cause for life, consciousness, conscience, nay, even for the mysteries of matter. And the God that emerges as the explanation of so much, necessarily emerges as of a definite character, as a living moral Person, that is to say, able and willing to make Himself known in a personal, and therefore not always in a *uniform* way; and pledged, since life is as it is, to meet the fact of human sin, the evident disease of His world. This Person, Professor Gwatkin decides unreservedly, must be approached and considered from the standpoint not of authority but of reason; the agnosticism of belief which accepts irrational descriptions of God solely on authority is as criminal as the agnosticism of unbelief.

An examination of the Deistic Controversy yields the assurance that there is nothing to debar us from investigating the probable line of revelation. The arguments of Butler are immensely strengthened to-day. He showed that the broad lines of natural religion gave a necessary standard or general idea of all religion, and he agreed that Christianity was in a sense a "republication" of natural religion. Now, the idea of an immanent God and an evolving world bring natural religion into greater harmony with its "republication." God, seen in nature and man, is to us more truly than to Butler God *revealed*. Revelation includes the natural, nor need it therefore exclude miraculous manifestations.

This point, around which the book is built, is developed at some length. What sort of "cause" does evolution point to? Of course it never reaches more than an evolving force, and we must establish "design" before we can rise from this to a personal God. Now, the theory of design, though but a theory, covers all the cases; while the opposing theory, that of necessity, is "like a parcel of boys all making

different and inconsistent excuses for the simple fact that they were found in the wrong place." Again, our own freedom suggests a like cause behind nature, but one not necessarily capable of designing more than our finite world. Professor Gwatkin argues from the co-ordination of means to ends that the whole universe is God's revelation of Himself. The world lives and moves in God ; it is a finite mode of Him. But how much does it reveal? Power, intellect, will, with only very faltering and uncertain suggestions of mercy and love—such is God as seen in nature.

It is in man, in "the coincidence of conscience and will," that "we find a power that can take up the tale of revelation at the point where nature failed us." God must be revealed in the whole range of the capacities of common men. For in man we realise that spirit is the completion of the promises of nature ; spirit was the end and aim of all natural processes ; and, having appeared in man, it is the governing partner in the firm of flesh and spirit, and God's chief revelation. He *is* in intellect, but just as truly in feeling and instinct, which are yet deeper mysteries. He is seen in the developments of history, and in life generally as the guiding personal force.

It is next considered how, and on what grounds, we may look for a special or central revelation ; it will evidently be one that will contain the purest truth ; and therefore it will have to show God as acting according to His own nature. It must be rational and moral, good, and morally serious, of a practical nature so far as we are concerned. It need not necessarily explain everything, but may be regarded as educationally inducing its pupil to verify its teaching by results in practice—the doer of God's will shall know of the doctrine. It may thus be founded on historical facts, the meaning of which is gradually unfolded ; and these facts will imply the necessity of dogmas, and of associations to defend them. So the way is paved for Christianity to emerge as the central revelation of God.

The correlative of the idea of revelation thus given is that of inspiration, which Professor Gwatkin satisfactorily severs from the ecstatic and mechanical, and from all that

savours of the magical. In its ideal form it is won by patient and earnest effort after holiness.

Prophecy again is essentially related to a certain environment, and is necessarily limited in its perspective, and the message it gives is only guaranteed by God, where a guarantee is required.

With regard to miracles the suggestion is made that their explanation lies in the perfect sympathy of man, when holy, with the rational order of which he is the consummation. I understand Professor Gwatkin to mean that our Lord worked miracles rather as perfect man than as Son of God. Miracles also must be taken, he says, in connection with their whole context. If the miracle of the Resurrection were an isolated marvel he would not be prepared to accept it. With regard to the credibility of the miraculous history taken as a whole, he reminds us aptly that the age of documents in no way tends to invalidate their statements, and that in many respects the apostolic age is more like our own than the eighteenth century.

Lectures viii. and ix. finally attack the question of the purpose of a central revelation. It is decided without hesitation that it is the fact of sin that should most certainly be met. But how? An answer is built up from our own methods of rescue work, which depend almost entirely on the factor of personal influence and the power of willing suffering for others. Is it possible that there may be an element of self-sacrificing suffering in God to meet sin? So it would seem. And in the religion of Christ it is the central feature. To such a theism alone can we look to win the day over the great modern foe of all theistic belief—necessity.

The second series begins with an admirable chapter on primitive religion. Professor Gwatkin sees very clearly that its source was no mere abject fear, but "a craving for security and rest under the protection of some higher power as natural as the craving for food"—the same instinct in fact that really underlies all true religion—the instinct of *trust*. Without trust there can be no religion. Trust is the

very differentia of religion as distinguished from magic. The earliest form of religion was probably totemism, or the alliance of the clan with the spirit supposed to reside in some species of animal. Polytheism arose when clans permanently united. Totemism knew neither priesthood, sacrifice, nor image; its outward feature was simply the communion feast, and yet it was spiritually low, for on the one hand the holiness of God was hidden from its eyes, and on the other the personal sin of man. When the consciousness of sin arose, bloody sacrifices were invented to meet it. "The darkest rites of the ancient world, both Semitic and European, may all be understood as the search for a true atoning sacrifice."

Polytheism was in a sense a fall from totemism, but yet it has its noble features. The perpetual presence of the gods, and their goodwill to suffering man, were notes of truth. It is likened to the Jewish law, which showed that any advance could only be made from some new starting-point. It showed that there is no logical halting-place between "one personal all-sovereign God and the gulf of Pantheism." Minds like Æschylus and Plato felt after a central supreme Father, but the legends stood in their way. It was impossible to reach monotheism by that road. So throughout the Aryan world with its early nature-religions in India, the trend is pantheistic; in Persia, dualistic; in Greece, towards a philosophy—but never to a practical monotheism.

The long progress of Greek philosophy left the Olympian gods on one side as unworkable factors in the system and ultimately found the true God revealed in the rational principle in the world. This was only possible because there was something divine in man to greet it. And thus in Greek philosophy Professor Gwatkin finds again the principle of revelation that he has already adopted: "God's image within recognises God's truth without." And the search culminated in the doctrine of the Logos, or immanent reason, in the world. This was the god of Greek philosophy.

Passing to the religion of the Old Testament, we have

a very striking comparison of it with Greek religion. The contrasts are sharp and clear, and yet the lower cults in each land were not very dissimilar, and the political conditions sometimes much alike. But everything brings out the marvellous moral power and tenacity of Israel's monotheism, which is more likely to have been due to "the occasional action of great men than to any permanent tendencies of the people in general." That wonderful conception of the holiness of God, with its correlative sense of the sinfulness of man, whence did it come? That is the central question that has no answer from flesh and blood, but apart from it the development of Israel's religion must be studied as a normal evolution. We find features that began in totemism, in the conception of Jehovah as national God, and in the sacrificial feast of communion with Him. But through all runs the high ethical sense of His purity, and man's unworthiness. Professor Gwatkin insists that "in some ways the Old Testament quite reaches the level of the New." "The firmest Christian must admit that Jesus of Nazareth added nothing to Micah's summary of human duty—except, he will say, power to act on it."

Turning to Christ and the New Testament, we are shown how Christianity has ever included two classes of minds—those who find the revelation of God in Christ's person, and those who find it in His teaching, the "mystics" and "disciplinarians" of Dr Bigg. We are bidden to be of the former, and to seek everywhere in the New Testament "the same picture of a divine person transcending the world, yet immanent in it."—One who does not work contrary to nature and reason, but is Himself the full expression of both. One sinless, and therefore "a flawless image of the Divine." One to follow step by step along the path of life. One who is the highest revelation of God, to whose voice the divine echo in man answers at once.

The development of the meaning of Christ's person has been worked out in three great conflicts of the past, the Gnostic, the Aryan, and that of the Reformation; and in a fourth—the sceptical—in whose throes we ourselves live. It is unfortunately impossible here to give any account of

the progress of Dr Gwatkin through those paths of history that are so familiar to him, or to glance at his treatment of Mahometanism.

"Rome Christian" and "Rome pagan" occupy three of the most interesting lectures. We are taught that in reality the Roman religion has remained strangely the same—a strict bargain between men and gods, an atmosphere that pervaded the whole of life with a not very bracing air, averse to philosophy, political and not personal. In the pagan religion "there was nothing moral save that it was a religion of some sort." In Christian Rome the note of dualism, in which human and divine stand apart, is struck from the first. God is capricious and His action abrupt, "a series of miraculous interventions" in a world that is not His. "There is no diffused light in the Latin sky." Sacred and secular are divided by a deep chasm. Fear, moreover, has ever been its mainspring—it was fear that brought in its train the safeguards of all the working parts of the Latin Church system. Yet for all that the grossest errors of Rome witness to great truths and deep human instincts. "Transubstantiation itself, compounded as it is of irreverent rationalism and irrational credulity, still sets forth to us what must be the fact, that, whatever blessing there may be for us in this or any other ordinance, it is given of God, and not manufactured by any faith of ours."

Professor Gwatkin, however, sees no way for Rome out of her inextricable tangle.

"It is the idlest of idle dreams to imagine that they will ever use 'infallibility' to reverse the long evolution of Latin Christianity. No reform is possible—only revolution."

But the Reformation showed that there was yet abundant life in Christianity. It had but run into a wrong groove. The one Reformation principle, that the knowledge of God is direct and personal, strongly asserted, was enough to begin a new order. This was Luther's trumpet-cry. But "the scribes who followed" very soon had the faith in dangerous grooves again. Calvinism had all the spirit of Rome in its theocratic aspirations, based on, the Islamic doctrine of

God as sovereign and inscrutable will. Lutheranism and Anglicanism set up the book as God's infallible oracle. "Right belief was the great thing; right living of less importance."

So beyond all this the problems of modern thought appear. What was to take the place of what had gone before? We are told that four answers have been, and are now being given—the first two, the heirs of the old order still laying stress on the inscrutable character of God's decrees, the Evangelical and the Tractarian, respectively, each as it seems to Professor Gwatkin, but lost causes in the march of modern things. The third answer comes from a vast number of contending movements which agree only in depreciating or ignoring the need for a central or special revelation, that has been so zealously defended. A consideration of this answer gives room for an able analysis of German philosophy, and a review of the modern words of science, criticism, economics, politics, and culture—each striving in its way to get some working explanation of the world and of man's place and duty in it.

But the fourth is Professor Gwatkin's own contribution to the answer of the pressing question. With the eyes of a seer he looks for "a vast synthesis of all the experience which the human race has ever had or ever will have had." Reason, philosophy, science—above all, personal holiness, shall contribute. And the inner spark that shall give life to the whole shall still be "mysticism"—the hope of the Christian, and his sense of communion with God through Jesus Christ, who is "the Truth" itself.

It is a long and devious path through the whole of religious history that we have followed in this book. There have been many excursions into side tracks of philosophy, science, and speculation, some perhaps unduly spirited forays into unfriendly territory. But the main course has been clear and well made, and leads direct from the premises. If revelation is what Professor Gwatkin supposes it to be, then the religion of Christ, though expressed in no form in which it has ever been presented yet, clear as reason, rich with feeling, summing up all human ideals, and meeting all human needs,

will more and more prove itself the true entrance to the knowledge of God.

It is to be hoped that Professor Gwatkin will instruct many from these pages that are so well worthy of the great lectureship whose name they bear.

Bethnal Green.

WILLIAM JOHN FERRAR.

ESSAI D'UN SYSTÈME DE PHILOSOPHIE CATHOLIQUE (1830-1831), *par F. de la Mennais. Ouvrage inédit, recueilli et publié d'après les manuscrits avec une introduction, des Notes et un Appendice, par Christian Marechal, Agrégé de l'Université. Paris: Librairie Blond & Cie., 1906. Pp. 429. 3 fr. 50 c.*

THE Abbé Lamennais is known to historical students as one of the most interesting personalities in the French Church of the early part of the 19th century. His career covers the years 1782-1854, and comprises two periods, which we may characterise as Ultramontane and Democratic respectively. Up to the date of his rupture with the Papacy (1836), he had done more than any man living to rehabilitate its claims, nay, to enhance them. He was the greatest ornament of the school of theocratist Churchmen who sought to combat the Revolution. His *Essai sur l'Indifférence* (1818) had a much greater practical influence than all the Ultramontanist writings which had previously appeared in France put together. He advocates the Ultramontane creed in its entirety: that without the Pope there can be no Church, without the Church no Christianity, without Christianity no true religion, without true religion no proper social order; and that therefore the welfare, not only of the Church, but of society, depends on the Pope as the organ of the divine law, of which kings are merely the ministers.

The *Essai* was followed up with a series of articles and pamphlets having for aim the defence and explanation of its principles. In important particulars these gave deep offence at Rome, and were condemned in the encyclical of Gregory XVI., entitled "*Mirari vos*" (1832). Lamennais submitted, but writing later, made a reserve. The Pope protested in

the encyclical "Singulari nos." Lamennais gave way once more, saying bitterly, "I subscribe that the Pope is God." Two years previously he had retired to his native part of La Chênaie in Brittany, whence he issued his *Paroles d'un Croyant*, which, with the *Affaires de Rome* (1836), definitely marks his rupture with the Church. He threw in his lot with the Republican party, and devoted himself with ardour to social questions, a work which brought into ever clearer relief the fundamental divergence of his mind from Papal ambitions. His consciousness of inner alienation is worked out and justified in the important *Esquisse d'une Philosophie*, the first part of which was published in 1840, and the last in 1846. The volume under review, left unedited, is the first redaction of that *Esquisse*.

The present editor, M. Marechal, has made a name for himself as a diligent and acute student of Lamennais' thought. He has already published a learned critique of Lamennais' life and works, under the title, *Lamennais avant l'Essai sur l'Indifférence*, and edited several batches of correspondence: *Lettres inédites de Lamennais* (1904); *Un correspondant inconnu de Lamennais* (1905); *Lamennais et Victor Hugo* (1906). He has in the press two further volumes, to be entitled *Lamennais et Lamartine*, and *Lamennais et le Christianisme social*. These are all designed to present a view of Lamennais' character and talents, which seeks to do greater justice to them than the partisan appreciations or attacks in common vogue. The same motive has led to the publication of the *Philosophie Catholique*. The interval between its preparation and that of the *Philosophie* (1830-40), witnessed those events which entirely changed the current of Lamennais' career. They both deal with the same theme, and form a systematic exposition of his general philosophy. A comparison of their contents, therefore, in revealing the changes his philosophical principles underwent, helps in the interpretation of his character and aspiration.

The text now issued is a compilation. The editor despairs of ever recovering the original MS., although it is known to have existed. The two resumé's of it, furnished by Lamennais, the one to Döllinger, the other to his pupil Rio, the great

art critic, have also been lost. M. Marechal has, therefore, been left to adopt the only other means open to him, viz., to reconstitute the text as best he can from three groups of MS. copy-books belonging to three devoted disciples of Lamennais, MM. l'Abbé Houet and De la Provostaye, and l'Abbé Boutard, who heard a course of lectures dictated by Lamennais during his sojourn at Juilly in 1830, and based on his *Philosophie Catholique*. The variations on the copy-books from each other he gives in his notes. Another means of establishing the text he has found in the unedited programme of his lectures in Lamennais' own hand, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and printed here as an appendix. The *Essai d'un Système de Philosophie*, he claims, "is thus offered to the public under the most rigorous guarantees of exactitude and authenticity."

The *Philosophie Catholique* will be welcomed by all lovers of Lamennais as serving to confirm the judgment come to by the wiser and more impartial students of his writings. We have here set down as the central positions of his system the same principles as are familiar to us in the *Essay on Indifference* and the *Sketch of a Philosophy*, and in the same order as in the latter. There can be no social order without religion, no personality without social order, no individuality without personality, no organism without the individuals who form its *raison d'être* and its end, and no inorganism without organism. It is the selfsame Reason that manifests itself to us in the inorganic world and in the social order and religion. It at once follows that the laws which obtain in the social order obtain equally in all parts of the creation and in all departments of the universe; and that the human society will not appear as really necessary, nor be truly protected from the anarchic inroads of thought, until the day when the universe will be conceived as an immense society. This in brief is the "social philosophy" of Lamennais. It contains no constituent feature distinctively ecclesiastical or Romanist. It reminds us of nothing so much as of the great Idealistic systems of Germany, notably that of Schelling. Like them it is a creation of pure thought tinged with mysticism. It starts from specifically

Christian conceptions of the Trinity and Incarnation, and from these as primary data proceeds, by an *à priori* and deductive speculation, to unfold a whole philosophy which includes a whole theology. It is open to the same objections. The method is that of an illegitimate speculation, which ascribes reality to merely formal notions, and mistakes for objective certainties realised abstractions. It makes theology wholly dependent on philosophy, and eviscerates its doctrines of all real concrete worth. It is blind to the real nature of history and historical truth, reducing both to the play of logical necessity.

In the light of his *Philosophie*, Lamennais' influence and conduct are intelligible. He takes his place with the Idealists of Germany and with the school of Coleridge and Maurice in England as the advocate of a higher religious, human, and social culture than the cold, external, intellectual eighteenth century had been able to divine. With them he remains speculative in the basis of his thought from first to last; it is the Ideal movement which, in both periods of his life and amid all the contrasts of his public conduct, he and his followers really carried forward. Like them, he afforded powerful impetus to literature, art, poetry, social philosophy, and politics, as well as to religious thought and even churchly institutions. He was the most positive, if not the most definite, of thinkers, with a strong moral individualism giving direction to his thought. He was profoundly dogmatic; the Right drank greedily of him. He was wide, generous, tolerant, in a sense universal, his system resting on certain great propositions of an absolute kind: the Left looked up to him. Ultramontane and Liberal alike sought him as a prophet. It is plain that his view of the Church was not the ecclesiastical view. In face of the unbelief and formal theology of his time, he sought to reconstruct the Christian ideal, that it might take its place once more in the human heart as the only power by which men can live together and grow towards God. This was what he sought more than anything else. It was the aim in which he succeeded, if he may be said to have succeeded in anything. It is the secret of his force with both Church-

man and Socialist. The Church is not to him the end, it is the means. It is not the historic organisation, but the ideal community of believers, the brotherhood of humanity, a fact which neither of his best-known critics, Blaize and Renan, sufficiently sees. The welfare of mankind was his strongest enthusiasm. He hoped that it might be reached through the Church in union with the lawful rulers. The Revolution shattered that hope. For a time he wavered in doubt. He saw finally that the Church would not serve his ideal. His rupture with it was no rupture with his past self, but only with his past judgment, which facts gainsaid.

Scone.

A. S. MARTIN.

AN INTRODUCTION TO LOGIC, by *H. W. B. Joseph*.
Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906. Pp. 564. 9s. 6d. nett.

STUDENTS of modern logic, as it is presented, for example, in the writings of Sigwart, Lotze, F. H. Bradley, and Professor Bosanquet, must have come to see that the traditional logical doctrines (inductive no less than deductive) are abstractions from the actual processes of thought as exhibited in the work of knowledge; and those who are also students of Aristotle's logic will have seen that the modern theory is not so different from the doctrine of the founder of logic as the controversies and the developments of the intervening centuries might naturally suggest. Moreover, the study both of "formal" and "empirical" logic along with the wider "theory of knowledge" may have convinced the student that the customary logical doctrines, while undoubtedly the result of abstraction, reveal a basis of principle that expresses, however meagrely and generally, the actual procedure of knowledge, and that this basis is in great measure just the process of thinking (both in its deductive and inductive aspects), as Aristotle expounded it. Aristotle's theory of knowledge was, in fact, a *first statement* of principles that are wider than the abstractions of the so-called deductive and inductive logics; and doctrines that were in his hands genuine, if incomplete, expressions of the nature of thought reappear in the modern writers in a way that shows

them not wholly inadequate to knowledge as a concrete process.

Mr Joseph does not put the matter at all in this way, but he would not, I think, demur to the statement that his book was written from a standpoint akin to this. At all events he aims (as he tells us in his preface) at vindicating the traditional logic from the charge of nowise expressing the nature of thought and the principles of science; and his discussions amply show that the disentanglement of truth from the errors and confusions of logical theory is largely tantamount to a reinstatement of genuine Aristotelian doctrine. The author's plan of work is to go over the customary doctrines (under their well-worn headings—Terms, Categories, Immediate Inference, Induction, and so forth) and seek to show how far, when we get at their real meaning and test them by practical examples, they represent actual processes of thought, employed not in one but in any and every science, and may therefore be accepted as genuine logical principles. In each case (or with but few exceptions) his discussions are sufficiently thorough for the purpose in hand. Where so much ground is covered, and so minutely, there is, of course, room for much detailed criticism—I mean criticism in the larger sense, not necessarily difference of view. I shall confine my remarks chiefly to what seem to me to be the main principles that emerge in the course of the discussions, and shall only mention one or two points of further detail that seem specially important.

One of the most fundamental, as well as most recurrent, points in the book is the principle that the form of thought varies incessantly with its content or material. "The most general forms of thought exist diversely, modified in thinking about different matters" (p. 6). The author does not deny that there is or may be a common nature manifested in such modifications, though he does not directly work towards ascertaining this common character. What he insists on is "the need of following the common form out into the differences which it displays in different matter" (p. 7). Only by doing full justice to the differences can we fully know the nature and significance of the common form.

Much of the barrenness of logic has been due to the neglect of this principle, which results in a false simplification that is the reverse of scientific. "It is claiming to consider the genus, and refusing to consider the species: a procedure which would be tolerated in no other science, and cannot be tolerated in Logic" (p. 165).

The simplest case of this is in regard to the proposition or judgment. "We may if we like, because in all propositions there is formally the same distinction of subject and predicate, take symbols which shall stand for subject and predicate, whatever they are, and say that all propositions are of the form 'S is P.' But when we ask for the meaning of this form, and in what sense S is P, it is clear that the meaning varies in different propositions" (p. 6). Similarly, the nature of immediate inferences, which are in many cases only transformations of propositions, is lost by separating their form from their content (*e.g.*, p. 214). The same truth appears when we consider the nature of inference proper. Mr Joseph follows Bradley in distinguishing inferences which are from those which are not syllogistic. He defines syllogism as "an argument in which, from the given relation of two terms, *in the way of subject and predicate*" (Bradley's "subject and attribute"), "to the same third term, there follows necessarily a relation, *in the way of subject and predicate*, between those two terms themselves" (p. 225). He separates from this, moreover, not only all the arguments that have been called constructive, as distinguished from subsumptive, inferences, but also hypothetical and disjunctive reasoning. There is a difference in kind between categorical, hypothetical, and disjunctive propositions and inferences, such that in the reduction of one to another more than a merely formal change is involved; there is always a change of meaning (pp. 312 ff.). Again, the categorical syllogism is not a single form. The figures of the syllogism are not just so many variations in the position of the middle term; they are different types of reasoning, each with a distinctive character of its own. Hence arguments in one figure are not naturally expressed in any other; and reduction (without material alteration) is both superfluous and erroneous (chap. xiv.).

And to the first of these figures only belongs the *dictum* which has been supposed to be the principle of all inference. With regard to the *dictum* itself, the author shows, as other recent logicians have done, that when rightly interpreted, and as Aristotle meant it, it is not open to the charges sometimes brought against it. He prefers to substitute for it, however, as being at the same time accurate and free from ambiguity, a principle given by Kant, though used by him with a wider scope: "Whatever satisfies the condition of a rule falls under the rule" (p. 286). But this principle does not accurately express the nature of the reasoning in the other two figures, which contain features not present in the first, or omit features that it has.

The value of such careful distinction, and the merit of Mr Joseph's discussions of the different points, are indisputable. But one feels keenly the absence of all statement as to any unity underlying these variations. Mr Joseph appeals not only to traditional usage, but to the usage of Aristotle himself (as against his express definition) in support of the narrower view of syllogism. But it seems to me that it was just because Aristotle—and in this he has been followed by common opinion—was convinced that there was not more than one fundamental principle of reasoning, that syllogism and inference have been taken as equivalents. More exhaustive inquiry, of which "following the common form out into its differences" is an essential part, shows that a wider and fuller than the traditional view of the nature of inference is required. But the treatment here given is such as to convey the impression that there are diverse modes of reasoning, each with a different principle of its own. As regards his giving such thorough expression to the element of variety displayed in all the processes of knowledge, without a corresponding search for community of character, Mr Joseph would doubtless say (as he does of his book as a whole): "I have, in particular, been anxious to teach nothing to beginners which they should afterwards have merely to unlearn" (Pref., p. vi.). No doubt a false simplification is something that has to be unlearned. But I do think the author should have given some indication of the restate-

ment of the traditional doctrines that is involved in the modern theories, which, while exposing their deficiencies, also enable us to see some significance in their attempts at simplification—not to speak of their practical necessity. The truth seems to be that the various forms of explicit judgment and inference that exemplify the processes of knowledge are not so much different forms of thought as each and all defective embodiments of the true nature or ideal of knowledge. If categoricals and hypotheticals, for instance, are irreducible to one another without change of meaning, this is not altogether because they are distinct modes of thought, but because any actual proposition or inference has in it something of the nature of both—a fact which reduction itself is an attempt to express. Again, the principle which Mr Joseph gives as applying only to the first figure of the syllogism seems to me to be so general as to be proof rather than otherwise that the various forms of arguments are approximations to a single type or embodiments of a single principle. We do not require a separate principle for all the different modes of relation that can be matter of judgment and inference, or the different variations or degrees in our attainment of adequate knowledge; we have to ascertain precisely what is involved in “a rule” and “falling under a rule” and “satisfying the conditions of a rule,” and to show how different forms of inference in varying ways and degrees fulfil this meaning. And what one desiderates in an inquiry concerning these distinctions is a clearer indication of the relations between them; some approximation, for example, to the method of treatment accorded by Prof. Bosanquet to the syllogism and the relation between subsumptive and constructive inferences.

In other of the author's discussions more prominence is given to the unity of principle exhibited in the processes of knowledge. With regard to the so-called “immediate inferences,” for example, Mr Joseph shows that they are none of them at once inferences *and* without a medium of inference. “Immediate inferences, so far as they are inferences, are not a distinct kind of inference; so far as

they seem distinct and specially unquestionable, it is because they merely bring out another aspect of what we have already intended in a proposition, without any fresh step in thought" (p. 223 ; cp. 316, footnote). Again, he recognises the error in the antithesis between deductive and inductive logic, and between induction and deduction as two quite distinct methods of knowledge. "Whoever infers from the facts of experience the conditions which account for them must at the same time in thought deduce those facts from those conditions." "The true antithesis is, as Aristotle saw, the antithesis between Dialectic and Demonstration ; or, in more modern phrase, between Induction and Explanation" (p. 369). In a criticism of the rules of induction—"rules by which to judge of causes and effects"—Mr Joseph shows that they are all forms of the process of elimination, and that the reasoning is disjunctive in character, and consists in the disproof of alternatives (chap. xx.). And in the chapter dealing with the nature of explanation, it is shown that even elimination has in it something of the character of deduction ; that the disjunctive arguments characteristic of inductive investigations are combined in various degrees with deductive inference ; and that there is no difference in principle between explanation by way of deductive reasoning and inductive reasoning that has become explanatory. I am not sure but that the author is wrong in taking the self-evidence or necessity of our fundamental principles (*e.g.*, in mathematics) as the criterion of demonstration or certainty in knowledge, and in regarding mathematical reasoning as (properly) wholly deductive. Too sharp a contrast appears to be made between mathematics and the other sciences. But, however this may be, there seems no doubt about the truth of his main contentions as to the nature of scientific method.

Among other interesting chapters in the book may be mentioned those dealing with the relation between the Aristotelian and the Baconian logic ; and those on causation, which bring out the importance, both in investigation and for methodology, of the distinction between reciprocating and non-reciprocating causal relations, *i.e.* of such as do from such as do not involve apparent "plurality of causes" or

"diversity of effects"; and there is also an appendix on fallacies, which follows Aristotle's classification. One can scarcely praise too highly the freshness and fitness of many of the examples that are used throughout the volume, as well as the combination of clearness and fulness in many of the discussions. Mr Joseph has indeed succeeded remarkably well with the difficult task of writing an "Introduction" which is much more than an "Outline," and which achieves utility without sacrificing truth. T. M. FORSYTH.

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DAS GEFÜGE DER WELT. Versuch einer kritischen Philosophie, von Hermann Graf Keyserling. München: Verlagsanstalt F. Brückmann, 1906. Pp. 382. 5 M.

THIS is a brilliant and suggestive book. It is also a very daring book. It is nothing less than a new philosophy the author intends to put before us. He does not, indeed, give us a fully worked-out system. Only the main outlines of the new world-view are traced with rapid hand. The book is likened in the preface to the overture of an opera: the various "motifs" are indicated, but none are fully developed.

This makes it exceedingly difficult to give an adequate account of the contents of the book. How report ideas half-formed, unfinished, often not fully explained, not argued out so as to carry conviction? How convey an idea of their suggestiveness, which, after all, depends largely on the knowledge and sympathy which the reader himself brings to the task? And the author's manner of presenting his views only increases the critic's difficulties. A perplexing mass of information is crammed into a few pages.

The reader who would thoroughly follow and appreciate the argument must be familiar with the latest results in physics, chemistry, biology, and with the latest speculations of advanced mathematicians. The electronic theory of matter, Ostwald's conception of energy, the most recent

criticisms of the theory of evolution, the writings of Couturat and Poincaré on the theory of mathematics, the modern developments of formal logic are all passed under review. Facts and theories which the average reader knows, perhaps, hardly by name are discussed in a few lines, or even set down dogmatically with a bare reference to the authorities, and yet the most far-reaching and important conclusions are based on them. The author has deliberately abandoned the attempt to be exhaustive. He explains in the preface that he has aimed rather at being suggestive, at stimulating reflection by indicating problems, possibilities, new outlooks, fresh points of view. In consequence, his manner is sketchy; tentative, and yet dogmatic; startling ideas are boldly put forward, but for the testing of them the author seems to look to his critics. He has a fertile mind and a strong imagination, and the courage to give rein to that imagination. And he is not without the "synthetic eye," the gift to comprehend many diverse facts in a single view, and to discover the common principle in them. But he lacks caution and self-criticism, and pours out in equal profusion ideas that are fruitful and ideas that are merely clever; and now and again we even meet with what is little better than the reckless fancy of an unschooled mind.

The progress of the argument is almost too rapid. From point to point we are hurried along; facts, criticisms, suggestions, problems are taken up and dropped again in bewildering succession. It is hard for the panting reader to keep up with the breathless pace; but if he catches something of the author's own enthusiasm and devotion to his subject, he will at least be grateful to him for an exceedingly suggestive and stimulating book, which rarely fails to infuse fresh interest even into time-worn problems.

The author bases his claims to novelty and originality not so much on the details of his philosophy as on the *general standpoint*. If we want to class him we must range him amongst epistemologists rather than amongst

metaphysicians. He is not propounding some new dogma as to the nature of the world, like Schopenhauer's "The world is will"; his undertaking must be likened rather to Kant's "Kopernican idea" of reversing the traditional relation of subject and object. He puts forward what he believes to be a new "critical" standpoint from which to view the old problems.

What, then, is this new standpoint? The author himself calls it the "standpoint of the middle" (p. 74), also the "cosmic standpoint" (p. 75). It may be characterised by saying that he is attempting to discover the element of identity which must be underlying the difference between subject and object, the principle or law of which the processes of nature and the processes of human experience are the different manifestations. Life, to him, is but a small part of the total world-process; and, again, human life, and, *a fortiori*, human experience, is but a small part of the total phenomenon of life. Hence the idealistic equation, experience = reality, is set aside as false. Experience is but a special case or mode of reality. It must, therefore, on the one hand share the general nature of reality, whilst on the other possessing exclusive characteristics of its own. At this point the distinction between content and form is invoked. All the content of our knowledge is subjective. It *represents*, but it *is not* reality. Our thoughts and conceptions are no less subjective than our sensations. But it is otherwise with the *formal* element, the laws of thought which remain the same, whatever the content. If the world is a unity, and if our thinking is but a special case of the universal world-process, we may expect to find in it the same principle or law that is active in all other processes. And to elucidate this principle is the object of the book. The "standpoint of the middle" is thus a point of view above the distinction of subject and object, above the antithesis of nature and knowledge—a point of view from which both can be seen to be different manifestations of the same law, much as the law of gravitation is alike manifested in such different phenomena as the fall of an apple and the movements of the stars. A quotation from the author's own summary (pp.

179, 180) will, perhaps, make his intention clearer than any explanation of mine :—

"We attempted to reach a cosmic point of view which should allow us to comprehend the laws of nature and the laws of thought in a single glance. For this purpose we reflected: the realist says the laws of nature hold *independently* of knowledge; Kant says that the understanding prescribes *its* laws to nature. We concluded differently: datum is the determinate connection of Self and World; the same laws which hold good for nature hold good also for thought. . . . Having adopted as fundamental presupposition the formal unity of the universe, our first question was: What are the pure forms of the universe? . . . And our answer is, that all processes in the universe take place according to mathematical laws, including the processes of the human mind, which from the cosmic point of view are but a special case of the world-process."

The last sentence of this quotation takes us beyond the point that we had reached before, and requires explanation. How does the author from his "cosmic" point of view arrive at the conclusion that the "formal unity" of the world (including the workings of the human mind) consists in that all its processes follow mathematical laws?

He begins in chap. i. with a criticism of all metaphysical, or as he calls them, "material" theories of the unity of the world. Materialism and Energism are alike found to be inadequate, in the first place, because it is impossible to reduce either matter to force or force to matter; in the second place, because neither of them is capable of explaining life. The conclusion, therefore, must be, that matter, force, and life are three fundamental and mutually irreducible categories, and that it is impossible to refer the unity of the world to any single substantial principle. If the world is one, its unity must be "formal," or *ideal*—a unity of principle, of law, of "idea" in the Platonic sense. In chap. ii. the author proceeds to show that only mathematics is capable of dealing with the formal unity of the universe, and that, if there is one law which manifests itself in all the different

world processes, it must, in principle, admit of mathematical formulation. His argument takes the line that logic is incapable of dealing with a purely formal unity because it is bound to the material content of the concepts with which it deals. Pure mathematics, on the other hand, is a science of pure relations. Its terms are empty symbols, which in themselves signify nothing, but will admit any content that we choose to give them (*e.g.*, p. 90). It thus represents the pure laws of thought (*Denkgesetze*) apart from all content of thought (*Denkinhalt*); and as all natural processes are (in principle) capable of mathematical formulation, we have in mathematics the link that binds nature and mind together.

Passing by an interesting discussion of the antinomies of continuity and discontinuity, being and becoming, etc., we come to chap. iii., which completes the sketch of the author's new standpoint. The problem now is: Mathematical formulæ, as standing for mere relations, are capable of being realised in an indefinite number of different cases. But out of this infinity of possibilities only a limited number of cases are ever actually realised. "Die Möglichkeiten der Mathematik sind unendlich, die Wirklichkeiten der Natur sind begrenzt" (p. 180). What principle, then, determines the selection? *Rhythm* is our author's answer. Rhythmical relations determine which of the cases that are formally, *i.e.* mathematically, possible, shall be actually realised. His proofs of this thesis are naturally somewhat fragmentary and inadequate. He can but point to the fact that certain numbers and certain proportions of numbers seem to be of special importance in nature, in that they appear again and again in very different fields, and are found both in organic and inorganic nature. But the empirical facts for such a demonstration are as yet very scanty, and in many cases the author has to admit that the facts had to be somewhat arbitrarily manipulated to get the desired proportions (p. 157). Moreover, as he only quotes results, and refers us for the methods by which they were arrived at to the publications of his authorities, it is somewhat difficult to judge whether his hypothesis as to the

existence of *one* rhythmical law, which is realised no less in the structure of a leaf than in the proportions of the human figure, in the relations of chemical elements (law of multiple proportions) than in the solar system, is justified. However, some of the facts to which he refers are certainly curious, and such as to justify further study. The argument is completed by an attempt to show that the processes of the human mind are subject to rhythmical laws no less than the processes of nature. Since this cannot be shown by a direct study of those processes, we must study the mind's most characteristic product, art; and again among arts the most characteristic, music—a procedure justified by the fact that "all art constantly aspires to the condition of music" (Walter Pater). Of course the author admits that it has not yet been shown in detail how the rhythms and proportions that we can discover in natural objects and processes repeat themselves in our works of art. He is content to fight for a possibility and to indicate a fruitful line of research.

The rest of the book contains applications of the central idea, as sketched above, to a variety of interesting matters (love, knowledge, truth, the self, freedom). However, to go into details would profit little, and waste the space which had best be devoted to a critical examination of the author's "standpoint of the middle," on which, after all, he bases his claim to originality. With one point which is of the utmost importance for the author's theory I propose to deal only in passing. It is the doctrine that mathematics is a science of relations obtaining between meaningless and indifferent terms, is in fact no more than a branch of formal logic. Since the author has merely adopted that theory on the authority of leading mathematicians, without bringing forward explicit arguments in its support, my quarrel is less with him than with them. Against him I would merely say that he is hardly entitled to adopt that view as if it were a settled and accepted matter, as long as there is an important school of logicians who challenge the very foundations on which his theory of mathematics is reared, and who deny that a

relation can be wholly independent of the nature of its terms, or that a determinate relation can exist at all between terms which are *ex hypothesi* quite empty and indeterminate. However, to follow this further would involve a discussion of the nature of abstraction, and of the sense in which mathematics is "abstract." That the author has a strange conception of logic will appear from the following quotation: "That a rose and a parrot are both red is no reason for their being identical, as in strict logic the law of identity would demand" (p. 85).

As for the "standpoint of the middle," it is hardly as novel as the author seems to think. One might rather say that it is as old as philosophical reflection itself. For it is, in principle, the standpoint which every one takes up who reflects about himself and his relation to the world. To do so is inevitably to take up a position in a sense "outside one's self." The standpoint of the middle is simply the standpoint of self-consciousness, since one can only be conscious of self in distinction from a not-self, thus standing in a sense above both. And if there is one conclusion which does *not* follow from this standpoint of the middle, it is the conclusion that all human thought and experience are subjective. Yet that is the conclusion which the author draws: "human conceptions, human knowledge are from the cosmic point of view no more than a subjective phenomenon, a colour-sensation" (p. 134). Indeed, if human experience is but a small part of the total world-process, does not that fact involve its subjectivity? There lurks in this question a confusion of thought which never ceases to be committed and which cannot be too often exposed. It is quite true that in one sense we can distinguish nature and man with his experiences, and that the laws of nature are not the laws of thought. Natural objects obey the laws of gravitation, of conservation of energy, etc. Our thoughts and feelings do not gravitate, and the categories of matter and force are incapable of explaining psychical processes. Admitting the distinction in this sense, it is perfectly legitimate to ask with our author whether there may not be the same rhythmical

law manifesting itself both in the life of nature and in the life of man. Whether such an inquiry be successful or not, it is not in principle absurd or impossible, and Count Keyserling deserves thanks for having pleaded for it so eloquently. But what is this nature which we thus distinguish from man? It is, surely, nature *as we experience it*, not nature as it may be in opposition to some "subjective" human experience. The nature in which the law of gravitation rules is also the nature which has colours and sounds and tastes and smells for its qualities. The stone which falls according to the law of gravitation is a stone which is also coloured and pitches with a sound. If the law of gravitation is "objective," then in the same sense are colours and sounds objective. Or, if these are "subjective," then gravitation and all other natural laws are subjective; then, in fact, the whole of nature is merely a subjective phenomenon. But if so, the very basis of the distinction between nature and man has disappeared. And that is the contradiction which vitiates the author's whole argument. His standpoint of the middle is incompatible with his view of the subjectivity of the content of experience. And the root of the trouble lies in this, that he does not distinguish *sensation* and *sensible quality*, thought as a psychological phenomenon and thought as a vehicle of knowledge. A sensation is emphatically not an instrument of knowledge, nor has a thought, regarded merely as a psychical event, any cognitive significance. The two points of view must be rigidly distinguished, though in both cases we use the same word "experience" and are misled. When I speak, *e.g.*, of blue as a sensation, I treat it as a passing modification of my psychical existence. When I speak of it as a sensible quality, I treat it as the property of a natural object, the sky, a flower, etc. The same distinction applies to thought regarded *either* as a psychical event *or* in its cognitive function as qualifying objects. And, of course, sensation and sensible quality are not merely different, they are also positively related, and that relation presents a problem of its own, by no means simple. But failure to distinguish them means inevitable lapse into subjectivism,

and until the author has learned to make the distinction, the foundations of his world-view will continue to totter under his feet.

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DIE GÖTTER DES MARTIANUS CAPELLA UND DER BRONZELEBER VON PIACENZA, von Carl Thulin (*Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*, III. Band. I. Heft). Gieszen (Edinburgh: Otto Schulze & Co.), 1906. Pp. xcii. M. 2.80.

IN the work of Martianus Capella, so highly esteemed in the Middle Ages, there is gathered together much curious information from sources which are lost to us. The introductory allegory, entitled "The Nuptials of Mercury and Philology," contains a passage which represents Jupiter as summoning the gods from the sixteen regions of the heaven—*nam in sedecim discerni dicitur cælum omne regiones*—and which records with some uncertainty, owing to textual corruption, the names of the deities themselves. Nissen, with the knowledge available in 1859, seemed to be justified in attributing the materials to Varro, upon whom Martianus seems to have drawn. Bouché-Leclercq was of opinion that whatever Etruscan or Latin elements might be present were indistinguishable in what was a product of astrology. The discovery of the Piacenza bronze in 1877, however, led to a comparative study. Deecke sought to identify Etruscan elements in this passage of Martianus, and to throw light upon the inscriptions themselves. In 1904 Wissowa accepted the division of the gods over the sixteen regions as coming from an Etruscan source, and rejected Nissen's view as opposed to the evidence. But the Piacenza bronze gives about thirty names, while Martianus has about forty; and the question arises whether the sources of Martianus are purely Etruscan. In approaching this question the present investigator sets himself to examine correspondences between Martianus and the inscriptions, and to determine, if possible, what are the astrological elements in the former, following

out the line of investigation suggested by the work of Deecke and Bouché-Leclercq.

"Die Frage bleibt jedoch zu beantworten," he continues after detailed examination, "ob die zweifellose, starke Anlehnung an die Astrologie, die wir bei Martian erkannt haben, original etruskisch oder sekundär war, von Jemanden herbeigeführt, der die Verbindung von Astrologie und etruskischer Disziplin erneuern und ergänzen wollte." This leads to a discussion of the source from which Martianus may have taken the passage. The claims of Varro are held to be inferior to those of Nigidius Figulus, who, according to Gellius, rivalled Varro in point of learning, and who was not only an astrologer but also a close student of the Etruscan lore. The author holds that the results of his inquiry seem to point to a source of this character.

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Review of Theology and Philosophy

SURVEY OF RECENT LITERATURE ON OLD TESTAMENT THEOLOGY

Theology of the Old Testament, by *Professor A. B. Davidson*. *Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1904. 2s.*

Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments, Vol. I., "*The Religion of Israel and the Rise of Judaism*," by *Prof. Dr Stade*. *Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1905. Pp. xii., 383. 6 M.*

Religion of Israel, by *Prof. E. Kautzsch*, *Hastings' Dict. of the Bible, Extra Volume. Pp. 612-734.*

Die Idee der Sühne im Alten Testament, by *Prof. Wilhelm Herrmann*. *Leipzig: T. C. Hinrichs, 1905. Pp. viii., 112. M. 3.50.*

Sünde und Gnade im Relig. Leben des Volkes Israel, by *Justus Köberle*. *München: C. H. Beck, 1905. Pp. viii., 686. 12 M.*

Religion of Israel, by *R. J. Ottley*. *Cambridge University Press, 1905. Pp. xi., 227. 4s.*

Sünde und Gnade nach der Vorstellung des Aelteren Judenthums, besonders der Dichter der sog. Busspsalmen, by *Dr Willy Staerk*. *Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1905. Pp. iii., 75. M. 1.50.*

THIS study has for a long while largely followed the historical method, and many recent works on the theology of the Old Testament have taken the form of histories of the religion of Israel. This branch of theology, there-

fore, is dependent on the criticism of date, authorship, and composition, so that much of the older work, *e.g.*, Oehler largely, and even Schultz in some measure, is unsatisfactory, because it either rejects or does not sufficiently recognise the results of modern criticism. In Smend, however, and in Karl Marx's edition of Kayser, the student has for some time been able to study the subject in the light of modern views.

The late Professor A. B. Davidson's *Theology of the Old Testament* had long been eagerly expected; but, as Stade says,¹ "The biblical theology of the Old Testament is a science of posthumous works," and unfortunately this epigram holds good here. The editor, the late Principal S. D. F. Salmond, performed a most difficult task with great skill and judgment, and the result is an important contribution to the literature of the subject. Nevertheless, it was impossible for him to select, excise, and revise, as Dr Davidson himself would have done. Compared with what might have been expected had Dr Davidson given the book its final form, it is in some respects a great disappointment. The author has not followed the modern method of treating Old Testament theology as the history of the religion of Israel, but has arranged his work—and this can hardly be due to the editor—as a treatise on Systematic Dogmatics, under the headings Doctrine of God, Doctrine of Man, Sin, etc., etc. Only a very brief introductory sketch is given of the history.

In discussing the various doctrines, the idea of development is not ignored, but it is not adequately recognised, and attempts are sometimes made to combine in a single statement the heterogeneous views of different periods.

One unfortunate result of the posthumous character of the book is that unrevised matter written long ago stands side by side with later work, so that some passages probably do not represent the final position to which the author attained, but early views which he had abandoned. Much of pp. 339, 340 is taken verbatim from the author's *Ezekiel* in the *Cambridge Bible*,² published in 1891. The

¹ *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testament*, i. 22.

² Page 18.

uncertainty as to the actual date at which the various sections were written lessens the importance we might attach to statements as to criticism. We cannot be sure, for instance, that he would have written in his last days that the Ten Commandments were certainly Mosaic,¹ or that David was certainly a monotheist.² On the other hand, though Dr Davidson expressed himself with a certain vagueness, he has made it clear that he accepted the main results of modern criticism, *e.g.*, the post-Mosaic origin of most of the Pentateuch, the Second Isaiah, etc., etc.³

But though the book is not all that it might have been if the author had lived to see it through the press, it need hardly be said that it contains a great store of wise, scholarly, and suggestive teaching. We may refer to Dr Davidson's views on a few important points. He rejects the idea that a trichotomy, or threefold division of human nature, body, soul (*nephesh*), and spirit (*ruah*), can be found in the Old Testament. "There is no more ground," he writes, "for Delitzsch's opinion that soul is a *tertium quid*, a substance distinct from spirit, although of the same essence, than there is for an opinion that *bāsār*,⁴ "flesh," is something different from *āphār*, "dust." The last clause may seem curious by itself, but all difficulty would disappear if we had space to quote the full context. On the Servant of Yahweh, Isaiah liii, we have, "It is worth observing here that the Servant of the Lord, whomsoever that remarkable conception represents in the mind of the prophet, does not appear as a distinct personage among Israel redeemed, or he is not considered separately from them in their condition of glorified redemption."⁵ And again, with regard to miracles. Certain phenomena or events "were miracles, *i.e.* wonders, but they did not differ in kind from the ordinary phenomena of nature, from His making the sun to rise, and His sealing up the stars; His clothing the heavens with blackness, and making them bright with His breath. Everything is supernatural, *i.e.* direct divine operation. There is no idea of Law to be broken."⁶

¹ Page 80.

² Page 64.

³ Pages 15-22.

⁴ Page 203.

⁵ Page 263.

⁶ Page 113.

It is disappointing that so distinguished a scholar sometimes contents himself with giving a résumé of other people's opinions, and does not clearly state his own.

Stade's *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments* is one of those closely packed volumes, learned pemmican, in which German scholarship delights. It is a history of the religion of Israel from the earliest times to the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah. As it is only a first volume, it is a little difficult to imagine what is left for a second. By way of introduction we have a discussion of the nature and methods of Old Testament theology and a sketch of its history, concluding with a selection of the literature. Dr Davidson's work is not mentioned, though it was apparently published before Stade's book was sent to the press, as the latter mentions the extra volume of Dr Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*, which was published about the same time. Stade does not seem to be acquainted with Davidson's work on Ezekiel.

Stade insists strongly on the necessity of a scientific treatment of the subject. The contents of the Bible must be studied from the standpoint of historical development; full use must be made of exegesis, including both higher and textual criticism; and the student must occupy a sympathetic attitude towards the Bible and its contents. On the other hand, he must not be the victim of prejudices, or of unwillingness¹ to recognise contradictions, or of dogmatic bias against the results of modern criticism.² The latter, of course, are fully accepted by Stade, who, however, is by no means an extremist. Moses is the founder of the religion of Israel, and ten pages are devoted to an account of him and his work.³ It would seem, however, that Aaron is not a historical figure, or, at any rate, does not belong to the oldest tradition; Moses was the priest of the Exodus.⁴ Something is also said of pre-Mosaic religion. Originally Yahweh was the God of the Kenites (Cain).⁵ Yahweh was also known before the Exodus to the Israelites, but His worship was only the cult of certain tribes or clans, existing side by side with other cults. Yahweh became the God of Israel in a strict sense

¹ *Unlust*.² Page 17.³ Pages 28-38.⁴ Page 32.⁵ Page 42.

through the Exodus.¹ The Ark was probably not instituted by Moses, but taken over from a pre-Mosaic cult of Yahweh.²

From the time of Moses, Stade's work follows familiar lines; a few special points may be noted. In Deut. vi. 4, "Yahweh our God Yahweh one," to render literally, is probably much older than the context in which it now stands; but it means "Yahweh, our God, is one Yahweh," *i.e.* apparently "the only Yahweh," and is not a statement of Monotheism.³ The Messianic hope of an ideal future for Israel is traced back to the pre-historic prophets, though some of the familiar Messianic passages, *e.g.*, Isa. xi. 1-9, are regarded as later additions.⁴ The Servant of Yahweh is both the real and the ideal Israel, and the Servant passages are the work of the Second Isaiah.⁵ The general statements of Ezra as to the return of the Jews, shortly after the Fall of Babylon, are accepted as historical.⁶

Kautzsch's *Religion of Israel* is more than a mere dictionary article; it runs to more than 120 large, close printed pages, and is very full of matter in proportion to the space, though not so condensed as Stade. Kautzsch also holds "that the founding of the religion of Israel was the work of Moses—that it took place in connection with the leading of the people out of Egypt; and that it consisted pre-eminently in the proclamation of Yahweh as the national God of Israel."⁷ Several pages are devoted to pre-Mosaic religion, largely as illustrated by survivals in faith and practice after the time of Moses. Kautzsch is inclined to accept the tradition that the Ark originated with Moses.⁸ As to the Decalogue, he concludes thus: "The result of the above discussion is that the Mosaic origin of some rudimentary form of the Decalogue (apart from the command against images) does not appear to be absolutely excluded, but that . . . we must be content to refrain from pronouncing a more definite judgment." Kautzsch also recognises a Messianic hope in the pre-Exilic prophets, and although he hesitates as to the

¹ Page 39.

⁴ Pages 213, 226.

⁷ Page 612 *a.*

² Page 44.

⁵ Pages 307 *f.*

⁸ Page 628 *a.*

³ Page 84.

⁶ Page 311.

authenticity of many passages, he accepts Isa. xi. 1-9. His treatment of this subject is rendered somewhat unsatisfactory by undue stress on the idea of the personal Messiah, which was far less conspicuous in the Old Testament than it has been in Christian exegesis of the Hebrew Scriptures. Kautzsch is too much under the influence of the use of terms and the doctrines in modern dogmatics.

Some interesting monographs have been written on the Old Testament teaching concerning sin and redemption, notably Köberle's *Sünde und Gnade*; Hermann's *Die Idee der Sühne im Alten Testament*. Köberle's work reviews the history of religious thought amongst the Jews on these subjects from the earliest times to the first Christian century, including in his sources the Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, and other non-canonical Jewish literature. In fact, the book is almost a history of Jewish religion from the special standpoint of sin and grace. Köberle also holds that the religion of Israel was not merely a development from primitive Semitic cults, but that it was definitely founded as a conscious new departure at the time of the Exodus.¹ Since Friedrich Delitzsch's lectures on *Babel und Bibel*, we have had a voluminous discussion of the question as to how far the religion of Israel is indebted to Babylon. Köberle necessarily admits that Israel was influenced by Babylon, especially during and after the Exile, but he declares that "it is quite unjustifiable to treat the characteristic features of the history of the religion of Israel as borrowed from Babylonian culture-circles. The two can only be brought to the same level by strongly idealising the Babylonian religion, and strongly depreciating that of ancient Israel."² It is a little early yet to dogmatise on this subject, but there seems no doubt that the most important "characteristic features" of the religion of Israel are independent developments; but Köberle is inclined, for his part, to idealise Israel, and to read into early documents the fuller, purer teaching of later times.

Hermann's *Die Idee der Sühne* is a discussion of the word

¹ Page 42.

² Page 94.

kipper and its cognates, *i.e.* of the technical terms connected with atonement, more especially in the Priestly Code and *Ezekiel*. He states and discusses the views of Hofmann, Ritschl, Riehm, and Schmoller. Hermann again agrees that Moses founded the religion of Israel.¹ He holds to the ordinary explanation of *kipper* as "cover," against the alternative view that it meant originally "wash away," "blot out." He gives a careful examination of the relevant passages, and concludes that the final use of *kipper* in the Priestly Code combines results of independent lines of development, primitive ideas and rites, modified and interpreted by prophetic teaching; the object of the atoning ritual being to maintain the fellowship of Israel with Yahweh by the continual renewal of the sanctity of the people.²

We may also call attention to the numerous valuable articles on various branches of Old Testament theology in Hauck's *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (Herzog), and in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, *e.g.*, the articles on the Spirit (*Geist*) by Cremer, and Skinner on "Righteousness."

Old Testament theology is also dealt with in the various commentaries, histories of Israel, works on the general history of religion, and on the antiquities of Israel, as, for instance, the vindication of the religious value of Genesis, in Driver's commentary on that book; and Valetton's account of the religion of Israel in de la Saussaye's *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*.

There are one or two other works we can only mention, *viz.*, Ottley's *Religion of Israel*, and Staerk's *Study of Sin and Grace in the Psalter*.

London.

W. H. BENNETT.

BIBLIA HEBRAICA, edited by Rudolf Kittel. Part II. Leipzig: Hinrichs (Edinburgh: Otto Schulze & Co.), 1906. Pp. ii, 553-1324. 4 M.

THE first part of this invaluable publication was noticed in the *Review of Theology and Philosophy* for November 1905.

¹ Page 105.

² Page 108.

As in the earlier volume, we have a carefully revised recension of the Hebrew text, based upon the *editio princeps* of Daniel Bomberg, and supplemented, where necessary, by readings from the ancient versions, or, failing these, by conjectural emendations in the form of notes at the foot of the page. Part II. completes the undertaking, containing as it does the books from Isaiah to Chronicles. Of these Isaiah, Ruth, Lamentations, and Chronicles have been done by the Editor; Jeremiah and Ezekiel by J. W. Rothstein; the Minor Prophets by Nowack, with the co-operation of the Editor; Psalms and Esther by Professor Buhl, Copenhagen; Proverbs and Job by Georg Beer, Strassburg; Canticles by Dalman; Ecclesiastes by Professor Driver; and Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah by Professor Loehr of Breslau. These names are a sufficient guarantee for the objective character of the work, and the conservative spirit in which it is carried out. The emendations of the Masoretic text, proposed in the notes, are kept well within bounds. It was inevitable that they should be much more numerous in this than in the first half of the work, but even in the case of those books of which the traditional text appears to be most corrupt and in the greatest disorder, it is exceptional to find them running to twelve lines. Purely conjectural emendations are suggested only as a last resort. Dalman alone amends freely upon the mere ground of metre. Within such small compass the student has at his disposal the means necessary or available in order to make sense of passages which would be otherwise untranslatable.

In a first edition of a work of this kind it was unavoidable that there should be some *errata* in regard to the vowel-points and accents, and a list of such *corrigenda*, drawn up by Dr Kahan of Leipzig, who is responsible for the collation of the text, has been appended to the present volume. To these should be added מר in Job iii. 6, and מַשְׁכָּנִי in Ps. lxxxiv. 2, and the reader will probably discover others for himself. Only after a second or third edition of the work can it be reliable in every detail. The erroneous accentuation of Ps. v. 2, found in the texts ordinarily in use, has been corrected here.

As the general editor has not imposed his own views upon his colleagues, a slight want of uniformity has arisen. Thus the masculine suffix is allowed to do duty for the feminine in Ruth (i. 8, 9, 11, etc.), but not in Amos iv., 1, 2. In several instances the readings of the versions have been passed over where they might with advantage have been cited. In the Masoretic text of Haggai, for example, Zerubbabel is called "governor (חָנָן) of Judah"; in the Greek merely "of the tribe (מְנַחֵם) of Judah." This is important, seeing that the Masoretic text of Haggai is the only authority for ascribing to Zerubbabel official rank. Also in Hag. ii. 10 the reading "unto H." (adopted by Baer), instead of "by the hand of," might have been mentioned, although it does not affect the sense. So, too, in Zech. vii. 2, the Syriac may be right as against the Masoretic text in reading Rabmag (*cf.* Jer. xxxix. 3) for the Hebrew Regem; and in ix. 7 in its suggestion of "Hebron," instead of "a Jebusite." If there is a patent interpolation in the Old Testament, it is surely the name of Cyrus in Is. xlv. 1. Both on metrical and on other grounds it is superfluous. Again, in lxv. 5, the simplest solution of the difficult חַיְהוּהוּ, rendered "I am holier than thou," would be to join the ה to the following word חַי, and so begin the next sentence, "The like of these are as smoke in my nostrils" (so 66, 8). The emendation is purely conjectural, but in the second part of this work conjectural emendation is, perhaps necessarily, more in evidence than in the first.

There is little doubt that the present work will become a standard text-book for use in Hebrew classes, and its adoption is facilitated by the fact that it is procurable in fifteen small parts, costing about one mark each, as well as in two large volumes. The private reader will prefer the latter form.

T. H. WEIR.

Glasgow.

**LUCAS DER ARZT DER VERFASSER DES DRIT-
TEN EVANGELIUMS UND DER APOSTEL-
GESCHICHTE**, von *Adolf Harnack*. *Leipzig: Hin-
richs (Edinburgh: Otto Schulze & Co.)*. Pp. vii., 160.
M. 3.50.

THIS is primarily a study of the lexical evidence for the authorship of the third Gospel and the Acts. In the first of the four chapters into which it is divided a general study is made of the tradition concerning Luke and of its treatment by modern criticism. From the Pauline Epistles we learn that there was a certain Luke who was a Greek physician and a helper of St Paul. The unvarying tradition of antiquity, which can scarcely be more recent than the middle of the second century, is that this Luke was the compiler of the third Gospel and Acts; but a majority of continental critics maintain that this is impossible, on the general ground that Acts has mistakes in it which no companion of St Paul could have made. There is, however, a growing tendency to recognise the Lucan authorship of the *We*-clauses, and to admit that a larger or smaller part of the second half of Acts comes from the same source. This theory seems to Harnack very unsatisfactory. He finds that it is very improbable that a skilful editor, such as the redactor certainly was, would leave large uncorrected fragments of an unnamed source, and so give the appearance of a claim to have been an eye-witness at arbitrary intervals, and that a few decades later tradition should have rescued the name of the writer of this source, and exchanged it for that of the editor of the whole book. He maintains that, on the other hand, if we assume that the writer of the *We*-clauses was the redactor of the whole, who wished to say that he was an eye-witness at certain times and not at others, the facts fit in quite well with one another and with tradition. The Pauline Epistles tell us that Luke was a physician, and language of a medical character is found throughout the Acts; the Pauline Epistles tell us that at certain times Luke was in the company of St Paul—the *We*-clauses show that the redactor

of the Acts was in St Paul's company at just those times ; the Pauline Epistles say that Mark was also in the same company, and criticism has shown that one of the chief sources of the third Gospel was the Gospel of Mark ; tradition asserts that Luke was a native of Antioch, and Acts shows a special interest in everything connected with that city. Therefore there is a special need for a lexical investigation into the *We*-clauses, to decide the question whether they can have been written by the redactor of the whole, and for further consideration of the suggested impossibility that the writer of Acts as a whole could have been Luke, the companion of St Paul. These two points are dealt with in chapters two and three.

The question of the *We*-clauses is elaborately treated. The problem is to find out whether they were written by the redactor of the Acts, or represent a separate source which he used ; and Harnack shows that, so far as the general characteristics of the *We*-clauses are concerned, they present no differences from the other parts of the third Gospel and Acts. He then goes on to show that almost every verse of the *We*-clauses contains phrases which are found elsewhere in the Lucan documents, but not in the other Gospels. If, therefore, the *We*-clauses represent a source which was used by the redactor of Acts, it must either have been written by a writer whose style was more strongly marked by the use of phrases dear to the redactor than any other known document, or the redactor completely re-wrote the *We*-clauses, making their style absolutely his own, with the one exception of the use of the first person. Harnack is surely right in maintaining that neither of these possibilities seems probable. He then goes on to examine Luke's method of using sources, and shows that in every case the original style of the source remains perceptible, and that the alterations which are made seem to be in the style of the *We*-clauses. He is of opinion that the first half of Acts represents the use of a written source, but Aramaic, not Greek ; and he thinks that the first two chapters of the Gospel were composed by the redactor in deliberate imitation of the style of the LXX., a point which

will be familiar to Oxford men who heard certain lectures by the Dean of Westminster in (if I remember rightly) 1896.

In chapter three the historical difficulties are dealt with which are raised by the Lucan authorship of the third Gospel and Acts. Harnack begins with a protest against the presumption that there is any real need for this chapter; our knowledge of the early Church is so limited that we cannot set it against objective facts such as those supplied by the previous investigations. Is this a sound argument? Surely it may be said that Harnack is using the word knowledge in a double sense. It is perfectly true that our reconstruction of primitive Christianity rests partly on theories of which we have no absolute certainty, and therefore such a reconstruction cannot be set against Harnack's lexical results. But there are certain things to which this argument does not apply, such as the Pauline Epistles, and the question is a perfectly legitimate one whether there are contradictions between these and the Acts, and if so whether they are such as a companion of St Paul might have made. After all, even the lexical argument rests partly on subjective views as to style. However, this point is not of great importance, as Harnack goes on to consider the historical difficulty in spite of his protest. He does not do so in great detail, but confines himself to four main points. These are historical mistakes, the general impression given of the church at Jerusalem, the development of Gentile Christianity, and the picture given of Paul in the second half of Acts compared with the Pauline Epistles. On each of these points Harnack shows that there is nothing in the Acts which could not have been written by Luke, but he only deals with each point in a somewhat general manner, and one would be glad to hear his opinion on certain other details. Identifying as he does the Council at Jerusalem in Acts xv. with Gal. ii., it is a little remarkable that he does not pay more attention to the difficulty caused by the visit in the time of the famine. Still, though this chapter does not seem to be worked out with the same fulness as the former, it is extremely interesting, and so far as it goes convincing.

The last chapter is of a different character. It is called "Consequenzen," but it really is a sketch of the author's reconstruction of the probable history of the origin of the third Gospel and Acts in particular, and of the Synoptic Gospels in general. He thinks that Luke ultimately settled down in Ephesus (Achaia is given as a less probable but possible suggestion), and at the beginning of the ninth decade of the first century compiled the Gospel and Acts. He used as sources for the former our second Gospel, a collection of sayings known also to Matthew, and various Jerusalem traditions known also to John. These last he probably obtained through the daughters of Philip, who were living in the neighbourhood. He had further sources which he used for the Acts, perhaps written in Aramaic, and probably to be traced to Mark, relating the history of the community at Jerusalem. These sources were not all of equal value; the Jerusalem tradition in particular was largely legendary and not to be trusted as history; and Harnack's opinion as to the ability of Luke to distinguish legend from history seems to be almost the opposite of Professor Ramsay's. Out of such sources did Luke construct his history, and Harnack emphasises the fact that all of them are connected with Jerusalem, for Mark also was a Jerusalemite. He seems inclined to minimise the importance of the Peter tradition in this connection, but particular interest attaches to his suggestion that Luke had feelings approaching dislike to Mark and his work.

The second half of this chapter, giving some general observations on the early history of the Gospels, is exceedingly interesting, but is of course only a sketch. In discussing the origin of Mark, though leaving the community for which the Gospel was intended unidentified, he leans towards Rome, partly because of the indication afforded by the reference to Alexander and Rufus, and the connection of Rufus with Rome (Rom. xvi. 13). This gives rise to the question how, if Mark wrote in Rome *c.* 70, and Luke in Ephesus *c.* 80, did Luke come to use Mark's book? It is of course true that there was probably a sufficient exchange of documents in the early Church to explain the

matter, but it is curious that it becomes plainer if, with Weiss, Weiszacher, Moffat, and others we accept a theory, which Harnack rejects, and detach Rom. xvi. 1-20 from the rest of the Epistle, on the ground that internal evidence shows that it is really a note sent to Ephesus from Corinth. On this hypothesis Rufus is a point of contact with Ephesus rather than with Rome.

Another point of interest is the recognition and emphasis given to the view that the same Jerusalem tradition is implied by the third and fourth Gospels. This is connected in a most suggestive manner with the Ephesian theory, and with a tendency in the Acts to introduce the name of John the son of Zebedee. We are left to guess where this line of thought is going to lead (it is obviously not to be neglected in discussing the Johannine problem); but *Lukas der Arzt* is only the first of a series of studies, and no doubt the matter will not be left where it is.

Besides these four chapters there are four appendices. These deal with and enlarge on four points which have been summarily treated in the text—the medical knowledge of Luke, the authorship of the *Magnificat* and *Benedictus*, the epistle of the Church in Acts xv. (shown to be Luke's own composition), and the connection between the third and fourth Gospels.

No apology is required for having spent some time on the description of so important a monograph; but even more important than its results is the indication which it affords of the general trend of criticism. This trend may be summed up in the words on page 113, "Die Ueberlieferungen von Jesus, die bei Markus und Lukas vorliegen, sind älter als man gewöhnlich annimmt. Das macht sie nicht glaubwürdiger . . ." It is important to emphasise the second clause, for, as Harnack himself points out, just as a celebrated passage in the preface to his *Chronologie* was torn from its context and made an implement of attack against critical study, so it is quite certain that *Lukas der Arzt* will be "boomed" by many who have never read it as the recantation of critical method by one of its most famous masters. Yet what has happened is really nothing of the kind, but is

rather the quite intelligible evolution of criticism. Part of an unconscious inheritance from the days when every word in the Gospel and Acts was taken to be historically accurate because of inspiration, was that students started with the assumptions (1) that the books were written by eye-witnesses, (2) that they were absolutely accurate. In practice it was not sufficiently recognised that these two points were separate: the latter was the first to be discussed, and it soon became perfectly plain that the historical character of many narratives was untenable. Without full discussion it was assumed that inaccuracy meant late date. Now, however, this assumption is being examined, and many critics of the New Testament are feeling, as Harnack does, that the documents and traditions are early, even when they are not trustworthy. It is really important to recognise that *Lucas der Arst* is not a call to us to find history where we do not find it now, but to reconsider the standard of accuracy which we demand from early witnesses. It is interesting to note how various influences are all tending to make this more possible. On the one side we have Harnack emphasising from the philological point of view the literary unity and Lucan authorship of the third Gospel and Acts, Ramsay from the archæological standpoint insisting on the first-century character of the whole setting of Acts, and textual critics regarding as possible corruptions in the text many passages on which traditional dates used to suffer shipwreck—all three driving us to give up hesitation as to an early chronology; while on the other side the "Religionsgeschichtliche" school is throwing a flood of light on the general ideas which coloured the description of events and the statements of doctrine in the early Church. Thus we are presented with the materials for stating and partly solving the psychological problems afforded by the New Testament if we accept on the one hand something approaching the traditional view of chronology and authorship, and on the other the critical view of the historical trustworthiness of its contents. The chief problem of the present is, in other words, how great and what kind of accuracy is to be looked for in writers of

the first century when they are describing almost contemporary events.

KIRSOPP LAKE.

Leiden.

A STUDY OF AMBROSIASTER, by *Alexander Souter*.

Texts and Studies, vii. 4. Cambridge, 1905. Pp. xii., 267. 7s. 6d. nett.

THE book which is generally quoted as "Ambrosiaster" is a series of commentaries (*Tractatus*) on the thirteen Pauline Epistles, and is so called because, until the end of the sixteenth century, it was regarded as the work of Ambrose. It is important because it is the earliest, and perhaps best, Latin commentary, and for some years a considerable amount of research and controversy has gathered round it. The important points have been (1) the identity of Ambrosiaster with the writer of the *Quæstiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, once attributed to Augustine, and (2) the possibility of identifying Ambrosiaster with any known writer. These two problems are taken up by Professor Souter in his new *Study*, and to them he has added the discussion, or rather the settlement of the character of the biblical text used by Ambrosiaster.

As to the first point, little need be said except that a proof is given of the justice of the common opinion that the writer of the *Tractatus* was also responsible for the *Quæstiones*. This is afforded by an elaborate study of style, in the broadest sense of the word, which, as Mr Turner has said, may serve as a model for similar pieces of work, and also as an introduction to the study of the lexicography of ecclesiastical Latin.

The second point is more complicated, and though Professor Souter has thrown much light on the subject, it is by no means certain that he has quite cleared up the difficulty. When he wrote, the matter stood thus: It was admitted by almost every one that Ambrosiaster lived or had lived at Rome during the Papacy of Damasus, and there were two theories of importance before the public as to his identity. Curiously enough, both these theories owed their conception

to Dom Morin. That great scholar, in the *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuse*, in 1899, published an essay entitled "L'Ambrosiaster et le juif converti Isaac." The point was briefly this. The distinguishing features of Ambrosiaster were said to be (1) he is a layman, (2) he is never alluded to by Jerome, though he was a contemporary, (3) he shows an extraordinary knowledge of Jewish customs, legends, and literature, (4) he is perfectly at home in the manners and customs of the highest official society. The suggestion was that no one combines these qualifications so well as a certain Isaac who was a leader of the opposition (the Ursinian party) at the election of Damasus in 366, and, failing in a prosecution of the latter before the civil courts, was banished to Spain (c. 378), when he relapsed to Judaism. This solution was at once hailed by Mr Turner in England and Professor Zahn in Germany as a satisfactory solution, and the former at least still holds this view. But in 1903, in the *Revue Bénédictine*, Dom Morin gave up this theory in favour of another which identified Ambrosiaster with a certain Decimius Hilarianus Hilarius, who was a Roman of high official position in the second half of the fifth century. This suggestion is adopted by Professor Souter, who, following a suggestion of O. Seeck as to the play on words in the fifty-fourth letter of Jerome, identifies Hilarius with the father of Furia. Much weight must be given to the instinct which comes from reading, and I hesitate to dispute Professor Souter's view that this is "a certain conjecture." It turns on the phrase *pater tuus . . . impleat nomen suum lætetur*, and the argument is that *lætetur* is a pun on the meaning of Hilarius, and was used because *hilarescet* would have been a rare and inconvenient word, while the obvious suggestion that some one named Lætus is intended is dismissed by the statement that no important person of that name is known at the date required. It is of course true that the identification fits in excellently with the fact that the wife of Hilarius was connected with Furius Mæcius Gracchus, but even so it is doubtful if an imperfect pun, and the assumption that we know the names of all the consular and patrician Christians at the end of the fourth century, is enough to

justify the ascription of certainty to this view. Moreover, in a valuable article in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for April 1906, Mr Turner has expressed his continued preference for Dom Morin's former suggestion, and defends the view that Isaac the Jew was really Ambrosiaster. It appears therefore that we are still able to regard the authorship of the *Tractatus* and *Quæstiones* as doubtful, and there seems to be much in favour of the view that neither suggestion is entirely satisfactory. The Isaac hypothesis is the better, in so far as it gives a reason for Jerome's silence, and explains the knowledge of Jewish customs, but it seems to suffer shipwreck on the equally good knowledge of Roman officialdom. Similarly the Hilarius hypothesis is strong at the last named point but weak at the two others. Professor Souter's suggestion that Jerome did not like Hilarius is largely discounted if we accept his Furia hypothesis, for according to this Jerome was on good terms with the family, and congratulated Hilarius on his daughter. Moreover, I must confess that I cannot find the evidence satisfactory which proves that Ambrosiaster was a layman. I would submit that Professor Souter and Dom Morin reverse the relative weight of two pieces of evidence when they emphasise the use of *nostri sacerdotes* as implying that Ambrosiaster was not a bishop, and minimise the importance of the notes for sermons in *Quæst.* 116-121, one of which (120) definitely states that the writer was a bishop. "We shall," says Professor Souter, "probably be right in regarding these *Quæstiones* with Dom Morin as mere notes for sermons jotted down for the sake of some bishop who was lacking in eloquence, or as exercises not actually intended for delivery." Shall we? I have often met laymen who thought that they could write better sermons than a bishop, but never a bishop who asked them to try, nor am I convinced by the picture either of a retired pro-consul or of a converted but litigious Jew occupying his leisure in writing the sermons which he would have liked to deliver had he been a bishop. Therefore, though it may perhaps be that to those who are thoroughly at home in the problems of the fourth century the arguments either of Professor Souter or of Mr Turner may have more

weight than to those who are less qualified to judge, I am unable to see that either of them has succeeded in tearing the veil of anonymity from Ambrosiaster.

In the end it will probably be found that the third part of Professor Souter's book is the most valuable. He has here reconstructed the text of the New Testament of Ambrosiaster, which, especially in the Pauline Epistles, is particularly useful evidence for the Old Latin version. Moreover, by adding a comparison with the Cyprianic and the Luciferan texts, he has given material which will really advance the study of the Latin Bible. There is much in this section which calls for comment, but I hope to deal with it before long in this Journal in a survey of recent literature bearing on textual criticism; it is therefore unnecessary now to do more than repeat an expression of thanks and congratulation to Professor Souter for a book which is as interesting as it is valuable.

Leiden.

KIRSOPP LAKE.

THE TRIAL OF JESUS. *Illustrated from Talmud and Roman Law. By the Rev. Septimus Buss, LL.B., Rector of St Anne and St Agnes. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1906. Pp. 125. 1s. 6d. nett.*

THIS is a much more competent work than that of the Italian Rosadi noticed some time since. Mr Buss, who is LL.B., as well as rector of an East End parish, published, five years ago, an excellent book on *Roman Law and History in the New Testament*. In the present volume he expands what he had said before on the trial by Pilate, and in addition translates all the passages of the Talmud which may be supposed to bear on the previous proceedings of the Sanhedrin—proceedings which are then reviewed even more fully and carefully than the other. Mr Buss admits that the Talmudical law was at the date with which he deals “in an incomplete, even an uncertain condition,” but he does not attempt the difficult task of chronological criticism, which will have to be faced by some one. The late Professor A. B. Davidson told the present reviewer that he doubted if in the Old Testament

time there was any distinction at all made by Jewish law between civil and criminal cases. Nearly the same thing might be said—at one time at least—of English law ; and it is one of the points in which such jurisprudences differ from the other type of those founded on the Roman Law, of which Scotland may be taken as a modest illustration. Of course this distinction of civil and criminal, and many other elaborations, are found in the later Oral Law of the Jews ; but the Oral Law became a book only some centuries after Christ.

Mr Buss's little treatise is published "under the direction of the Tract Committee" of the London S.P.C.K., and this probably accounts for some defects in what is otherwise excellent. He ignores the discrepancies which are found between the evangelists, as between all other truthful narrators, and refuses to apply to St Luke's history the process of criticism by which St Luke himself explains that he compiled it. Hence some world-famous questions are answered offhand without any weighing of evidence, as in the statement that the Crucifixion "was on the 14th Nisan." And hence one or two rash solutions of minor points, generally in a sense unfavourable to the judges. Thus our author holds that Caiaphas' "midnight meeting" was "a formal assembly of the Sanhedrin," which heard witnesses and pronounced sentence of death, and that the proceedings recorded in detail by Luke were a morning repetition of it all—an improbable idea. In the Roman trial there is a questionable chapter, headed "The Sentence of Acquittal or *Absolutio*," which is held to have been pronounced when Pilate, "descending from the bema within the prætorium," said to the crowd outside, "I find no fault (or crime) in Him." Mr Buss adds : "The judge has pronounced the word *Absolvo*." But that is just the word which was not pronounced ; and indeed probably could not be, except on the bench, which Pilate had left, in order to bargain with his conscience and with the accusers as to a sentence yet to come. When he did give that sentence, he did so, as is correctly stated, "taking his seat upon the *bema* or bench, placed on the tessellated pavement, or *lithostroton*, in front of the prætorium"—the spot from which a sentence of acquittal also should have

come, if acquittal was due (as is by no means certain) under Roman law.

A. TAYLOR INNES.

Edinburgh.

JOHANN LORENZ MOSHEIM ; ein Beitrag zur Kirchengeschichte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts, von Karl Heussi, D.Phil. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Edinburgh: Otto Schulze & Co.), 1906. Pp. iv., 237. 6 M.

JOHN LAURENCE MOSHEIM (1693-1755) enjoyed among his contemporaries a singularly exalted reputation for personal integrity and for learning. His father was an impoverished South German cavalier of excellent family connection, who had settled in Lübeck, where Mosheim was born in 1693. The traditions of the house, combined with the *angustæ res domi*, doubtless determined his entrance upon an ecclesiastical career, for which his disposition and talents were suitable. He found patrons who sent him to the University of Kiel, where he at once gave proof of his theological and literary tastes, and attracted notice. He came under the influence of Leibniz and Wolf. He took his master's degree in 1718, and a year later "habilitierte" as "privat-dozent" in Kiel, devoting attention to English Deism in the person of Toland. In 1723 the Duke of Brunswick called him to Helmstadt, where he received the marks of distinction due to his abilities, filled with credit the Chair of Divinity, was honoured with the office of Ecclesiastical Councillor to the Court, and in a twenty-four years' strenuous pursuit of academic aims attained a foremost place in the world of learning, pre-eminently in the department of Church History, for industry, independence, and judgment. On the inauguration of the new university of Göttingen, Duke George II. called him as its first Chancellor, in association with men of the first rank in letters, such as Haller, Gesner, Michaelis. Here he died in 1755, in his sixty-first year.

The importance of Mosheim's historical work centres in its *method*. That method initiates so radical a breach with past effort in historical exposition, and has proved so successful in subsequent effort, that it has won for him the title

"the father of modern ecclesiastical history." Mosheim is a transition figure between the mediæval and modern conceptions of history. His work is the first really impartial Church history since the time of Eusebius of Cæsarea. It took form under two impulses, the one derived from the prevailing philosophy of the time (Leibniz-Wolfian), the other from the historical theory fashionable among the Pietists (Gottfried Arnold). Four novel features distinguish it. First, return to the most ancient sources and the application to them of the critical understanding. Here the "moderation" of the eighteenth century, familiar to us in the critical currents of Deism in England, may be felt—its disinclination from the use of hypothesis, its appreciation of heretical sources, its sense of the great influences of literary and philosophical movements. Second, recognition of the practical motives of historical facts and events and of the practical aim of historical progress. The pragmatic method seems to us now out of date. At that time, however, it represented an advance on the historical method then employed, viz., the confessional and partisan. It was a distinct step towards viewing the ecclesiastical events, first as a development, and further as a development related to the *general* life of the age. Third, subordination of the dogmatic interest. A latitudinarian breath is obvious in Mosheim's history. The supernatural is accorded but a slight rôle. The point of view from which history is regarded as the theatre of the struggle between the upper powers is frankly abandoned. Miracle is not denied, but its area is limited. A clear distinction also is made between history and polemics. Criticism is dispensed with in favour of narration and description, except so far as the narration itself implies criticism. The facts are allowed to speak for themselves. "*Darstellung nicht Beurtheilung*" is the motto. (Description, not Criticism.) As a consequence the impartiality and objectivity which are striven after by modern historians as a *sine quâ non*, without which there can be no true history, are here exemplified and sought with conscious aim. Fourth, departure from the atomistic view of history. We are so accustomed to treat society as a growth that it

is hard for us to think ourselves back into the atmosphere of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when mechanical conceptions ruled, when nature was construed as a vast machine, knowledge reduced to a series of sensations, ethics and politics viewed as the contracts of separate individuals. "All events seem entirely loose and separate," said Hume, "fasten them together as you will." And Hume was but the echo of Bacon, Hobbes, Locke. The unity of events was then a unity of external arrangement. The unity which we now demand, whether in theory or life, is no longer such a pseudo-unity, but the inward unity of a living whole. The power which holds things together must be immanent and omnipresent. Against Hume's "events seem entirely loose and separate," faggots bound in bundles by custom and association, we set the view that—

"Nothing in this world is single;
All things, by a law divine,
In one another's being mingle."

The "fortuitous concourse of atoms" has given place to "the social organism." The fruitful idea of *growth*, which has done such wonders in biology, has vanquished the idea of machine. Applied to history, its whole force directs our glance forwards. *χρη τίλος ὁρᾶν* is its cry. Things are not to be explained by their first beginnings, nor by their present stage. Everything is that which it may become. Its explanation lies neither behind it nor within it, but before and beyond it. For this new idea Mosheim was largely instrumental in preparing, as Heussi here shows.

The merits of this book are not difficult to discover: on the contrary, they are of the kind which, as the French say, *sautent aux yeux*. The language is, for a young German author, everywhere plain and easy to apprehend. The style is simple, natural, direct, the only sort of style appropriate to the subject. The amount of information imparted is the most extensive possible, every available source being drawn upon, and strictly relevant; it is the fullest biography of Mosheim yet published. The prime quality of a work of history it possesses, accuracy. Not less conspicuous is its impartiality and detachment. Both qualities are most

fitting characteristics of a biographer of Mosheim, since he was the first to illustrate them in his work.

Scone.

A. S. MARTIN.

DIE POLITISCHE PREDIGT SCHLEIERMACHERS, von 1806 bis 1808: *Rede zum Antritt des Rektorats der Kaiser Wilhelms-Universität, Strassburg, gehalten von Dr Julius Smend, Ord. Professor der Theologie. Strassburg: J. H. Ed. Heitz (Heitz & Mündel), 1906. Pp. 30. 1 M.*

SCHLEIERMACHER'S love of the Fatherland, and his efforts to help and cheer it during the domination of Napoleon, are well known. Like others, he suffered much in that time of humiliation; but, unlike the vast majority, he never lost self-respect or faith in the national life and freedom. "When kings and princes, the head of the Roman Church, and other leaders of men"—to quote from an English source—"were servilely doing homage to Napoleon as a modern god of war, Schleiermacher denounced him from the pulpit at Halle, and his students, inspired by his courage, raised a loud *pereat* for the despot at the very moment when the French troops were wildly shouting in the market-place "Vive l'Empereur!" It is the patriotic sermons, about ten in number, delivered at this period, that Dr J. Smend takes as the basis of his rectorial address.

The sermons, the learned Professor tells us, form a small episode in the history of preaching; yet they are of first-class importance, as helping to form some estimate of the Prussian people and their ideal leaders. The people to whom Schleiermacher ministered belonged chiefly to the cultured classes. They were the *élite* of Halle and Berlin. The picture he gives of them is not too flattering. They were egoistic and self-seeking, cowardly and cringing, apathetic and hypocritical, without country or claims—so-called citizens of the world. Even men like Hegel, Goethe, and Schiller, were solicitous about their own welfare, and did nothing towards educating the national conscience in the practical virtues of love, truthfulness, and courage.

The demoralisation was general. There were, no doubt, exceptions: notably the king and queen; preachers like Erman, Menken, and Dräseke, and patriots, such as Stein, Arndt, Scharnhorst, and the like. Schleiermacher naturally bewailed this poor and unpatriotic spirit. Bewailing was, however, not much in his line. He was an irrepressible optimist; and he was unwearied in his endeavour to arouse patriotic feeling, and to awaken the consciousness of nationality that had been overshadowed by the presence and arrogance of the foreign despot. On the fateful evening of the Battle of Jena Napoleon had uttered his famous sneer, "Prussia is vanished." This unkingly word might strike terror into weak and selfish hearts. Schleiermacher was undisturbed, and had his answer: "Is our Prussia vanished? In that case, everywhere in Germany, where a Protestant can live and work, shall our Fatherland henceforth arise." He distrusted the proud conqueror not only because he hated Protestantism, but because he lacked the true disposition of a king. And so, from his pulpit at Berlin, he spoke out, in the clear, sonorous voice, against his insincerity, and that of the creatures who did him homage as if he were the "great world-soul": "as the tyrant pretends to respect the common weal and feigns love for the subjects, so the subjects also pretend and feign feelings of love and respect for the tyrant as long as they are under his heel." The marvel is that the brave and outspoken man—the forerunner of the new day that was about to dawn for Prussia and Germany—was not forcibly silenced or crushed. Napoleon, whatever he might otherwise be, was personally brave; and he, no doubt, admired in Schleiermacher, the son of the army chaplain, that courage which he was always the first to honour in the soldier.

Another purpose served by these sermons is, as we are reminded, to indicate how "one of the greatest and profoundest personalities in Germany showed the inseparable connection between national feeling and religion." Schleiermacher was undoubtedly the foremost political force of his day; yet he discussed and answered no question apart from

the interest of religion. He did not believe it possible that true patriotism and civic virtue could exist independently of a living religion. For what is religion? It is courage, it is love, it is freedom; the courage that acts not through fear, but because it must; the love that is opposed to self-seeking, and acts for the good of the whole; and the freedom that is opposed to all kinds of slavery, whether of false traditions or political formulas.

Dr Smend, whose treatment of Schleiermacher's political ideas is new and suggestive, concludes by showing what bearing they have upon the changed relations of to-day. He is clearly of opinion that the Christian sermon, if it is to continue to be what it once was, the mightiest power on earth, must inculcate the eternal principles of truth and righteousness that underlie all social and political life. In this connection he says of his own country, that "self-respecting men trouble themselves no longer with politics unless it is Christian in spirit and aim." The pulpit has a duty to perform in this respect, and it can only neglect it by neglecting the highest interests of the people and the State. Not that the preacher of the Evangel can ever, as such, know any political party, or develop political programmes. We are not unacquainted, in our own land, with the evils that lie that way, and how the Christian pulpit has been degraded by shameless political partizanships. The abiding elements of our faith are not individual or provincial; they are universal, and hold within them the hope of the present and the future.

"Fürwahr, es muss die Welt vergehen,
Vergeht das echte Männerwort!"

Old Kilpatrick.

ROBERT MUNRO.

CARLYLE UND GOETHE, von *Otto Baumgarten*.
Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck; (Edinburgh:
Otto Schulze & Co.), 1906. Pp. xii, 177. M. 2.40.

PROFESSOR BAUMGARTEN has at length made public his long promised work on Carlyle and Goethe as a neatly got

up volume in the useful *Lebensfragen* series, edited by Heinrich Weinel. Had it been issued a dozen years ago it would, perhaps, have received more attention. As it is, any intelligent discussion on the two most distinguished representatives of the literature and ideals of the past century will always command a certain limited constituency. Limited, unfortunately, because it would seem as if, in Germany as here, Goethe and Carlyle are names more celebrated than known. Most people with pretensions to culture have possibly read the *Sorrows of Werther*, *Faust*, *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, and *Sartor Resartus*. Yet, significant as these are, they do not by any means denote the men truly. The Scottish sage, who gloried in Silence, has thirty-seven volumes of all sorts of prose to his credit; while the *Sämmtliche Werke* of the German bard contains two and one-third times more prose than poetry.

Dr Baumgarten's discussion is, as might be expected, both intelligent and cultured. On that point there can be no kind of doubt. What will, however, be questioned by students of Carlyle and Goethe is the professor's peculiar line of vision. To me, at least, it seems mechanical, unhistorical, and without psychological insight. He tries, for example, to prove that the sturdy British thinker was a glorified reflection of the Teutonic Corypheus: a rigoristic, Calvinistic, Puritanic copy of the great æsthetic, artistic, and Epicurean antitype. That kind of generalisation will not do. Carlyle cannot be equated in terms of Goethe any more than Goethe can be equated in terms of Carlyle. The present attempt to do so goes into pieces in the author's own hands. Baumgarten admits that there were others in the Fatherland, men like Fichte, Richter, and Novalis, who were not entirely unknown to the rugged Scottish student. He also declares—surely this alone might have made him sceptical as to his thesis?—that Goethe "completely lacked what the Scot so thoroughly possessed, the great historical and social outlook, the true political instinct" (p. 159). Carlyle was pre-eminently a historian—one of the most notable in modern times—and an indefatigable moral and social teacher. Much as he owed to Goethe, he here owed abso-

lutely nothing. Why should he? He, too, was a man, standing on his own feet, an independent creation of his time; no echo, mouthpiece, or simulacrum of any mortal being, Teutonic or otherwise.

Apart from this negative, if necessary word, it must be admitted that Professor Baumgarten's work is most readable and instructive. His description of Carlyle's early intellectual conflicts, and the analysis of *Sartor Resartus*, *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, and the social politics, are altogether admirable. The concluding section, dealing with the relation of Carlyle and Goethe to the Christian faith, and their influence on the Christian conceptions of the time, is as suggestive as it is welcome. Good use is made of all the sources, especially Froude, Hensel, and Bielschowsky. This "study" has evidently been a labour of love. Should it see a second edition, may we hope that the author will revise and, perhaps, modify his notion of trying to interpret Carlyle by any single human entity, or constellation of such entities? It is not in that fashion, even according to Professor Baumgarten himself, that any real living man is built up: "Der ist der Held, der im Glauben an die Ewigkeit sich opfert im Dienst der Zeit" (p. 177).

Old Kilpatrick.

ROBERT MUNRO.

THE FINALITY OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION,

by George Burnam Foster, Professor of the Philosophy of Religion. The Decennial Publications; Second Series, Vol. xvi. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press; London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1906. Pp. xiii., 518. 18s. nett.

THIS is a book of exceptional importance. It reminds one of the notable works of recent times, such as those of Martineau, Hatch, Ward, Sabatier. The author is a modern of the moderns. He treats in a masterly way many of the principal questions which are agitating the theological world at the present hour. In his general thought he is animated by the spirit of science and of history, and may be said to be a representative of the many-sided culture and of the surging life of the West.

As regards the justification for his task in this volume, it is shown that the question of the finality of the Christian religion is forced upon us at the present time. Science has long been engaged with the explanation of nature, even of those fields regarding which Scripture contains a deliverance ; and now it cannot be warned off from history. The history that embodies the Christian religion is scrutinised by it in turn. And science is quite impartial, following everywhere its own law and its own methods. Modern research in history resolves all dogmas into the flux of process ; in view of universal historical relativity, can we continue to maintain any conception of the finality of the Christian religion ? That is the problem of the book.

The account which is given of the formation of Authority-Religion, and, still more, the description of its dissolution, reminds us of the corresponding sections of Sabatier's *Religions of Authority, etc.*, though, as we learn from the Preface to Professor Foster's book, the results were arrived at in the newer work quite independently. While Sabatier gives a long history of the Catholic dogma of Authority, Foster is satisfied with a comparatively short narrative ; the ecclesiastical circumstances in their respective countries naturally account for this difference. But there is a detailed and trenchant criticism of Protestant orthodoxy, proceeding on the same general lines as those followed by the Frenchman. We are led up to the modern principle—and it is one that the author strenuously advocates in other connections as well—that a product like the Bible is to be judged “ by its fruits, not by its roots.” “ Things are what they are, and not what they came from.”

The traditional apologetics of Protestantism was based on the evidence of miracles. The refutation of Supernaturalism is the aim of the first part of the book. It is shown that Supernaturalism has many points of agreement with Naturalism. The world for Supernaturalism is a godless world : God's presence and action are recognised only in the violent irruptions of miracle. One is surprised at the lengthened treatment of this subject which the author finds to be needful. Doubtless, there are still those who adhere to this form of Super-

naturalism, but it is manifest that the book is not intended for them. They would be certain to put it aside as hopelessly unsound, long before they had reached his discussion of their basal doctrine. Taking now the position of the modern Christian thinker—that all nature is pervaded by God—what is to be said of miracle from this point of view? The modern man, it is here asserted, cannot accept miracles; he holds that God's works do not need correction. The biblical miracles, according to our author, are best understood as poesy. We should treat them as we treat the parables, *e.g.*, we should not ask whether they are actual or mendacious accounts, but should see in them truth in pictures. This is not a satisfactory elucidation of the matter. It is history as affecting religion that the volume before us is chiefly concerned with. The historical sense, as it teaches with effect, needs to be applied for the interpretation of the articles of our faith. Suppose it is applied here. "God's works do not need correction." But *man*—who, by the way, is one of God's works—admittedly, in every age, is in need of correction. Would the instrument that serves for the purpose in the case of the modern man of the twentieth century have been serviceable some 2000 years ago in the East? Clearly not; it would have had little effect even here in the West, two or three generations ago. If so, what *was* the means that occasioned the radical change wrought of old in the time of Christ? At least some sketch of the author's view was to be expected. The miracles are best understood as poesy? Possibly—once you have the unique standing and influence of Jesus otherwise explained; but until this is done we have to ask, Why should the web of poetry have been woven round *Him*? However, as against the common disposition to "believe in miracles," as if this were of much religious significance, it is urged with effect that faith is fixed, not on mere events of any description, but on values, which are timeless—as real for one now as ever they were for any person.

There is a fine chapter on the Changed View of the World which was ushered in by the Renaissance. The Copernican astronomy was epoch-making, even for religion,

leading to the substitution of the modern principle of divine immanence for the transcendentalism of Authority-Religion. Soon the autonomy of reason was effectively asserted.

Referring to the thought of the modern period, the author raises the question, Can humanism be Christian humanism? He answers, Yes; that is the contention of this book. Faith doubtless has had a struggle for existence, owing to the changed view of the world. But no one was to blame for that change. "No one did it." And though the strain at present seems to be very great, in reality the difficulties are very small. "Christ is simply continuous with conscience . . . Conscience of our conscience." The prospects for Christianity are now of the best, as the religion of external Authority is laid aside. As science, freed from the shackles of authority after the Reformation, rose up like a young giant and has astonished the world, religion, with a free field before it, has now its turn.

True, the newer current of thought has not been wholly favourable to religion. One notable outcome is Naturalism—a new dogmatism, worse than the old dogmatism of religion. Its ideal is to "astronomise" all reality. But it commits the egregious error of explaining everything by nothing. Thus it becomes a duty for the modern thinker to disengage science from Naturalism. We are reminded of the discussion in Professor Ward's *Naturalism and Agnosticism*; but the exposition in the present work is more easily read, and for a short treatment of the subject it is singularly lucid and convincing. "Suppose it were true, which yet is pure Utopia, that all riddles and mysteries of nature are to be referred to the 'push and pull' of matter in motion and its simplest laws, they would be simply swallowed up in one general riddle which resides at the bottom of all things, and is all the more colossal since it comprehends all besides." Law causes nothing, explains nothing. Those who read this chapter should have little trouble with the writings of Haeckel. Certainly our author is remarkably sympathetic, and ready to appreciate the element of truth in the opinions of those from whom he differs. For example, while the immoralism of Nietzsche is condemned, it is allowed that

Nietzsche had a mission in pressing as he did the rightful claims of personality. But Haeckel! A clause of a sentence suffices to characterise him as a speculative thinker. "Haeckel's *Welträthsel*, into which he pours such a flood of —darkness!" In short, the external implies the internal; the world is explained only in terms of mind; only thus do we reach true being. The new scientific picture of the world is itself a creation of spiritual labour; the new world "*is formed by man's own strength.*" Thus with Kant we have to begin with the subject. And thus modern thought conserves our values.

The author's philosophy is *Spiritualistic Evolutionism*. He finds that the quarrel between materialism and idealism has become mostly a matter of words. His evolutionism is not that of Hegel: the latter is declared to be essentially antagonistic to the entire nature of Christianity, seeing that, according to Hegelianism, personality is lost in the cosmic process, so that there is no place for religion as communion between man and God. Philosophy, according to Professor Foster, furnishes no "proof" of religion: here we are not in the region of "proofs"—religion springs from ideals. Thus the value-judgment falls to be considered, and the relation between it and the existence-judgment is touched upon: this is said to be the problem of problems. "Is that idea or belief which works best to be judged as true on that account? Perhaps so; perhaps not. The question is the burden of the latest movement of philosophy. In all ultimate questions we seem to be shut up to practical solutions only." But there is some ground for holding that reality as a whole is most justly appraised in terms of what is best in it. "Certainly, if an artist should be praised according to his best picture, or a man according to his best life, or our race according to its best civilisation, we may not hesitate to treat reality in general thus generously. It is to our credit to do so, and let us reverently hope that reality may be duly appreciative."

At the point where the connection between God and the world is treated, a question is suggested to us almost as a matter of course; yet it is not directly broached by our

author, and at all events a full solution is not given. It is that of the reconciliation of the seemingly contradictory views which we hold when we look at nature from the standpoint of science and that of religion respectively. In the one case we search for natural causes only: to bring in God is wholly inadmissible; in the other case the very same things are all regarded as dependent on, and controlled by, the Deity. What is to be said of this? The question confronts us in ordinary practice. It was posited as a problem by Professor Ward in the *Hibbert Journal* (October 1905), and answers to it were previously offered, as recently by Kaftan in his *Dogmatik*, and by Steinmann (cf. also Paulsen on Fechner). Professor Foster finds that mechanism in nature is derivative, not an end in itself, but means to an end, "the static precipitate of dynamic purposive force, ministrant to the ends of the latter." While looking at the static only, he is willing to be materialist; at the dynamic only, he is idealist, and is satisfied if the primacy of the dynamic as original and active is granted. There he stops. But can that primacy assert itself over material nature, once the "static precipitate" is formed? Is there a total abdication there on the part of spirit, the static being static *au pied de la lettre*? If there is, we have ceased in so far to think of the immanence of the Deity in nature, and have fallen back in principle on the transcendentalism which was combated. Or is there always a real, immanent, though latent, control by the ideal element which is in power? In this case, how can it be held that there is "mechanism" in any real sense, or anything else than the uniformity of action which would be exhibited by a good spirit? Once more, as regards the connection referred to, have we to say *ignoramus* or *ignorabimus*, and why? These matters are not without importance for the Christian faith: for one thing, we come back to the question of immanence when treating of the Divinity of Christ.

The author makes much in his philosophy of the recent modification of Darwinism. It was early seen that the arrival, as well as the survival, of the fittest needs to be accounted for. The newer evolution is biological rather

than mechanical, and even introduces teleology. In all nature and history there is a principle of spontaneity, activity, allowing of new beginnings and sudden changes; and only because of this *inherent tendency* to progress can higher forms spring from lower. "Of itself the struggle of existence is a hostile, not a friendly, factor to evolution." The interest of religion in all this is obvious. Jesus was shaped indeed by His earthly *milieu*, yet He was not a remainderless product of it; His originality is not explicable by it; He towered far above it. Given the element of spontaneity in all reality, "who shall limit the energy and significance of its efficiency at any point in the development?" Any, the highest, manifestation of God may occur on earth. At any time? the highest in the middle of the cosmic development or before the end? Why not? The cosmic process may be "like a symphony in which at definite points new instruments appear even in moments of absolute stillness. To say, moreover, that the most perfect instrument, most significant for the whole symphony, must appear at the end, is an arbitrary assumption."

Still the question is pressed on us whether we can have development and *eternal* values, a religion which is not merely the best that exists, but which can never be superseded. We are thus led to ask first what Christianity is, and then we can pronounce on its finality. *The Problem of Method* is discussed at considerable length in connection with the question, What is the essence of Christianity? It is asserted that an end to the debate which still goes on can be reached only by means of an examination of the *method* of our thought, method being pronounced to be the decisive feature, the ethics, of all science.

Turning to the sources of the life of Jesus, the author discusses the Synoptic Problem, taking Wernle's *Die Quellen des Lebens Jesu* as his authority and as typical. Here we have a conspectus of what Professor Wernle calls the result of a century of scientific work. On this subject Professor Foster had previously made the telling observation: "I wish to add with emphasis, criticism is not properly called destructive or constructive, negative or positive, but true or

false. If the latter, let it be corrected ; if the former, then what one does about it depends upon what sort of man one is." Here, as elsewhere, there is the saving fact that "science is man's servant, not his lord."

It is difficult to summarise the contents of the long concluding chapter, in which the permanent significance of Jesus is estimated ; but perhaps the following statements may indicate the nature of it. The historical situation of Jesus was widely different from ours. As regards His belief in demons, angels, etc., He used the knowledge of His time. But His personality is not lowered by His acceptance of those ideas. An extension of our worldly knowledge by Him would not have kept Him alive ; examples show—take the art of writing—that we would have used the knowledge and forgotten Him. And are modern ideas, themselves not final, a condition of pure and powerful personality ? Would not the recognition of these as a standard mean a new orthodoxy, in place of faith and character ? Besides, "one cannot confess what another man has believed, were this other man even Jesus Himself." And Jesus requires no blind faith. "What the gospel that saves requires is that I confess not Jesus' confession, but my own—with Jesus-like pains, courage, sincerity, and in the use of all the means at my disposal." One has to be inwardly like Jesus by being outwardly and theoretically unlike Him. The lasting truth of Messianism is that there is a meaning, a Divine plan, in things ; that God is near to us, and that our end is near ; and that we should be filled with expectancy and enthusiasm, without which nothing great can be done in any person's life. In general, can we lose the strange world of Jesus and keep Him as Lord and Master ? This is the question of life and death for Christianity. Now the disposition of love which Jesus had in His world we can and should have in ours ; in the light of His disposition His words are to be read and adapted—there can be no moral conduct by taking over a sum of precepts. Moderns have to remember that Jesus sought above all the formation of a moral personality in man. But is the Will at the heart of things like-minded with Him in this ? Now

the fact especially that Jesus acknowledged God as Father in the very worst calamities, and so, as all can see, triumphed when He went down, and the interpretation of reality by the man of our age in the light of that fact—this gives courage and heart to live and to hope, come what may. So a modern man like Harnack finds, and so it will always be. And from what was said above, the supreme practical value for life of the valuation of God in terms of Jesus proves the truth of such valuation; we see reality in its truth when we see it in the light of that best part of it which Jesus constitutes.

With all this, the *Deity* of Jesus is denied by Professor Foster. *Divinity* he would probably allow: at least the divinity of human nature is insisted on. But the moral and spiritual facts on which the conclusion is founded are not distinctly envisaged: we are left to a great extent in the dark as to the reasons for the denial. To take the former body of facts. On the one hand, the ecclesiastical conception of the abstract, bare sinlessness of Jesus, is called a wooden conception. His development being human, "He had a hard fight with sin." And much is made of the saying, "Why callest thou Me good," etc. The author admits that there does not seem to have been any breach with His past, that He was no penitent, such as Paul or Jonathan Edwards. But surely there is more than seeming in the case. How are His disciples' estimate of Him, their devotion to Him, and His influence in the world accounted for, if He was like men in sin? To say that He had a fight with *sin* is, in the context, to assume the point in dispute. Granting the fight with *temptation*, and even that there were wounds in the fight—these are honourable. On the other hand, there are many statements by the author which seem to have the opposite and commonly accepted sense: "God is like Jesus"; "Jesus was what He taught, and taught what He was"; "His power was sufficient for the complete extensive and intensive ethicisation of His nature," etc., etc. Thus a definitive and consistent presentation of the facts is not afforded. Turning to the properly religious or spiritual side, we are in a still worse

case. Modern thought is all for the principle of immanence. We have already seen where the working out of the principle is defective in this volume. And again we ask, Is God immanent in (external) nature, but not in the soul which is kindred with Him? This could not be said. There was therefore an altogether peculiar immanence in the soul of Jesus. He was conscious of a thorough union of heart and life with His Father. If this is recognised, the implications might be inquired into. But these facts of the spiritual life of Jesus are not brought forward by Professor Foster. The moments of communion with God, the elements of the religious process, are not exhibited. When the basal facts are put out of view, *cadit quæstio*, there is no scope for the discussion of the subject of Christ's deity. There can only be a dogmatic denial—or affirmation—without value for knowledge.

The book treats of the largest subjects, and does so with strong and glowing thought, the high level being sustained throughout. Reference is made to the principal works of the living race of German writers in history, philosophy, science, and criticism, as these bear on the Christian faith—down to the *Beiträge zur Weiterentwicklung der Christlichen Religion*, which appeared last year. We are taken into the midst of the stream of contemporary life. And there is a clear note of distinction in the style. The language is felicitous, incisive, and forceful to a degree, and the phrasing is often epigrammatic and gem-like. But there is no dallying with the instrument of language: the seriousness of the subject is never forgotten. From the point of view of theology and religion the general effect is not unsettling but steadying. It is shown that the interests of civilised life which are nowadays so highly prized—those of science, art, industry, the state, family, vocation—are after all only of subordinate significance: the supreme good is spiritual and moral. The particular conclusions which the writer refuses to accept—and they are various—do not appear to be derived from the dominant, underlying thought, or to be quite consistent with the texture of it. Some of them, indeed, might be described as *obiter dicta*. Thus we can

easily take and leave. Doubtless, the work will be unusually stimulating and suggestive to all its readers.

Cluny.

G. FERRIES.

GREAT MORAL TEACHERS. *Eight Lectures delivered in Salisbury Cathedral, by E. R. Bernard, M.A., Chancellor for the Cathedral Church. Macmillan & Co. 3s. 6d. nett.*

STOIC AND CHRISTIAN IN THE SECOND CENTURY. *A Comparison of the Ethical Teaching of Marcus Aurelius with that of Contemporary and Antecedent Christianity. By Leonard Alston, M.A., sometime Scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, etc. Longmans, Green & Co.. 3s. nett.*

THESE two books cover to some extent the same ground, and they have further the common object of comparing the pagan ethics they expound with the Christian scheme of life and its principles. Mr Bernard's volume consists of popular lectures, which appear to have been admirably adapted to their purpose. The first series deals with Confucius, Gotama, and Socrates, and does not profess to contain any original contribution to the subjects it expounds. The second, which occupies nearly three-quarters of the volume, is entirely devoted to Epictetus, and consists of a more minute and distinctive study, which will be of value for those who desire to come to a right understanding of the Stoic philosopher. There is some interest in the comparisons brought out by the more summary treatment of the earlier moralists, which occupies the first three lectures. Thus it is pointed out that while Confucius looked to the State for the establishment of morals, Gotama had no such aim, and turned his attention wholly to the individual. Nevertheless they approach one another in their views of duties. The conception of the five relations is fundamental to the Confucian system. A corresponding idea is partially seen in Buddhism, which starts with the three Brahminical ideas of illusion, transmigration, and pessimism, and seeks solace for the individual in the extinction of desire as the way to the annihilation of the Karma, *i.e.* the persistent

force for reconstituting the faculties that make up the self. Gotama proclaims the duty of love to our fellowman, which corresponds to the Confucian relations.

The contrast with Socrates is more marked. Both Confucianism and Buddhism are virtually atheistic. Socrates believes in God, and makes much of a mysterious, inward voice. But his identification of virtue with knowledge is taken by Mr Bernard to be a sign of his own complete self-mastery. For the same reason Socrates has little to say on the conflict with the lower vices. In Epictetus we have the most perfect development of Roman Stoicism. In some respects this is the very opposite of Buddhism, for it is optimistic, but by denial of the existence of physical evil as such. In consistency with this idea, external blessings are despised, as not being really good at all.

Stoicism differs from Confucianism in having no connection with politics; but, like the Chinese system, it bases social duties on relationships. This is an interesting point which Mr Bernard brings out: for it has been too little observed; and here we see a valuable antidote to the haughty, self-contained individualism that characterises the Stoic conception of life. Epictetus also agrees with the Buddhist in advocating riddance of desire, but with a very different end, not to attain extinction as the Oriental pessimist intended, but to secure freedom for the more full realisation of one's own conscious being. In his last lecture Mr Bernard has an interesting series of comparisons between the Ethics of Epictetus and the teachings of Christ; and his conclusion sums up the results of the comparisons of the other teachers. They all rely on man's supposed capacity to raise himself to the standard of virtue; therefore their systems are all for the strong. The gospel superseded Stoicism, the greatest of these systems, because it appealed to the whole man, and that with a power to realise its idea.

The second of these two volumes is a study of the Stoic Emperor in comparison with Christianity. Mr Alston displays a breadth of view and a penetrating comprehension

that render his little volume a valuable stimulus for thought. Thus at the outset, with a few bold strokes, he sketches the environment of Marcus Aurelius, showing how the very success of the Roman system of government became an occasion of moral danger. Thus he says, "Now there were no duties save negative ones and passive ones. All the world should have been as a garden, and men felt it as a prison. They had been citizens, and now they were subjects. War had been an acknowledged evil, but peace had come to be an evil scarcely less. Under the shelter of the Pax Romana had come into being a moral chaos unknown before" (p. 5).

In this sad world Marcus Aurelius thought out his own sad meditations for his personal profit—not, like Epictetus, lecturing for the benefit of others. We see how he has travelled from the old cynic temper, for "He goes far towards substituting for the Stoic gospel of pride the Christian gospel of humility" (p. 9). Thus his thought is transitional. His ideas are tentative. When we compare him with contemporary Christian teachers, we must beware of superficial analogies. Similar phrases may represent different attitudes, because they belong to distinct atmospheres. Being a Stoic, Marcus Aurelius finds perfection in the annihilation of emotion as an end in itself, and at the same time glorifies personal dignity. Mr Alston sees the Christian counterpart of this in the idea of purity, since both ideas are practical aids to the subordination of the lower to the higher.

But with Marcus Aurelius the intellectual element is the highest in man, and it is for the sake of the reason that the body must be held down, while early Christianity ignores intellectual duties, and holds that the body must be kept pure as the temple of the Spirit.

WALTER J. ADENEY.

Manchester.

PERSECUTION IN THE EARLY CHURCH: A
Chapter in the History of Renunciation, by *Herbert B. Workman, M.A., Principal of Westminster Training College.* London: Charles H. Kelly, 1906. Pp. xx., 382. 3s. 6d.

THE book is the thirty-sixth Fernley Lecture, and that fact may account for the author's style, which is sometimes popular, and never tedious and dull. We read, for instance, that "for two hours Pilate faced the mob, trying to accomplish the impossible, the reconciliation of acquittal and condemnation, of popularity and duty, of Roman law and Jewish fanaticism." The sentence is well fitted for an audience; but the reader with leisure to deliberate will pause before Pilate's alleged desire for popularity, and will conclude that the two hours are a tribute to graphic style at the expense of historical accuracy. The examination of the trial of Jesus is relevant in this book, since "by a sure instinct the Church discerned in the death of the martyr the repetition, not the less real because faint, of the central sacrifice of Calvary"; and in connection with the trial Mr Workman says, that Christ was "informally condemned on the charge of *majestas*, in spite of His previous judicial acquittal." The idea of an informal condemnation will present many difficulties to the reader of the well-known book by Dr Taylor Innes, where it is stated that "the judgment was legal, though the unjust judge did not believe it." Mr Workman says truly that the Church discerned in the death of the martyr the repetition of the sacrifice of Calvary, and in the title of his book he very properly calls persecution in the Early Church, a chapter in the history of renunciation. The dispassionate student of history will see renunciation manifested by multitudes of martyrs, but will also note in many instances an hysterical passion for death in Jesus' name. Gibbon's famous statement that the Christian teachers "inculcated with becoming diligence that the fire of martyrdom supplied every defect and expiated every sin" has no foundation; but Tertullian declared that, while it is not the general experience of the dead in Christ

to pass at once into His presence, those who become saints through martyrdom immediately enter Paradise. Teaching of Tertullian's kind may have fostered an ignoble appetite for heavenly rewards, but we may only conjecture that it did. There was, however, sometimes a passion for death that meant despite to duty. Tertullian is our authority for the story that the whole of the Christians of a province in Asia presented themselves before the judgment-seat of the pro-consul, and that he, after ordering a few to execution, said to the others, "O miserable men, if you wish to die, you have precipices or halters." Ignatius, who helped to make martyrdom fashionable, if the expression may be used, wrote of his coming death in words singularly unbecoming for one who was to repeat, though faintly, "the central sacrifice of Calvary"; and the idea may not be thrust aside that Lucian satirised Ignatius in his *Peregrinus*, and the judgment may not be ignored that the satire was no mere exercise of cruel and wanton wit. There were, unfortunately, in some of the martyrs, motives that lowered the value of their renunciation. There was, on the other hand, in victims of the order of Paul and Peter, pure, unselfish renunciation, and all who are grateful for the witness that has been borne for Christ rejoice in the words, "the noble army of martyrs praise Thee."

One of the most interesting of Mr Workman's chapters is that on "The Causes of Hatred." Some of these causes, such as the charge of cannibalism, were operative in the early period of the Church, and do not account for the great persecutions, of which the Diocletian was the greatest. The priests of the decadent imperial paganism were able to rouse the citizens of the declining empire to avenge their disasters by persecutions of the Christian clergy and laymen; but the early persecutions, when the Christians were few in a vast population, are difficult to explain. Renan has drawn nasty pictures of the Christians in cities with their pagan temples, and these men, were the pictures correct, could not have been desirable neighbours. We need not, however, in obedience to Renan's fancy, misrepresent the early Christians. Yet when we remember that Claverhouse, let loose among the

Covenanters, did not hesitate to shoot, and that Prince Rupert was glad to charge the Puritans of the Parliamentary army, we may understand the Roman citizens persecuting the Christians with their own particular manners and morals. Historians ought not to make, as Renan does, constant excursions into conjecture, and Mr Workman very properly deals mainly with authoritative statements and facts in his inquiry into the causes of hatred. He indeed deserves very high praise for his scholarly work and for his knowledge of sources, and also of recent relevant literature. Among his accepted facts are the martyrdom of St Paul at Rome, after a second trial, and the martyrdom of St Peter, also at Rome. The problem of the Pastoral Epistles, which must first be settled before that second trial passes out of the region of conjecture, seems likely to have an abiding place with us; and when we can believe that a late tradition, which becomes more detailed with the advance of centuries, has any value, we may incline to the theory that the apostle of the Jews had the glory of suffering death where the apostle of the Gentiles perished though, meanwhile, some of us will place his death in Rome alongside of his mythical bishopric of twenty-five years in the imperial city.

St Andrews.

JOHN HERKLESS.

THE CHILD AND RELIGION: Eleven Essays, by
*Professor Henry Jones, F. R. Tennant, Canon Hensley
Henson, Rev. R. F. Horton, Professor Joseph Agar Beet,
and others. Edited by Thomas Stephens, B.A. Crown
Theological Library. London: Williams & Norgate, 6s.*

THE editor of this collection of essays explains how they came to be written. He says that "several children had recently, as the result of attending services for young people, responded to the claims of the Saviour's love, and had expressed a desire to become His disciples. Now the question arose among the officers of the church as to the proper attitude of the church towards these children." Hence these eleven essays, to which are prefixed letters from the Bishop of Durham, the Hon. and Rev. J. G. Adderley, Professor

James Orr, Rev. John Watson, Rev. J. Scott Lidgett, Principal Forsyth, Rev. R. J. Campbell, Rev. Owen Thomas, Rev. John Lewis, and Rev. F. W. Stanley. The standpoint of the various writers differs considerably, as might be expected, and their contributions are also of very different degrees of value, so that, while some of them need only a word or two, there are others one would willingly spend more time over.

In the first essay, on "The Child and Heredity," Professor Jones proceeds on the ground that acquired characters are not transmitted, and that even tendencies to good or evil cannot come by inheritance. "The vital energy which passes from parent to child is variable in absolute quantity and in the relative strength of its constituents. But in every other sense each child is a new beginning; the way to virtue is as open to the child of the wicked as it is to the child of the virtuous. The whole stress therefore falls upon the environment, and above all else upon the social environment, into which from birth the child enters." In the second essay, C. F. G. Masterman goes on to show the different impressions which the city child receives as compared with the country child, and the importance of this in connection with its religious training. In the third essay, Professor Ladd in my opinion does not bring out with sufficient clearness wherein "the child's capacity for religion" differs from that of the adult, viz., in its defective or different sense of sin. However, this essay is to some extent supplemented by the next one, which is the most important essay in the series, by F. R. Tennant, who shows, as he did in his remarkable Hulsean Lectures on the "Origin and Propagation of Sin," that it is out of the question to speak of hereditary instincts and tendencies to evil. "The intensity of the young child's appetite is, biologically, a sign of future health and vigour, and its apparent faults and signs of corruption are organic necessities. We can only say of them that they ought not, as the child grows up, to remain 'unmoralised,' and that their non-moralisation constitutes sin." Mr Tennant, however, is hardly right, I think, in saying that "conscience is made, not born; or rather, it is given"; there must be the capacity

for it, else conscience could not be inculcated at all ; but what he says about the further development of the child and the universality of sin is quite correct.

Between this essay and the one that follows a greater contrast could hardly be conceived. The Rev. Cynddylan Jones advances the church doctrine of the "Conversion of Children" purely and simply, without troubling himself with any possible objections that might be brought against it. The thoughtful reader will find this essay already refuted by the one before it.

The next two essays deal with the subject at present occupying the attention of the English Parliament, viz., that of Denominational or Undenominational Education. Canon Henson, who can hardly of course be said to represent the opinion of the Church of England as a whole, is all for the latter, provided it includes "definite Christian instruction." "I believe," he says, "that the majority of Anglicans, as well clergy as laity, would be willing to accept the Free Church Catechism almost without alteration as the manual of religious instruction to be used in the State schools, if only, by so great a sacrifice of sentiment, they could secure the general agreement of English Christians in support of what they must needs regard as a religious principle of the utmost importance." Dr Horton, on the other hand, is opposed to all dogmatic instruction, and is moreover desirous that the right and duty of instructing their children in their faith should be left with the parents. "No greater disservice was ever done to religion than that officious undertaking of the Church to relieve the parents of their primary duties." But, are the parents always in a position to do what is required, even supposing they had the time? Is not the teaching, not only of theology but of religion, an art that has to be learnt? This is brought out, but not with sufficient clearness, in the last essay by Professor Agar Beet, on "The Child and the Bible." Besides, the teaching must be graded according to the age of the children ; in short, the difficulties here are much greater than the writer imagines.

The remaining essays deal with the attitude of various denominations to religious education. The Rev. G. Hill

writes on "The Baptists and the Children"; the Rev. J. J. Thornton on "New Church Training," *i.e.* Swedenborg's views on the development of the child; and Rabbi A. A. Green concludes the series with his paper on "The Religious Training of Children among the Jews." This last essay is particularly valuable, although, like the others in this section, it deals with matters of less general interest than those in the former part of the series.

Altogether the volume is a very useful contribution to the discussion of the question of religious education. The problem, it is true, is much more complicated than it looks; at the same time some at least of its aspects are thoroughly examined and rightly judged. Personally I feel grateful to the writers, all the more so that with us in Germany these questions are not yet recognised and treated with sufficient clearness.

CARL CLEMEN.

Bonn.

UEBER DIE WILLENSTÄTIGKEIT UND DAS DENKEN, von Narziss Ach. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht (Edinburgh: Otto Schulze & Co.), 1905. Pp. x., 294. 10 M.

THE general design of this volume is to give an account of a series of experiments on reaction-time, which were devised to assist the analysis and to determine the nature of the volition-process. The results were controlled by a thorough and systematic introspection on the part of the "subjects," in which they were guided by the questions of the "observer." In connection also with the major problem—"the determination of action following upon an intention or resolve"—some of those processes which are most intimately bound up with volition, as Apperception, Abstraction, Attention (somewhat inadequately classed together as Thought), are discussed. The book is by no means easy to read, and its attraction for the non-professional reader is still further lessened by the details of experiments and introspective observations with which it is crowded. On the other hand it forms a useful handbook to the most recent

psychological methods, while the conclusions, if not absolutely new, offer valuable confirmation of what may be called the anti-associational theories of modern psychology. With regard to the first question, the author's account of "systematic experimental introspection," and of the conditions under which it must be carried out, shows, as it is still needful to show, that only through experiment and under experimental conditions is introspection *possible*. With regard to the second, perhaps the most important feature of the work is its revelation of the part played in mental life and growth by what the author calls "Determining Tendencies." The meaning of the term may be realised at once from any case of the familiar post-hypnotic suggestion. In the hypnotic sleep it is suggested to a subject that he shall, at a certain time after awakening, carry out some action or other. Although he has forgotten the suggestion, and although the required action may be entirely out of harmony with his momentary occupation, still he *does*, inevitably, carry it out. Yet he is at the time quite unconscious of the source of the idea of the action, which he tries afterwards to make appear reasonable to himself and to others. The essence of the process is that the previous suggestion determines, through some unknown mechanism, the emergence, at the corresponding moment, of the *idea* of the action, and that in sufficient intensity to issue at once in the action itself. Now a similar determination occurs, as Dr Ach shows, in all normal actions of the class of volition, obedience to commands, etc. Thus in one of the experiments four letters, arranged in varying order, were shown upon cards; with each letter or "stimulus" a certain movement—the "reaction"—was correlated, according to previous instruction. But only one of these four possible movements had on any one occasion to be made, *i.e.* it was left to the freedom of the subject to decide upon which of the four stimuli he would react. It was found that if one or other of the letters was in the mind of the subject before the letters appeared, *this* invariably was the letter most clearly seen and also the letter to which response was made (p. 169); conversely, if the idea of a movement was in the

mind before, then *its* corresponding letter was that of the four which emerged into clearest perception. A special set of experiments was devised in which the stimulus was a pair of numbers, *e.g.*, 3-9; before the stimulus was given the subject decided which of several operations (as, *e.g.*, add, subtract, multiply, or divide) he would perform upon them; as soon as the operation was completed, a signal was given and the time recorded. In the observations it was found that while the intention (*e.g.*, "multiply") was presented in some way, visually or auditively, to the mind, before the numbers appeared, yet on the apprehension of the numbers, the actual resultant appeared *immediately*, without any presentation whatever of the purpose or intention of the operation itself, *i.e.* the result was *directly* suggested. The pause—where a pause occurred—was felt rather as one of expectation than of conscious effort (*e.g.*, pp. 183, 203). While it may reasonably be questioned whether the instructions to the subject did not tend to bring about the result desired, the main thing after all is the proof that such transitions of thought *do* take place in conscious volition or intention. This influence, which an ideal purpose continues to exercise over the course of thought, while it itself is no longer present to the mind, is called a "determining tendency," and such tendencies must be placed, according to the author, alongside of the more familiar associational tendencies on the one hand, the persistence- or recurrence-tendencies of ideas on the other. The conception itself is not new—it derives from Herbart, is a central feature of Dr Stout's psychology in England, and of Binet's in France, while several of Kuelpe's students are working, along different experimental lines, upon a similar analysis of the higher mental operation. Nor is the explanation suggested a particularly enlightening one, *viz.*, that—(1) the idea of the purpose, *e.g.*, "add," sets a number of tendencies or dispositions in play among the brain structures; (2) the appearance of the stimulus also sets a number of associated dispositions in play; of these that one is strengthened which agrees with the direction of the purpose (p. 192); thus (3) the corresponding idea, that of the result, which at first is

subliminal, rises, through the force of the new impression upon it, over the threshold, and becomes conscious. At the same time the "determining tendency" frees the thought from distraction, either by new stimuli, which it suppresses, or by older associated, but inharmonious, ideas.

A further process with which we are made familiar from new points of view in this work is that which the author calls "*Bewusstheit*," or unrepresentational knowledge—where the knowledge of a complex system of thought is present without any presentational or sensuous elements or memory-images (p. 210 ff.). No analysis is possible, no details emerge into consciousness; the whole is present *in nuce*, as it is said; yet it may be described afterwards, *i.e.* the content of the knowledge may be stated. In this knowledge there may be differences of degree, intensity, or vividness, without the content being less clear. It is always accompanied or preceded by sensations, visual, auditory, kinæsthetic or strain sensations, or the memory-images of such. But these are merely the signs or symbols, the concrete attachment of the meaning or thought, not the meaning itself. The latter is represented, according to Dr Ach, by the setting "in readiness" of a number of tendencies of reproduction, those of ideas originally or associatively connected with the given concrete image, without any single idea of those so set in readiness necessarily rising above the threshold (p. 217). From this starting-point some interesting contributions are made to the psychological theory of Abstraction, of Apperception, and of Volition. One thing we do not learn, however, viz., what kind of existence the *Bewusstheit* or determining tendency has, if it is non-presentational. Do the various dispositions "set in readiness" have some combined effect upon the mind, although none has a *distinct conscious* effect, and if so is this a sensation or a feeling or some third thing?

The volume concludes with a useful technical appendix on the Hipp Chronoscope. J. LEWIS M'INTYRE.

AN AGNOSTIC'S PROGRESS, by William Scott Palmer.
London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1906. Pp. 169.
 3s. 6d. nett.

TWO articles which appeared in recent numbers of the *Contemporary Review* form the basis from which the present book is expanded. In it Mr Palmer gives an interesting account of his intellectual evolution, and touches on many points which should appeal to a wide circle of readers. The "progress" which he describes is not the oft-told change from a religious to a naturalistic or agnostic world view; his development did not follow Comte's *Law of the Three States* (p. 52), first the theological, second the metaphysical, third the positive, but, starting from what may be called conventional religion, the author made his way through doubt to science, and from science, by means of philosophy and psychical research, back to a religious view which may fairly be called Christian.

The position from which Mr Palmer started out on his pilgrimage over forty years ago is one to which it would not be difficult to find present-day parallels. "Religion as a personal matter, religion as a life, did not exist for me or my family. The borderland of my native village went to church at eleven o'clock on fine Sundays, and I went in and with it. There were unlucky Sundays when the Litany was said, and the service prolonged by its unmeaning length; the lucky Sundays were wet ones that cleared up later. I knew most of the rector's sermons, and I noticed none except one which he preached in consequence of the publication of the *Origin of Species*" (p. 5). This sent Mr Palmer to Darwin's work, and he gives a vivid account of the transformation which it wrought in his views by substituting a dynamical for a statical conception of life and the world. After interest had thus been aroused, the next step was to satisfy the newly awakened appetite for knowledge. "I read everything I could lay my hands on, and I came out after several years of this theological and anti-theological exploration a fairly reasonable agnostic in the popular sense of the term"

(p. 7). "I am bound to add, however, that I honestly sought to strengthen the position to which my mind inclined by seeking any possible defeat at the hands of the defenders of religion. I found them playing for, rather than fighting against, my victory. The conflict resembled the battles of the Japan-Chinese war, when the Chinamen marched into action with bows and arrows and umbrellas" (p. 12). Mr Palmer then turned seriously to science and became much more than a mere amateur or dabbler, but his high hopes were doomed to disappointment, for he found that science dealt only with certain aspects of experience, and did not furnish a key to the whole. "After a time I discovered that, like other instruments, the wonderful method of science was devised and was successful only in relation to certain purposes that were not far-reaching, although for a long time I did not know how to define their limits" (p. 20). Of these limits the author gives an able and interesting account, and shows how they led him to the study of philosophy with the hope of finding here a more comprehensive world-view. "Philosophy perhaps needs to 'clip an angel's wings' that she may bring him under a human roof-tree; but she is more likely than science to leave with us still the vision of an angel in the heavenly air. She will not substitute a balloon or a scheme of vanes and wheels, she will never classify the angel as a 'flying machine,' she looks deeper, she looks beyond" (p. 56). Mr Palmer started his philosophising under the guidance of Spencer, but soon found himself led on to Green and the Idealists. At this point he records an interesting personal note as to his longing for companionship on the journey. "I felt the need of companionship. . . . I think it is to my credit and the credit of my caution that I had never enlisted under any banner in my earlier stages; I had always known myself vagrant on a way leading me to an unknown goal, and thought myself best alone. Many a pilgrim's pilgrimage comes to an early end through joining some camping party, too well content to travel on. I had spared myself this cutting short" (p. 69). But even now the desire for enrolment under a banner was not to be gratified, though in his

search for men of like mind with himself the author discovered the Society for Psychical Research and joined it. By this time he had completely given up the mechanical view of the world, and the new psychology made him more favourably disposed to a religious interpretation. He describes, in parts of chapters ix., x., and xiii., his transition to Christianity, and the satisfactory clearing-up which he found therein of his difficulties.

There are many other topics connected with the philosophy of religion touched upon in the course of the work. We have room only for one or two. Looking back on the long conflict between science and religion, Mr Palmer sums up the cause of the errors and confusions which beset its earlier stages in the phrases "a self-running nature" and "an absentee God." The religious apologists pointed to the flaws and gaps and unexplored crannies in "nature"; they told the scientific man that he had not explained the weather or life, or the production of biological varieties, or the existence of self-consciousness. "But they tacitly or explicitly granted that the other natural problems *had* been explained, and that God should be looked for only in the gaps. . . . They confirmed them [the naturalists] in their belief that they were driving God out of the world in proportion to their success in reading in it the same reason which is in ourselves, and which might be expected to be in any world, even in this world, and by theologians" (p. 138). On the subject of immortality the author remarks: "I grew gradually into a belief, amounting to assurance, that if life that had reached the human height ended with this earthly phase, the whole human experience was absurd, its meaning and values could not be conserved, and the scheme of things was irrational from futile beginning to disastrous end" (p. 100).

We have not room to quote Mr Palmer's views on the other subjects which he discusses in the account of his pilgrimage, but we should like to call attention to his excellent remarks on dualism, on anthropomorphism, and on cause and effect. There is also a chapter devoted to the difficult subject of the self-limitation of God, and a somewhat less satisfactory chapter on miracles.

It will be gathered from the account which we have given that Mr Palmer has written an excellent book, and one, moreover, which takes into account the very latest developments of modern philosophy. The level of thought throughout is high, and the style is lucid, if occasionally somewhat exuberant.

The book is hardly meant for the multitude, but there are many above the popular level who will be deeply impressed by this picture of the "plain man" with the *anima naturaliter philosopha* (p. 54), and his struggles after religious light.

By way of criticism, it will be sufficient to indicate very briefly the points which we think susceptible of improvement. In the first place, the argument could be made considerably clearer by a more systematic arrangement of topics, and this want of system is aggravated by the absence of index and table of contents. Mr Palmer, too, gives no references to the numerous passages which he quotes from contemporary authors, though such references would probably be useful to a large class of readers. As regards subject-matter, our chief complaint against Mr Palmer is that, towards the latter end of his pilgrimage, he is not always sufficiently explicit. The first steps are taken with much circumspection and caution, but towards the end the pilgrim makes a bolt, or at anyrate does not pause to show the grounds on which he takes the last few steps. This want of explicitness is felt especially in chapter vi., which fails to explain exactly what psychical research did for the author's progress, and again in chapter ix., which does not show the inevitableness of the author's transition to Christianity, nor indeed what he means precisely by Christianity. In the same chapter "natural religion" is taken in too narrow a sense: it is not usually employed as meaning merely the "religion of nature." Similarly with regard to particular doctrines, there is no adequate explanation of the grounds on which Mr Palmer holds his doctrine of redemption (p. 129), or of the Trinity (p. 146).

The characterisation of God (p. 148) is by no means free from obscurity, and we confess to preferring Mr Palmer's own excellent quotation from William Law: "With the same self-

evident certainty as you know that you think and are alive, you know that there is *Goodness, Benevolence, Meekness, Compassion, Wisdom, Peace, Joy*, etc. Now this is the *self-evident* God that forces Himself to be known and found and felt in every man, in the same certainty of self-evidence as every man feels and finds his own thoughts and life. And this is the God whose Being and Providence, thus self-evident in us, call for our Worship and Love and Adoration and Obedience in Him ; and this Worship and Love and Adoration and Conformity to the Divine Goodness is our *true Belief* in and *sure knowledge* of, the self-evident God. And atheism is not the denial of a first omnipotent Cause, but is purely and solely nothing else but the disowning, forsaking, and renouncing the Goodness, Virtue, Benevolence, Meekness, etc., of the Divine Nature, that has made itself thus self-evident in us as the true object of our Worship, Conformity, Love, and Adoration " (p. 155).

F. L. POGSON.

Oxford.

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF MORAL IDEAS, by *Edward Westermarck, Ph.D.* London: *Macmillan & Co.*, 1906. Vol. I. Pp. xxi., 716. 14s. nett.

THE iniquity of space forbids me to enterprise a minute discussion of Dr Westermarck's work on *Moral Ideas*. The first vast volume only has been published, in 716 pages, and one does not know how the theory will fare in succeeding tomes. The moral emotions are, we learn, of two sorts, approving and disapproving : the former is retributively kindly—in a mild way ; the latter implies resentment, and is usually more energetic. " Whose head ought to be punched for this ? "—a phrase of Mr Samuel Weller's—is an unsophisticated and spontaneous expression of moral disapproval ; while, on hearing of a good action, mankind is not so eager to subscribe money for the reward of the virtuous person. Dr Steinmetz thinks that resentment is, in origin, " undirected." Thus the wind blows off my hat, I resent it ; but, if a man of self-control, I do not knock off my neighbour's hat, though

I have known a person of inadequate self-control adopt that course. His act seemed, but was not, "undirected." He would have done something unpleasant to the wind if he could, but, as that was impossible, he exhibited "direction" in his resentment, for he knocked off the hat of his younger brother, not that of a strongly built stranger. Here Dr Westermarck agrees with me as against Dr Steinmetz. Resentment, he thinks, *is* "directed." Failing to find the actual murderer, a savage will attack the most accessible person of his enemy's totem, just as the boy whom the omnibus driver flicked with his whip pinched the conductor of the vehicle. The moral consciousness, as man becomes sophisticated, scruples to exercise retribution on the handiest connection of the guilty; this line is already taken by Ezekiel and Jeremiah (p. 72).

Our moral indignation and approval, when generally entertained, are the parents of custom, and custom is the parent of law. A law may merely sanction a previous custom, or may go contrary to it. A law of Solon's forbade a corpse to be buried with more than three garments. Helbig thereon argues that Solon only ratified an old Ionian custom. But, on the other hand, Solon forbade a lady, when on a round of visits, to carry more than three dresses, and limited her to a trunk of a cubit long. Was Solon here adopting an *old* Ionian custom, or was he not checking *recent* Athenian licence? The same question may be asked about the grave clothes: was Solon adopting an old Ionian custom, or checking modern Attic funereal extravagance? Unluckily Helbig, trying to prove that the twenty-fourth book of the *Iliad* is "late" and "Ionic," forgot to refer to the Solonian law about the limited wardrobe of an Athenian lady. I, therefore, entertain an emotion of retributive resentment against Helbig, as Dr Westermarck does against Dr J. G. Frazer. Mr Frazer holds that when a human victim is sacrificed for the good of the crops, he is "regarded as a representative of the corn spirit, and is slain as such," or so Dr Westermarck states the doctrine. He finds "no satisfactory evidence in support of the hypothesis," and, in seven pages, he accuses Mr Frazer of various critical

defects, for example of "omitting an important fact" recorded by his authorities (p. 449).

Now, whatever the truth about the corn spirit may be, Dr Westermarck here recognises the necessity of reading the contexts of the original authorities cited by anthropologists, and I myself have found that this course is strictly necessary. As Dr Westermarck's own book is based on anthropological data, matter collected by dint of rare and wide erudition, I venture to suggest that his own references to authorities might be improved. It is the custom of criticism to pick holes and find faults, and here one seems to have one's chance.

I fear that Dr Westermarck's authorities are not always first-hand authorities, and that he does not always criticise them adequately, nor study, or at least enable us to study, the contexts of the passages which he cites. Thus he tells us that "among certain peoples it is a regular custom to kill the first-born child or the first-born son" (p. 458). "The statement is interesting but tough," to quote Mr H. Finn. The proofs are, that "among some natives of Australia a mother used to kill and eat her first child." Among *what* natives of Australia? The authority quoted is Dr Brinton, an American mythologist, "p. 17, Note *." Why does not Dr Westermarck tell us who is the authority cited by Dr Brinton in "p. 17, Note *"? Von Scherzer is also cited, but, as Von Scherzer is not easily accessible in his account of the voyages of the frigate *Novara*, one would like a full quotation. The tribe alluded to, if reconnoitred from a frigate, must have been a coastal tribe. Which tribe was it, and did Von Scherzer himself see the mother cook and eat her first born? Again, "in New South Wales" (a large place) "the first born of every *lubra* used to be eaten *by the tribe* as part of a religious ceremony." I know that yarn.¹ A case is vouched for by vague anonymous stock-keepers. Now, if such "religious ceremonies," performed by "the tribe," really occur in New South Wales, Mr Howitt is the

¹ Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, vol. ii. p. 311. The authority is Mr More Davis, dead before 1878, and the district appears to have been that of the Lachlan River.

man who would know the facts. In his great book he makes no reference to the "religious ceremony" participated in by "the tribe" (by what tribe? one asks), and I do not feel convinced by the story. What would be said of a psychical researcher who offered the most unassuming wraith on such evidence?

What follows is truly pleasant. On the authority of Dr de Groot, his *Religious System of China* (vol. ii. book i. p. 699), we are to believe that, in "Khai-Muh in China, according to a native account, it was customary to *kill and devour the eldest son alive*." How could you devour him, while he was alive, and also was killed? Native evidence to dæmoniical possession in China is scouted, yet we are asked to accept a "native account" to the effect that the eldest son is "killed *and* devoured alive" (pp. 458, 459). The Indians of Florida are in a similar condemnation, according to Le Moyne de Morgues; and who *was* this gentleman, when did he live, what were his means of knowing the fact? We are not told; we are referred to Dr Boas, his Fifth Report on the N.W. Tribes of Canada. Mone (who was Mone?) tells a like tale about the heathen Russians. Has Dr Westermarck read Mone? I know not, but his reference is not to Mone's book, but to Mr Frazer's, with whose critical faculty, as we know, Dr Westermarck has been expressing himself as rather dissatisfied.

In these important studies, it is not enough to refer us to second-hand evidence, as of J. G. Müller for North American facts, or Réville for any facts, or to Bancroft's compilation, or to Geusius, or even to "Simpson, quoted by Grant Allen!" We must read Simpson for ourselves; for one, I would never dream of quoting "Baring Gould, *Strange Survivals*;" we must find out, and verify, and state Mr Baring Gould's source. We must not say that this or that is true of the Highlanders "even to this day," and suppose that we prove it by a reference to Stewart of Garth, for General Stewart lived in a very different day, long gone by.

Enfin, if anthropology is to be our main stay, we must cite our authorities as we do in history. We cannot accuse

James II. and VII. of taking delight in seeing torture, and support our statement by quoting Macaulay of all men, who quotes no authority at all. The same rule must apply to citations from Bancroft, Mr Baring Gould, Mr Grant Allen, and all compilers. Dr Westermarck thinks that he would have been misled if he had accepted Mr Frazer's authorities as proof of Mr Frazer's theory on a given point, and had not gone to these authorities for himself. He went to the authorities, Mr Adams and Monsieur Bouche, and we should always go to the first-hand authorities. A little training in history would be of great advantage even to a student so conscientious as Dr Westermarck. He would soon find out that "a native account," at second-hand, of the custom of killing and devouring a child alive is no more "evidential" than a quotation from the *Memoirs of the Duke of Berwick*, or any other memoirs. We turn to the documents, and find that the duke's memory was at fault. In anthropology, too, let us stickle for evidence at first-hand.

St Andrews.

ANDREW LANG.

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Review of Theology and Philosophy

SURVEY OF RECENT LITERATURE ON THE HISTORY AND RELIGION OF ISRAEL

- (1) *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme. Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen*, by *Eduard Meyer*, with contributions by *Bernhard Luther*. Halle a. S.: Max Niemeyer, 1896. Pp. xvi., 576. 14 M.
 - (2) *Altorientalischer und Israelitischer Monotheismus*, by *B. Baentsch*, Professor of Theology at Jena University. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1906. Pp. ix., 120. M. 2.40.
 - (3) *Religionsgeschichtler und geschichtlicher Orient. Eine Prüfung der Voraussetzungen der "religionsgeschichtlichen" Betrachtung des Alten Testaments und der Wellhausen'schen Schule im Anschluss an K. Marti's "Die Religion des Alten Testaments,"* by *Hugo Winckler*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1906. Pp. 64. 50 Pf.
 - (4) *Die Hebräer. Kanaan im Zeitalter der Hebräischen Wanderung und Hebräischer Staatengründungen*, by *Wilhelm Erbt*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1906. Pp. iv., 236. 5 M.; bd. 6 M.
 - (5) *Der Ursprung der Israelitisch-Jüdischen Eschatologie*, by *Hugo Gressmann*, Privatdozent at Kiel University. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1905. Pp. viii., 378. 10 M.
- R. OF T. & P VOL. II. NO. 7.—2 E

- (6) *Die Lade Jahves. Eine Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung*, by Martin Dibelius, with 13 illustrations in the text. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1906. Pp. viii., 128. M. 3.60.

I HAVE been asked to trace the progress of the study referred to above, so far as this progress shows itself in some of the more important books of recent seasons. This commission involves a somewhat more strict treatment of these books than would be both natural and fair in an isolated book review; for books which contribute little or nothing to progress may yet have high merits apart from this drawback, which it is the duty and the privilege of the reviewer to bring out. It is only for the purposes of the present survey that so well-filled a book as Ed. Meyer's *Die Israeliten* can be called, in some respects, sadly disappointing. As an abundant collection of material, and a summary of the conclusions of a scholar of wide range, who, after Stade and Wellhausen, most worthily represents the best nineteenth-century criticism of at least a part of the Old Testament, the book well deserves a cordial recognition. Nineteenth-century criticism may indeed be no longer adequate to our wants; but its methods seem to require not so much to be superseded as to be largely supplemented, concurrently with a large increase in the critical material. Nor can it be denied, either, that some few contributions can still be made from the older point of view to the critical analysis of the narrative books, or that Stade and Meyer are moving in the direction of reform.

Professor Ed. Meyer, therefore, will be criticised here (apart from the contributions of Bernhard Luther) in a friendly spirit, though with the frankness which the cause of progress demands. The tone of his book is, on the whole, satisfactory. Where he fails, it is with *bona fides*, because he imagines nineteenth-century criticism to be less imperfect than it really is. His knowledge of the literature of his subject is, however, scarcely wide enough. I will not seek to make the most of this fault, provoking as it is. I may mention, however, that even such a book as Professor G. F.

Moore's *Judges* is "not accessible" to him, and a still later English work, dealing with other books besides *Judges*, is ignored—regrettable accidents, perhaps; but can we so easily excuse the injustice done to the *Encyclopædia Biblica* (to which book he is a contributor), when speaking (pp. 257, 221) of the origin of 'eshel (R.V., tamarisk) in Gen. xxi. 33, and of *Krethi*, i.e. the familiar Cherethite, in 1 Sam. xxx. 14, etc.? See *Encyclopædia Biblica*, "Tamarisk," § 3, "Caphtor," § 2.

For the history of Israelitish beliefs we have closely to examine the Israelitish myths and legends. This our author does, beginning, not with the myths, but with the legends, which, of course, often contain disguised mythical elements. Part i. is concerned with the legends of Moses and the origin of the Levite-priests. From another section of the book (p. 451, note ¹) we gather the important fact that Meyer, who is pre-eminently a historian, does not regard Moses as more than a legendary personage: I am glad of support for my own view from such a quarter. For all that, the Moses-legends are of much interest, and no trouble can be too great to recover their original form. This Meyer fully sees, and so he contrasts with most of the scholars of the last century, who failed to realise sufficiently that analytic literary criticism is only a means to an end, viz., the ascertainment of the true form and significance of the primitive stories. In another respect, however, Meyer has not, I fear, got beyond those scholars, i.e. he has no conception of the possibility and the extreme importance of a much more penetrating criticism of the Massoretic text. This deficiency is visible in all the parts of Ed. Meyer's work. To take a single instance, he propounds the ingenious conjecture (p. 56) that in the original legend of Meribah Moses struggled physically with Yahweh for the possession of the Urim and Thummim (cf. Deut. xxxiii. 8). To illustrate this he refers (1) to the struggle of Jacob with a divinity in Gen. xxxii. 23-32, and (2) to the account of Yahweh's attack upon Moses in Exod. iv. 24-26. The first of these narratives he understands in the main quite rightly, but he misses an important part of the meaning, just because

he is such a backward textual critic. Of the second, he gives an explanation which is partly original but quite unacceptable, and never suspects that the secret of the passage can only be found out by a keen textual criticism.

It is certainly singular that Moses should, on this occasion, according to Meyer, be a successful striver, like Jacob. On our author's own showing he was but a poor fighter when Yahweh sought to kill him in the *mālōn* (Exod. iv. 24 ff.), and in the Rephidim-story he only fights as a thaumaturgist (Exod. xvii. 11, 12). His true greatness for the Israelites was in a very different line. In the original legend he was the founder of the Israelite priesthood, though afterwards Aaron was put forward in his place. (One might here have expected a reference to Nielsen's *Mondreligion*.) The original seat of this priesthood was at Kadesh, where, indeed, Moses (as Meyer thinks) had obtained the Urim and the Thummim; from Kadesh the Levite-priesthood spread gradually into Canaan. It was at this great sanctuary that Moses, as God's priest, gave judicial decisions to the people. It is hardly needful to add that Yahweh was the God of Kadesh not less than of Sinai. In Sinai he willed to abide on the mountain-top; in Kadesh, in the so-called thorn-bush (Exod. iii. 2, 4), the name of which (*senek*) alludes to Sinai. If we ask where Sinai is, Meyer answers, as Wellhausen, Stade, Budde, and Moore, and before them all C. T. Beke, also answer, in the land of Midian, near the head of the Gulf of Akaba. It was a volcanic mountain, as the same English scholar had already maintained, and as Gunkel and Gressmann now also hold. The consequence is that Yahweh, as the God of Sinai, was the deity who had manifested himself in the phenomena of a volcanic eruption; in a word, he was a God of the subterranean fire. The flame which surrounded the thorn-bush came from a fire which broke out close to the tree, in consequence of subterranean gases. Our author propounds all this with equal confidence; but as regards the thorn-bush in particular, I cannot but ask the reader not to follow him blindly. As I hope to show elsewhere, the basis of his theory of the "thorn-bush" is unsound.

Unsound, too, or I would rather say unsatisfactory, is our author's explanation of that important passage, Exod. iii. 13, 14. He is of opinion that the narrator (E) derives the divine name Yahweh from Ehyeh, which Meyer regards as on a par with any of the numerous derivations in Genesis. This seems to me very poor criticism; and to sanction the reading, "I Am hath sent me to you," is the climax of absurdity. On the other hand, the indication of the original character of Yahweh is excellent, and so too in some respects is the treatment of the tradition of the plagues, though the respective views of Jensen and Gressmann would now doubtless have to be considered. The oldest account, we are told, knew only of three plagues (p. 28), or possibly only of one plague—the locusts (p. 30); of the "Passover" and the slaying of the first-born, it most probably knew nothing. Our author admits the drowning of the Egyptians in the *Yam-suph* as an element of the oldest tradition, but throws no fresh light on the name *Yam-suph*.

In his second part Meyer returns to the subject of mythology. His treatment of it, however, is more slight than one might have hoped. He dispenses himself, for instance, from the duty of investigating the original mythic conception of Paradise, for which he gives the poor reason that Gen. ii. 10-14 speaks only of earthly rivers; and the eager confidence with which he deals with those "earthly rivers," though charming enough in its way, is hardly quite appropriate. There are, however, some noteworthy passages in this section, *e.g.*, on *elohim* (pp. 211 f.), on *ērāh elohim* (p. 213), on the *Arōn Yahweh* (pp. 214 f.), and on *Mal'ak Yahweh* (p. 216). That the theories on these subjects are, generally speaking, correct, I could not honestly affirm. In particular, Meyer is hardly on the line of progress as regards *Mal'ak Yahweh*. "Under other conditions of culture a mighty object of worship could have arisen, which, like Mithra, Christ, and every other *μυστήρ*, would have pushed the supreme God quite into the background; but with the Israelites the *Mal'ak Yahweh* was never more than an unsubstantial schema, which only has any significance as a theological formula." Against this distor-

tion of highly significant facts I am bound to protest (see *Bible Problems*, 1904, pp. 213-35; "The Archangel Michael," *Expositor*, April 1906).

On the primitive traditions of the southern tribes a fresh stimulus to thought would be grateful. I must confess, however, that I cannot see much to adopt, and that to use traditional names, uncriticised, seems to me a mistake. "Japheth," indeed, is criticised (p. 221), but how unsatisfactorily! Much more valuable is the section on the invasion of Palestine, which, in deference to Meneptah's stele, is placed before that king's reign; our author suggests the troublous period before Seti I., and reminds us that in his first year that energetic king waged war against the Shasu (or Bedouins) who had established themselves in the region of Haru (S.W. Palestine), and defeated them as far as the fortress of Canaan. The Amarna letters, too, refer distinctly to the invasion of Palestine by nomad tribes, called Suti and SA-GAS, and, in the letters of Abdiheba of Jerusalem, Habiri (*i.e.* Hebrews). A vague recollection of this is all that remained to the later Israelites. These pages of Meyer's book are full of interest, and do not provoke controversy nearly so much as some other sections. But as soon as names come in, doubts begin to besiege us. Did Abraham really come from Babylonia? In Gen. xxiv. 10 (*cf.* v. 4) his country is Aram-naharaim. But our author finds an explanation. "Very possibly," he says, "Abraham himself did not come from Babylonia, but only his ancestors." And yet, a better solution of the enigma only requires a somewhat more keen textual criticism than Meyer is prepared to give. Again: was Kedem really the name of a land to the east of Edom? If so, E differs from J as to the region to which Jacob fled (Gen. xxix. 1). The question is not settled by referring to a well-known Egyptian tale. The best solution of this riddle known to me is again not even mentioned by our author as a possible one. Again: Talmai means "he of the furrow," *i.e.* he is a genius of agriculture; Sheshai "may be connected with *ws*, "byssus"; Ahiman, "I do not know how to explain" (p. 264, note ³). It is a comforting admission, however,

that, "as is well known, the meaning of the numerous proper names formed with Ab, Ach, Cham, etc., in spite of all that has been written, is quite obscure"; our author adds, "only that the second part of these compounds is by no means always (perhaps not even generally) a divine name" (p. 265, note 6). As to the patriarchs, Meyer's present view is that they are not primarily eponyms of tribes, but gods or heroic demi-gods, and such names as Yerachm-el, Yisra-el, Yishma'-el, are to be explained: "'He compassionates' is El," "'He fights' is El," "'He hears' is El." Sarai is not primarily (as Meyer thought formerly might be the case) the consort of Dusares (a Nabataean god), *i.e.* Abraham (?), but the locality, or perhaps fetish, in which the *numen*, called "Abraham" in Hebrew, had his seat.

To treat the important section on the southern tribes (pp. 299-471) adequately in our limited space would be impossible. A thorough continuous survey of the material is certainly needed, but Meyer's contribution cannot, strictly speaking, be called thorough, because of his contempt for the Chronicler and his backwardness in textual criticism. The details are therefore often very questionable, but our author has such a real talent for exposition that the summaries of his results (*e.g.*, pp. 442-46) can be read with interest and profit. It may be useful some day to compare them with those of others, *e.g.*, Mr S. A. Cook. Now and then, too, valuable references are made to Semitic inscriptions, as when we are told that a seal bearing the legend Par'osh (?) has been found, which was doubtless the seal of the *gens* so called (p. 308). Significantly enough, however, Meyer has not yet made out what the name of this *gens* originally meant. It is gratifying to find that he disbelieves in the totemistic origin of the names of certain tribes and *gentes* (pp. 308-10), though I cannot follow him in the view (p. 273) that Deborah, *i.e.* "Bee" (Judg. iv. 4 f.), is properly the name of the *numen* of a sacred tree, and Rachel ("mother-sheep") that of another female *numen* (p. 274)—two records, as we are told, of ancient animal-worship. Perhaps the most important suggestion is that the name Ya'udi, attached to a district in North

Syria (others, however, read it Ya'di), was carried thither by a Bedouin tribe, so that the coincidence between this name and Yaudu, "Judah," is not a mere accidental coincidence (p. 441). Whether "Yehudah" really comes from *hdd*, "majesty," seems to me very doubtful; the riddle of this name must be taken with that of Ehud. Another riddle propounded here, but not solved (p. 431, note ²), is that of Achor and Akan (Josh. vii.). Again and again our author has to raise the siege of troublesome proper names; it is a real merit that he frankly admits this.

Even more striking is the failure of Meyer's text-critical methods in the closing section of the book, headed *Die Israeliten* (pp. 472-561). I say this without any disparagement of his great abilities: one man cannot do everything. But on looking closely into the details, I am struck by their frequent insecurity, and I think that Meyer himself is not without occasional misgivings. The parts which are perhaps the most acceptable are that on the origin of the tribal organisation (pp. 506-509), that on the origin of the tribe of Manasseh (p. 515), and that on contract sacrifices (p. 560). It is, of course, the names which give most trouble; I can see no progress in Meyer's treatment of them. See how he is baffled even by Reuben. Issachar is still "the man of Sachar (Sakar)." "Kiryath-Ye'arim" remains "the city of woods," and such passages as Judg. x. 4, xii. 9, 14, are mere specimens of ancient folly. A key to Judg. ix. 28 is still wanting (p. 480, note ¹), and I fear that the trouble taken about Judg. v. carries us no further than we were when G. F. Moore wrote his learned and useful commentary. The Chronicler and the Priestly Writer are, as usual, treated with a contempt, which is certainly not altogether deserved (see, *e.g.*, p. 522, note ¹, on 1 Chron. vii. 10, where *Kittel*, though without a key, is much more respectful).

There still remain two important chapters (pp. 446-54, and 455-71), one on the relations between Egypt and Israel, the other on the grave question of the Arabian Muşri and Meluḥa. The former is highly unsatisfactory, in so far as it relates to the names Mōsheh, Nimrod, and

Pinehas (Hûr is not added). I do not think I need justify this here at any length. That the Israelites should have called their deliverer by an Egyptian name is inconceivable. As for Nimrod (Namruta?), the setting in which the name is placed is of itself decisive against Meyer's view. As for Pinehas, an Egyptian origin is only plausible if Puṭiel (Exod. vi. 25) can first of all be shown to be Egyptian. To these points I hope to give a renewed consideration elsewhere. Of course there was a time—before the Israelitish invasion—when Egyptian influence on Canaan must have been considerable, and it is this fact which goes some way to justify another supposition of Meyer, viz., that the scheme of Hebrew prophecy was borrowed from Egypt. But we must remember that a similar claim has been set up by several recent scholars for Babylonia. Space forbids me to go further, but Meyer's information is certainly a welcome supplement to that already given by Assyriologists. The idea of Messianic prophecy, however, need not, as it seems to me, have been borrowed from one people more than from another; it is, in fact, international.

I now turn to the chapter or appendix on the asserted North Arabian Muṣri, passing over (from want of space) the opening paragraph, which *inter alia* tells us that Gunkel is on this point an adherent (!) of Winckler, and which stirs up prejudice in a way that hinders progress. What follows is not, strictly speaking, investigation, but a controversy with Winckler. That eminent scholar will do as he thinks best about answering Meyer; certainly in the Assyriological department I shall not be so ill-advised as to forestall him. I will only point out three or four of the consequences of Meyer's position (which is probably identical with that of the Dutch scholar Noordtzij): (1) He has to believe that the mother of Ishmael was an Egyptian, and to deny that the ethnic term Hāgrīm has anything to do with Hagar. (2) He has to suppose that "the Yerahme'elite Sheshan" had an Egyptian slave called Yarḥa' (not investigating this very easy name, in spite of the suggestions offered to him in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* ("Jarha," "Jerahmeel"). (3) He has to assume that an Amalekite, in David's time, had an

Egyptian slave who spoke Hebrew fluently. (4) Also he must believe that Solomon was an accomplished scholar in all Egyptian lore, in spite of the slenderness of demonstrable Egyptian influence on Israelitish thought.

If Meyer really means to say that there is no plausible evidence for a North Arabian Mišsor and Kush (see p. 316, note ²) derivable from the Old Testament, I can only say that he does not seem to have given much study to this subject. But I still hope for a gradual change in his opinions. Winckler's evidence is certainly by no means complete; the evidence for his thesis may, I think, be strengthened.

Winckler's services to the cause of progress are not, however, limited to the discovery (if Meyer will permit this use of the term) of the North Arabian Mušri and Kūsh. It should be needless—after all that has been written by himself and others—to set forth his profound explanation of the Oriental astral religion, and his view of the connection of that religion with the higher religion in Israel. But what we do want is that a few Old Testament scholars should undertake a revision of the current historical theory of the genesis of Jewish monotheism in the light of Winckler's and Hommel's recently propounded facts and theories. The task has been undertaken by B. Baentsch, previously known not only by his critical works, but also by a singularly fair and detailed review of Winckler's portion of the *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (3rd ed.) in the *Literarisches Centralblatt*. I do not say that such a revision would bring us face to face with truth, because there is a preliminary duty which as yet is recognised only by a minority of scholars—that of raising textual criticism to a higher level, or, in other words, of recovering, to a sufficient extent, the older text underlying the Massoretic or traditional. Now, I cannot in Baentsch's *Exodus-Leviticus* (1900) find any evidence that he recognises this duty. Nevertheless, his last work, based upon lectures delivered by himself in 1905 at a "holiday course for clergymen," contains so much good matter, and is so gentle and persuasive in tone, that I cannot omit it in the present survey. Perhaps if he could rewrite it, inserting those details which

he has been compelled to omit, and making the whole a little more distinctly critical, it would become a work of high importance, in spite of that serious deficiency to which I have referred, in the type of textual scholarship represented by our author.

If Winckler's rose-coloured view is correct, no less a scholar than Marti has already led the way among German Hebraists in the direction of reform. I do not myself think that when he wrote that excellent educational work, *Die Religion des Alten Testaments unter den Religionen des Vorderen Orients* (see REVIEW OF THEOLOGY, June 1906), he was at all conscious of this, but I agree with Winckler in his very suggestive criticism of that work (see List of Books, No. 3), that Marti is distinctly on the line of progress, though his goal may not be quite such as Winckler anticipates. Speaking of "presuppositions" (see Winckler's title), there is one of Winckler's fundamental principles which seems rather doubtful. It is apparently an inference from the *dictum* (p. 5) that "the Bible is not the product of a people which fell down from another planet; it must, therefore, be understood from the spirit and the culture which brought it forth." From this Winckler infers that to be a Bible-specialist you must first be an Assyriologist. But is this really the case? If it is, an adequately equipped Bible-specialist does not exist. It is almost useless to attempt to illuminate an uncorrected text. Winckler knows this, but his deficiencies are so great that if we judged him as severely as he seems to judge others, he would have to be excluded from the ranks of Bible-specialists. But why, I ask, should this needless severity be practised? Why should we "bite and devour one another"? Why should we not learn each from the other? Certainly much may be learned from the sixty-four pages of this little *brochure*, even though here as elsewhere the author shows no evidence of an interest in religious ideas as such. It is and must be difficult for ordinary Bible-students to put themselves at the new point of view so justly associated with the name of Winckler. I recommend it, therefore, though with necessary reserves. I cannot, *e.g.*, endorse the statement (pp. 10 f.) that "Abra-

ham, Joseph, Moses are the founders of the 'Religion,' who at the same time indicate the relation of the Religion to the three cultures of the three great 'lands' into which the Old-Oriental world may be divided." Much as I desire that the study of the Old Testament should absorb more than it has yet done from Winckler and his school, I am convinced that critically and historically trained Hebraists have still much treasure to bring to light from their own texts, and I think, therefore, that Winckler's very interesting booklet on Abraham and Joseph will require not a little revision. There are also several other theories in the present pamphlet which seem to me questionable (*e.g.*, on the Yôbêl-horn), but in Winckler's fundamental thesis that the old Oriental view of the world accounts for much in the development of Hebrew religion, I see nothing startling or objectionable.

T. K. CHEYNE.

Oxford.

(To be continued.)

Reviews

A SHORT HISTORY OF JEWISH LITERATURE
from the Fall of the Temple (70 c.e.) to the Era
of Emancipation (1786 c.e), by *Israel Abrahams,*
M.A., Reader in Rabbinic Literature in the University
of Cambridge. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1906. Pp.
xvi., 176. 2s. 6d.

THIS excellent and succinct account of post-biblical Jewish literature is a reproduction, in a revised and expanded form, of the author's *Chapters on Jewish Literature*, published in Philadelphia in 1899. It is designed to serve at once as a text-book for use in schools, and for the purposes of the general reader. The arrangement of the work is not strictly chronological. The whole book is divided into twenty-five chapters, each of which is an essay complete in itself.

The subject and limits of the chapter are determined sometimes by considerations of historic time, as Chapter i. on the Mishnic period, and iii. on the Talmud; sometimes by locality, as Chapter xviii. on Italian Jewish Poetry, and

xxiv., "Amsterdam in the Seventeenth Century." More generally, however, the nucleus of the chapter is some outstanding and representative personality or epoch-making book, or some well-defined school of theology or department of literature. Thus we have such headings as The Karaitic Literature, Maimonides, The Zohar and Later Mysticism, Ethical Literature, Travellers' Tales, The Diffusion of Folk-Tales, Historians and Chroniclers, Moses Mendelssohn. Yet even so the chronological sequence is not to any serious extent infringed, so accurately does Jewish literature reflect the varying fortunes of the people.

By the destruction of the Temple in the year 70 C.E., and the final capture of the city sixty-five years later, the Jews were deprived of the one tie which bound them together as a nation. Unable any longer to perform the most important rites of their religion in the only place where these could be accepted, they fell back, as they had done in Babylon six centuries before, upon the study and elaboration of their sacred literature. From this point on, instead of worship, we have study; instead of the priest, the Rabbi. For the first thousand years of the Christian Era, Jewish literature consists almost entirely of the working out of a system of casuistry, which grows more subtle at every stage, but which all goes back ultimately to the Law of Moses. During the first two hundred years we have the Mishna, or "repetition" of the Law. The three following centuries are taken up with the Gemara, or "completion" of the Mishna. These two together form the Talmud. Partly contemporary with the Talmud, but coming down later, we have the Midrashim or commentaries, and the Targums or Aramaic versions. All these combine Haggada, or narrative, with Halacha, or legal elements. Finally, there are the Teshuboth, or answers of the Babylonian Geonim, to questions regarding points which had not hitherto been decided. When development could go no further, it produced the inevitable reaction; and the main energies of Saadya, the last great Gaon, were directed towards the suppression of Karaism—the Protestantism of the period, which aimed at discarding tradition, and sought to go back to the sacred text (*Mikra*).

It is not until we approach the tenth century that a new Hebrew literature in the proper sense begins. The spirit of adventure and the desire to see the wonders of the world abroad which were later embodied in the Crusades, sometimes combined with motives of commerce, had already led both Jews and Arabs to betake themselves to a life of travel. Many of these have left us accounts of their wanderings. One of the earliest of these narratives is that of Eldad the Danite, who professed to know the land where the lost tribes dwelt. Chronicles and histories, both of the Jews and of other nations, begin about the same time. But it was under the enlightened rule of the Moors in Spain that the Jews enjoyed the greatest liberty, and might even rise to the highest rank, and it was there that new Hebrew poetry flourished as never before or since. (Some account of this school of poets will be found in the *Review of Theology and Philosophy* for July 1906.) In the meantime their less fortunate brothers in France were still engaged in the study of Scripture and the Talmud, the very present refuge of the Jew under persecution. The great names of this school are those of Rashi and Kimchi. The scholasticism of France and the poetry of Spain were united in the person of Nahmanides, and grew into the Kabbala of the Zohar. Meantime Maimonides had attempted to reconcile Moses and Aristotle. In the *Guide of the Perplexed* he teaches the agreement and harmony of revelation and reason. The present volume brings the history down to the "revival" initiated by Moses Mendelssohn, and marked by his translation of the Pentateuch into German. Thus the end returns to the beginning.

The work has been carefully edited and printed, and has a valuable index. On p. 34, for 290 read 190 ; on p. 72, for Lucerna read Lucena ; on p. 118, for *chackmah* read *chochmah*. One misses the name of Eliezer, the son of Hyrcanus, in Chapter i., and a single page appears an inadequate space for an appreciation of Baruch Spinoza, who, besides being the true and only begetter of modern criticism, is much the greatest personality discussed in the book. In the bibliographies which are appended to the chapters, one

notes the omission of Edersheim's *History of the Jewish Nation*, and of Etheridge's works on the Targums and on Hebrew literature. There are also one or two slips in regard to style, such as "golden zenith" (p. 43), and "lapped to rest" (p. 104). Perhaps some of the estimates of favourite authors may appear to the ordinary English reader to be rather high-pitched, but that is an error on the right side, and panegyric is excusable in a book intended primarily for the young. The ordinary reader will find in this volume not merely an authoritative guide to the new Hebrew literature, but also a most interesting and delightful book. Any one who proposes to study a particular department of that literature would do well first to avail himself of the general view of the whole subject here afforded.

Glasgow.

T. H. WEIR.

A GRAMMAR OF NEW TESTAMENT GREEK,
by James Hope Moulton. Vol. I. Prolegomena. Second Edition, with Corrections and Additions. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906. 8s. nett.

IN less than eight months from the appearance of the first edition of this important work, a second edition has been called for. Nothing need be added to what was said about its merits in the May number of the *Review*, but a few words as to the differences between the two editions will not be out of place.

The change in the title of the book, in which the name of Winer-Moulton's Grammar no longer appears, is due to a suggestion of the publisher, who found that its mention caused misapprehension in some quarters. In reality this volume has no connexion with the older grammar, as the matter of it is almost entirely based on material which has only been accessible for a short time. The second volume, however, is likely to be in a real sense a revision of the earlier work.

The author's own further reading, as well as notes from reviewers and correspondents, have enabled him to improve the first edition. The index of Scripture quotations has

been carefully revised and enlarged. Various corrections have been introduced into the body of the work. But the most striking difference consists in seven and a half pages of "Additional Notes to the Second Edition." These contain many acute and valuable observations, which are in their turn duly indexed.

The chances are that in the near future a third edition will be required. It is to be hoped that in it the two sets of additional notes will be distributed throughout the book in the places to which they severally refer, and that the new indexes will be incorporated in the old. These changes would contribute considerably to the convenience of readers.

ALEXANDER SOUTER.

Oxford.

AN ENQUIRY INTO THE EVIDENTIAL VALUE OF PROPHECY, being the Hulsean Prize Essay for 1904, by E. A. Edghill, M.A., sometime scholar of King's College, Cambridge; University Bell Scholar, and Crosse Scholar; with Preface by the Rt. Rev. H. E. Ryle, D.D., Lord Bishop of Winchester. Crown 8vo. London: Macmillan & Co. Pp. xxxviii., 616. 6s.

THIS book has both the strength and the weaknesses which we associate with a prize essay. Its learning is solid and exact, though somewhat narrow. There is no evidence, for example, of any acquaintance with German critical or exegetical work on the New Testament. The relevant articles in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary* are mentioned and used; but there is no reference to the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, which surely represents a point of view which the writer on prophecy and its fulfilment must take into account. What may be called the average of opinion, critical and theological, in our day, is set forth competently rather than brilliantly—with a leaning always to the more conservative side. The well-known authorities are used just as we expect them to be. As the Bishop of Winchester says in his Preface, the author, "seems to possess a scholarly knowledge both of the Hebrew text and of the Versions. In the discussion of the interpretation of many important passages, he makes

use of the best critical scholarship of the day, and at the same time is quite capable of taking an independent line." We feel that here we have a good sensible book, and yet such a book as fifty others might have written as well.

The subject set seems to have been "the value of prophecy as an 'evidence of the truth and excellence of the Christian religion.'"

The main portion of Mr Edghill's work (pp. 45-398) shows how in the history of prophecy certain great dominating conceptions arose and were developed: The Kingdom and the King, pp. 45-252; The Covenant and the Prophet, pp. 253-321; The Church and the Priest, pp. 322-58; The Messiah, pp. 359-98.

This arrangement of the material the author claims as "original" in the very modest and limited sense he assigns the term. Such an "anatomic" method of writing the history of ideas is rather discredited in our day; and Mr Edghill's divisions are somewhat artificial, being transferred from Christian Dogmatics, rather than arising organically out of the religious teaching of the Old Testament Prophets. But the method is admirably suited for his purpose; and the execution is thorough, careful, and judicious. A section on the "Limitations of Prophetic Doctrine" shows, often in a very illuminating manner, how the ideals of the prophets were partly conditioned by the circumstances of their own age, while yet in thought they transcended these circumstances, and have a message for all time. But would not a sounder psychology of religion—a clearer understanding of the way in which the Divine Spirit speaks in and by the human spirit, as a matter not of theological dogma but of actual experience—have delivered Mr Edghill both from the crude dualism which can speak of distinguishing between what the Spirit signified by the words, and what meaning the human author intended to convey (p. 33), and from the perplexity caused him by such circumstances as Hosea's condemnation of the revolt of Jehu, approved and sanctioned by his predecessors (p. 62)? Is not a similar want of clearness shown (p. 7) in adopting the contention of Ewald that Israel *chose* "perfect religion" as the "one special aim to

which everything else was subordinated, and to whose attainment it devoted the whole youthful energy of its intellectual efforts with the most courageous pertinacity?" Is it not far truer and at the same time of far greater apologetic significance, to say that Israel *was chosen*? "Perfect religion" emerged out of her labour and travail, rather than constituted the task to the achievement of which she set herself. She "builded better than she knew." This last is of course a small point in itself. I have directed attention to it at such a length because it seems to me an indication of the primary weakness of Mr Edghill's work, a certain lack of clearness and precision, as if he had not quite mastered his own thought. He argues, justly and forcibly, that fulfilment is of the spirit and not of the letter. But he is not thorough-going or consistent in the application of his own principles. Nor does he seem to have quite clearly discriminated between prophecy as evidence of the truth of Christianity, and the religion of Israel as the historical groundwork on which the Christian fabric was reared. Surely, for example, on his principles both the birth at Bethlehem and the "beginning from Jerusalem" (Luke xxiv. 47), should be of the accidentals and not the essentials of the fulfilment. He tells us (p. 12) that "the question of the fulfilment of prophecy has not received nearly the attention that it deserves. . . . The whole question yet awaits thorough examination in the light of recent criticism." This is certainly quite true. But it has received more attention than he seems to be aware of. He makes no reference, even in a footnote, to the work, not written in the light of recent criticism certainly, yet likest his own in scope and general standpoint, but far stronger, both theologically and philosophically—the great work of a great theologian, wherein was first set forth the view of prophecy and its fulfilment, "which perhaps should be recognised by both speculative philosophy and believing theology as their legitimate child"—Hofmann's *Weissagung und Erfüllung*.

The portion of Mr Edghill's work which seems to me both most satisfactory and of greatest apologetic value is that in

which he argues, and as I think proves, that our Lord's fulfilment of prophecy was ideal, and not literal, like His fulfilment of the Law, and was so understood by Himself, though his interpretation of particular passages is often far-fetched and improbable. Is "the wisdom of God" (Luke xi. 49 ff.) a periphrasis for the Old Testament Revelation? Is it not more probable, in view of the critical difficulties connected with this passage and its synoptic parallel (Matt. xxiii. 35), that it is the name of an otherwise unknown apocryphal writing quoted parenthetically by the Evangelist, or some very early editor? Again, it is more than doubtful if the Evangelists (apart from Matthew) were as free of the apologetic motive as Mr Edghill assumes. It seems to me also indisputable that the New Testament writers as a whole, like the early Christians generally, notably the Apologists, contended for and believed in a much more literal and circumstantial fulfilment of prophecy than Mr Edghill admits or modern exegesis sanctions; and more than doubtful whether the evangelic tradition took shape uninfluenced by current Messianic expectations or interpretations of prophecy, due partly to the crystallisation of poetry into dogma.

But this is a large question, and even if we take into account all these circumstances, Old Testament prophecy has still an "evidential value" at least equal to that for which Mr Edghill contends, though not precisely on his lines.

JOHN DICKIE,

Tarland.

THE APOCALYPSE OF ST JOHN. *The Greek Text, with Introduction, Notes, and Indices, by Henry Barclay Swete, D.D. London: Macmillan & Co., 1906. Pp. ccxvi., 335. Price, 15s.*

THIS important and comprehensive edition of the Apocalypse is easily ahead of any English edition; the more one works with it, the more one realises gratefully the industry and scholarship which make its material equipment a boon

to all workers on the same subject. The text, it need scarcely be said, is looked after thoroughly.¹ Dr Swete's name is a guarantee for that. Admirable indices are provided, and the lengthy introduction touches on all the topics relevant to a study of this obscure and fascinating writing, except perhaps the special *roles* of the prophet and the martyr. Whether the edition will be definitive is another question. It is more than doubtful if the author has approached the book with a sufficient spirit of detachment; the notes furnish repeated traces of a tendency to harmonise unduly, not only different sections of the Apocalypse with one another, but the whole book with the rest of the New Testament and with orthodox doctrine, the result being that several of the sharp edges and characteristic angles are flattened away into a somewhat dull and even conventional type of religious thought.

The reasons for this are various. Primarily, Dr Swete does not seem to distinguish always between the immediate aim of such a scripture and what may be got by moderns out of its language. He has specially in view the "wants of the English clergy, who, scholars at heart by early education or by the instincts of a great tradition, are too often precluded from reaping the fruits of research through inability to procure or want of leisure to read a multitude of books" (p. viii.). This is a laudable object. But the historical sense of a New Testament writing is, after all, the basis of all genuine homiletic; whereas Dr Swete, following patristic authorities, who have less to offer here than elsewhere in the New Testament, too often turns a kind and blind eye to the revolutionary and Jewish traits of the book, and is content to draw pious unhistorical morals by aid of symbolism. Symbolism is a tired horse, before the author dismounts on p. 310. It is ridden hard, and ridden over country where the going is heavy. Thus, whatever the infernal beasts of chap. ix. are or were meant to be, it is surely beside the point to interpret them as "the

¹ There is no mention, however, of the attractive conjecture, ἀγέλας (Spitta, de Faye) for ἀγγελῶν in ix. 15; the case for the transference of xviii. 14 to a place after xviii. 23 is ignored; and the origin of the curious reading in xxii. 17 is left unexplained.

memories of the past brought home at times of Divine visitation ; they hurt by recalling forgotten sins"! The allusion in xiv. 4 is to ascetic celibacy, not to chastity. And the reference in xix. 21 has nothing in the wide world to do with "restorative operations" of divine punishment, as if the seer, in this dreadful passage, meant "the slaying of the *ἐχθρα* *εἰς* *ἑαυτόν*, of the self which resists Christ" (p. 255)!

Such aberrations of the spiritualising method are evidently due, in part, to a lack of thoroughness in admitting the background of eschatological and mythological beliefs which recent researches have uncovered behind the Apocalypse. Dr Swete often cites instances of these, but he does not appear to assign them their due weight and organic place in the formation of the writer's ideas. They are appended generally as illustrations or ornaments. Nor is their full scope realised. The striking parallels from Egyptian and Zoroastrian sources, as well as from astro-theology, are almost entirely ignored.

Even more unfortunate, in this connection, is the author's uncompromising repudiation of all theories which challenge the unity of the book. "That the author of the Apocalypse made free use of any materials to which he had access and which were available for his purpose, is highly probable. But did he transfer large masses of earlier Apocalyptic writing to his own work, in such a manner as to make his book a compilation or to detract from its unity?" Now, with all respect to the writer, it must be said that such a statement is not a fair presentment of the case. Had Dr Swete examined sympathetically many of the coherent, sane hypotheses put forward by scholars like J. Weiss, Weizsäcker, de Faye, and Professor Porter, he would have seen that the admission of sources need not conflict with a proper estimate of the unity of the book. Furthermore, his own notes leave no room for even the use of earlier materials which theoretically he admits, and although he refers to his commentary for proof that the ordinary instances given of different strata are untenable, the alternative exegesis offered us is by no means of such a cogent nature as to carry much conviction. The inconsistencies are removed, and the re-

petitions explained; but only by the sacrifice, often, of historic reality and logical sequence.

For example, he holds that the two visions of vii. 1-8 and 9-17, describe the same body of saints, whereas the writer explicitly differentiates the two, the one being numbered, the other innumerable; the one being preserved from evil, the other passing through martyrdom; the one—in its original sense, at anyrate—referring to Jewish saints, the other to believers from all nations. Similarly, and more crucially, the refusal to admit any use of sources inevitably obscures the meaning of chaps. x.-xii. in the scheme of the Apocalypse. Here the sense becomes positively unintelligible unless one is prepared to admit that the author has employed materials drawn from Jewish tradition in one of its syncretistic phases. Dr Swete lays great stress upon the cleavage between xi. 19 and xii. 1, as if the former were the close of a section. But this is a modern and irrelevant division, which ignores the underlying motive of the writer at this particular stage of his prophecy. In chap. x. John explains characteristically that he is omitting a "Seven Thunders" source or tradition (which apparently might have been expected to follow the previous series), in order to depict at last the final crisis of the world. Dropping the figure of the Book of Doom, now supposed to be open (contrast v. 2 and x. 1), he makes a fresh start in chap. xi., with a wider outlook, a more historical atmosphere, and a less numerical arrangement of his oracles. In chap. xi. he deals with the preliminary phase of the end, viz., the fortunes of the Jews (as in vii. 1-8 in its primary sense at least), in fragments whose rough edges plainly show that he is not moving freely, but gaining his goal on stepping-stones which originally lay in other positions. Thus the two witnesses are by no means to be diluted into a symbolic representation of "the Church in her function of witness-bearing" (p. 132); they are the traditional precursors of Messiah, whose appearance, heralded by the restoration of the heavenly ark, now falls to be chronicled. Where is Jesus, men may ask, in all this agony of the end? Why is He absent? To these questions and problems of faith the writer replies, in his

customary proleptic manner, by painting the overthrow of paganism at the hands of the Lord and His Christ (xi. 15)—implying that the fierce efforts of Satan meanwhile are simply the desperate plunges of a foe who, already deposed *de jure* (xi. 15-18), is to be annihilated *de facto* ere long. The present trials are but a guerilla warfare of Satan. Consequently xi. 19, instead of being a *finale*, is an overture leading up to the two sagas of xii. and xiii. f., which array Jesus and Satan, with their respective hosts, on the last battle-field of history. The seer is now passing from hints to a clear description of the campaign, and the digression in xii. 1 f. is only apparent. The clue to the present crisis is the Messianic position of Christ: His divine authority safeguards Christians, and assures them of the ultimate issue; and, as this is a message of urgent moment (μείγα, xii. 1 = weighty and decisive), Satan is dramatically introduced as a baffled antagonist from the very first, foiled and doomed for all his malice. His days are numbered; and it is only a question of time ere his divine antagonist intervenes at the appointed hour to administer the *coup-de-grâce* to him and his Roman allies. A fair interpretation of the relevant Jewish traditions necessitates this view of the connexion between these oracles, and renders Dr Swete's grouping highly artificial. Owing to an imperfect grasp of such traditions, he misses here the technical apocalyptic sense, for example, of λαοί in xii. 17. And the ignoring of sources leads him, later on, to slur over the double representations of the judgment and the heavenly Jerusalem towards the close of the book. Exegesis on these lines may avoid the Scylla of extravagant source-criticism, but only to drift across into the Charybdis of unreality.

The harmonising tendency is again to the front in the discussion of the authorship in relation to the composition of the Fourth Gospel. Founding on the Muratorian Canon, Dr Swete conjectures that "the Fourth Gospel was not written by the hand of John, but dictated—a word which may be interpreted with some laxity; and it underwent much editorial revision (*recognoscentibus cunctis*). In these circumstances it is possible to conceive of the writer of the Apoca-

lypse being the author of the Gospel in the sense of having supplied the materials from which it was written" (p. clxxx.). But the differences between the religious conceptions of the two books seem too serious to admit of such a common parentage. Take, *e.g.*, the question of angels. The Fourth Gospel scrupulously avoids connecting them with Jesus. The only reference to them, during his life-time, is the popular mistake (xii. 29 f.) which misinterpreted God's voice to him as if it had been an angel's voice. Now, the Apocalypse not only swarms with angels of all sorts, but deliberately starts (i. 1) by postulating an angel, the *angelus interpretes* of apocalyptic theology, as the medium between Christ and the seer! Dr Swete does not meet this difficulty. When we turn to his comment on the verse, we are fobbed off with a patristic quotation. But the matter is too vital to be ignored, for, while this angel is no doubt a mere conventional category of apocalyptic thought, it is extremely difficult to see how a writer who regarded the relations of God and Christ and man from the standpoint of the Fourth Gospel could have adopted this cumbrous and indirect idea of revelation through an angel—a difficulty which is heightened tenfold when he is identified with an original disciple of Jesus. The very use of the *logos* in both writings also proves their different outlook. The differences between the conception of the *logos* in the Fourth Gospel and the first epistle of John are much less striking than those between the prologue of the former book and the militant idea, borrowed from the Wisdom of Solomon, which emerges in Rev. xix. 13. Even the use of the famous quotation from Zechariah, which is quoted in almost identical language, has an entirely different point in the Gospel (xix. 37), where the "looking," as Dr Abbott points out (*Johannine Grammar*, p. 245), is of "a reverential kind," from the universal terror-stricken picture of Rev. i. 7. The one is connected with the crucifixion, the other with the future coming to judgment. Furthermore, if the author of the Apocalypse supplied the materials for the Gospel, then they must have been worked over so thoroughly that the original ideas have almost disappeared under later views; for the Gospel revolves

round the love and the fatherhood of God towards men, and these conceptions are entirely wanting in the Apocalypse. A similar divergence emerges, as Dr Swete himself admits, on the question of the final judgment in relation to God or Christ. These are merely a few specimens of the discrepancies between the two books. In short, the evidence of thought and feeling cannot be interpreted fairly except in the direction of the conclusion, which is surely axiomatic in the present state of criticism, that the writer belonged to the circle or school in which the Fourth Gospel was written. To identify the two writers is to blur the characteristic notes of both. From the standpoint of literary style and religious thought, it is so improbable as almost to be impossible; from the standpoint of language, it is unnecessary. Despite Dr Swete's arguments for the affinity of the two writings, the disjunctive canon of Dionysius has not yet been disproved. One need point only to the occurrence in the Apocalypse of the multiplied genitive (xiv. 8, 10; xvi. 19, etc.), of phrases like *ἐνώπιον* (= *לפני*) and *the temple of the tent of testimony* (cp. Exod. xl. 34, etc.), the repetition of prepositions (vii. 1, 9; xvi. 13, etc.; cp. Zech. vi. 10) and of special words (*σάββας*, e.g., in xix. 18, cp. xvi. 13, and Zech. viii. 12), the use of *μάργς* (avoided by the Gospel), and the employment of a number of expressions minor yet significant (e.g., *πολλοὶ τῶν*, *ἄξιος* with infin. for *ἄξιος ἵνα*, *ἐν* = with, *ἔρχου* for *ἔλθέ*, etc.), which the Gospel eschews, together with the omission of others (e.g., *οὗν* in narrative,¹ etc.) which are characteristic of that writing. But indeed it is needless to labour the point further.

On some other critical points the edition is much more satisfactory. Dr Swete adheres to the Domitianic date; he is sound on the imperial cultus; he admits that John the Presbyter may perhaps have been the author, though he hardly does justice to the case for the pseudonymous theory; and his sobriety of judgment in the prophetic interpretation of the book is all to the good, after what English students

¹ This, as Dr Abbott observes (*Johannine Grammar*, p. 479), "is important, because, like the Acts, it [*i.e.* Rev.] is largely made up of narrative, so that we might have expected narrative *οὗν* in abundance if it had been written by the hand that wrote the Fourth Gospel."

have suffered from previous editors in this country. Students will require to supplement this volume with foreign editions, and to correct it from Professor Porter's article in *Hastings' Dictionary*; but they cannot afford to neglect so conscientious and valuable a collection of critical material.

Dundonald.

JAMES MOFFATT.

SAINT PAUL'S EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

The Greek Text, with Notes and Addenda, by the late Brooke Foss Westcott. London: Macmillan & Co. Pp. lxviii., 212. 10s. 6d.

WHEN Bishop Westcott died, it was known that he had left a commentary upon Ephesians. This has now been edited by Rev. J. M. Schulhoff, one of his pupils, who has prepared the scanty materials for the press. Unfortunately, only the commentary proper represents the bishop's own work. His notes for the introduction and appendix were found to be so fragmentary that the editor was obliged to fill them out with extracts from Westcott's other books, as well as from the relevant works of Hort, Davies, and Dale. In addition to this, he has printed the Vulgate text and two Early English versions. The result is rather a patchwork. It would surely have been more satisfactory to treat Dr Westcott's posthumous notes on Ephesians as Dr Lightfoot's similar notes on various Pauline epistles were treated, *i.e.* to print them exactly as they were left by the writer. Certainly, after a perusal of this volume, it is extremely difficult to justify the wisdom of the editor in compiling the introduction and supplementary material.

After all, however, as he himself admits, "it is the commentary which matters." We can understand the pious desire to have anything from Dr Westcott's pen preserved, especially in the field of New Testament exegesis. Those who like his other commentaries will find these notes on Ephesians characterised by the same careful analysis and minute attention to verbal *nuances*. They give little or no help, of course, to a student who has to face the inner problems of Pauline thought, and even their disregard of

recent work in the study of Hellenistic Greek renders them inferior, as a linguistic contribution, to Dr Armitage Robinson's first-rate edition of the Epistle. But, for the writer's sake, if not for their own, they will probably be welcomed as "the unalloyed expression of the author's mind and heart." They represent a type of commentary which is rapidly becoming extinct. The needs of the critic and of the theologian alike have been shifted and widened and deepened during the last fifty years. It is unlikely that notes, written upon even so conscientious a plane of excellence as these, will continue to hold their own in our more exigent age, which desiderates, in the treatment of an inspiring classic like Ephesians, some honey of poetic feeling and penetration.

JAMES MOFFATT.

Dundonald.

JESUS UND PAULUS. Eine freundschaftliche Streitschrift gegen die Religionsgeschichtlichen Volksbücher von D. Bousset und D. Wrede, von D. Julius Kaftan. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1906. Pp. 77. Pf. 80.

IN this brief pamphlet, which is a model of courteous, firm, and educative polemic, Kaftan examines the methods and results of Bousset and Wrede in their popular pamphlets on Jesus and Paul. He is, of course, in essential sympathy with their aim, viz., to show that historical criticism is an aid to real faith. But he finds himself in disagreement with some of their principles, and these pages, whose number is no clue to their significance, are written for the purpose of stating his reasons, in the interests alike of faith and criticism.

His opening general objection (pp. 1-10) is that both writers succeed in reaching, not an objective historical estimate, but a subjective appreciation, coloured and twisted by the modern conception of the universe. By assuming the latter to be fundamental, they make their writings waver between the historical aim of representing what really occurred and the pseudo-historical aim of showing how a

modern Christian must regard the contents of the New Testament. Passing on to work out this criticism in detail, Kaftan begins by sharply challenging (pp. 10 f.) Bousset's assertion that, while Jesus accepted the rôle of Messiah, He regarded it merely as an inadequate form for the expression of His deep religious consciousness. For this piece of modernity in criticism there is not the shadow of proof. The Messianic consciousness of Jesus was higher, no doubt, than the popular ideas; but, instead of being a burden to His soul, the Messianic vocation was the determining fact of His whole career, and any account of Him is inadequate which fails to correlate this organically with His prophetic activity. The hearty adhesion of Jesus to the apocalyptic type of Messianism is indubitably historical. This involves, among other things, as the Temptation and the Agony prove, His consciousness of Sonship towards God (pp. 20 f.) The future kingdom is in a sense already realised and present in His divine mission and His relation of Sonship to God. Both of these elements must have justice done to them in a historical account of Jesus, both the apocalyptic or eschatological and the immanent, and to treat the one as no more than an accidental form of the other is to write a history which has as little claim to that honourable title "as the biblical arguments of orthodox theologians for the doctrine of the *communicatio idiomatum*" (p. 26).

Furthermore, the "Jesus-religion" of modern criticism has no foothold in history. It may be constructed skilfully out of selected passages of the New Testament, but it never existed in primitive Christianity (p. 27). It is a cut flower. Consequently Wrede misreads Paul in judging him by such an erroneous standard, as if the Pauline theology were a deplorable aberration from the pure, original teaching of Jesus. For Wrede, while refusing to regard Paul as a dogmatist, really views him, as Kaftan neatly urges (p. 38), in the light of the old dogmatic theory, by interpreting faith, in Paulinism, as the obedient acceptance of the doctrine of an objective redemption, whereas the preaching of Paul rested not on some imported or inherited Christology transferred to Jesus, but on his living experience of Jesus Christ.

"For my part," says Kaftan (p. 50), "I belong to the company of those who see in Paul *the* apostle of Jesus Christ. He is that in a sense which cannot be predicated of any one else. And he is Christ's apostle on account of his personality, or personal Christianity, as revealed by his letters." Instead of deflecting or corrupting the spiritual religion of Jesus, Paul has secured it by his doctrine of faith in Christ, and—despite Wrede's attack—by his unique ethical teaching. The parable of the Prodigal Son and the Pauline preaching of righteousness by faith are harmonious, and this statement will seem paradoxical only to those who refuse to regard Jesus as the Messiah and Paul as anything but a dogmatist who is interested in a gnosis of his own and not in the fact of the sinner finding peace with God (p. 54). By this preaching Paul really saved primitive Christianity from falling into apocalyptic fantasies, and from the legalism of the Pharisees. He thus carried on the essential lines of Christ's own teaching.

In a closing section (pp. 59 f.), Kaftan shows how the Fourth Gospel, by presenting the ideas of the Pauline preaching in the form of the Synoptic narratives, completes the religious evolution of the New Testament; and with the New Testament as a whole—not with any isolated or eclectic section of it—are wrapped up the fortunes of Christianity in the world's history (p. 72). The *πρωτον ψευδος* of modern theology, he contends, is its separation between Paul and Jesus, an unhistorical judgment, which is the result of an undue submission to the modern conception of the universe, as if that constituted the final standard for estimating the religion of the New Testament.

Such is in outline the argument of Kaftan's remarkable pamphlet. It is not exhaustive. Thus Wrede's account of the genesis of Paul's Christology is obviously assailable from other sides, and there are other points, as, *e.g.*, the relation between Paulinism and the Synoptic Gospels, at which a completer statement would have been possible. Nor does Kaftan give any reasoned explanation of the exact relation, on his theory, between the rabbinical elements in Paul and his Christian kernel. His antipathy to Hel-

lenism as a factor in primitive Christianity is intelligible, but it is overdone. Details apart, however, the pamphlet forms a most salutary and suggestive contribution to the understanding of the primitive faith, all the more so that it is positive and constructive. It is a keen plea for justice to Paul, which means that critics like Wrede must have some mercy on him.

JAMES MOFFATT.

Dundonald.

JOHN CALVIN: The Organiser of Reformed Protestantism, 1509-1564, by Williston Walker, Titus Street Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale University. With eighteen illustrations and two facsimile letters. Crown octavo. New York and London: G. Putnam's Sons, 1906. Pp. xviii., 456. 6s.

PROFESSOR JACKSON, of New York University, the editor of *Heroes of the Reformation*, has succeeded in gathering round him a staff of able and competent collaborateurs. The biographies that have appeared are not all of equal value, any more than the subjects of them are of equal importance; but each biographer has made a painstaking study of his hero, and has presented the result in true relations to the times and the situations in which the life moved and the life work was done. The setting of biography in a framework of history is a distinctive feature of the series. We had occasion to remark upon it when giving an appreciation of Professor Cowan's *John Knox, the Hero of the Scottish Reformation*, and it is a conspicuous excellency in Professor Baird's *Theodore Beza, the Counsellor of the French Reformation*.

The task of making a twentieth-century presentation of *John Calvin, the Organiser of Reformed Protestantism*—surely the most formidable of all the tasks portioned out by the editor—has been committed to Williston Walker, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale University. This is not Professor Walker's first appearance as an author—he has written a volume on *The Reformation*—but it is the first work from his pen that has come under our notice. The

biography is in the highest degree creditable to the writer's capacity for mastering details, to his skill in clothing these details with an interest personal to the subject of the biography, and to the candour and impartiality with which he evolves the character and conduct of this leader of the Reformation.

In the matter of size Professor Walker's book occupies a middle position. It is longer than the first life of Calvin, that of Beza, which appeared in 1564, the year of the Reformer's death, and which in a Berlin edition of 1841 is contained in some forty-three pages of double columns. But, happily for critics, it is considerably shorter than the latest biographical undertaking, that of Professor Emile Doumergue, which, when completed, is to consist of five volumes. Of these, three have been published. The first contains 648 quarto pages, the second 829, and the third 734. (See this Review, vol. ii. p. 168.) If the remaining two volumes extend to anything like these dimensions, there is reason to fear the Genevan Reformer will be buried afresh under a biographical structure which has been truly styled "monumental." In sixteen compactly written chapters, extending over 444 pages, Professor Walker gives all that was salient in the fifty-five years which constituted the lifetime of his hero, all that the average twentieth-century reader needs to be informed of concerning the Genevan organiser. As regards the light in which Calvin's share in the transactions of history is regarded, and the estimate formed of his services to religion and morals, the American biographer steers his way skilfully between two extremes. His *Calvin* has in it nothing of the partisan spirit and the unscrupulous treatment of fact which disfigure the *Histoire de la vie, des ouvrages et des doctrines de Calvin* of Vincent Audin. On the other hand, it is far removed from the uncritical, melodramatic writing of such a popular historian as Merle d'Aubigné, and also from that of the hero-worshipper, Professor Doumergue, whom Professor Walker happily characterises as "a very painstaking worshipper, who is undoubtedly led into occasional exaggeration by his enthusiasm."

One pleasing feature of this latest life of Calvin is the

amount of information which the writer contrives to convey in an incidental way. For example, writing about the University of Paris in the sixteenth century, he has occasion to mention its theological faculty, whereupon he immediately adds, "known popularly as the Sorbonne, from the large concentration of its instructors in the college founded in 1253 by Robert de Sorbon." Again, when tracing the Reformer's steps in student days from one Parisian college to another, he supplies descriptive touches which vivify for us these old seats of learning. Thus, the Collège de la Marche, though "comparatively inconspicuous," is, we are told, that in which Mathurin Cordier served as regent in grammar; and the Collège de Montaigu, it is explained, "bore the name of Pierre de Montaigu, Bishop of Laon, by whom it had been reconstituted in 1388, seventy-four years after its foundation by Gilles Aiscelin, Archbishop of Rouen." By the way, Professor Walker credits the latter of these two colleges with having Ignatius Loyola for one of its alumni. It may be so, but we always understood that the college Loyola entered on reaching Paris was that of St Barbara, and that it was in the class-rooms of that seminary he met with and mastered Francis Xavier.

Where we think the American biographer is at his best is in those chapters of his book which treat of Calvin's early work at Geneva, his work after his return from banishment, and the crowning of his work in 1559. These successive stages of the organiser's career are admirably given in their appropriate setting of historical narrative, from which there stands forth the grand figure of Geneva's churchman and statesman in all the greatness of what he designed and what he accomplished. What the Frenchman designed was to make Geneva a city answering to Augustine's vision, *De Civitate Dei*. The glamour of the City of God was ever with John Calvin, and, although he failed to accomplish all that he designed, the vision never left him, but stimulated and sustained him in his efforts to transform his beloved Geneva from a *Civitas Terrena* into a true Christian commonwealth.

The part of his undertaking in which Professor Walker

is, in our judgment, least successful, is in his estimate of Calvin as a theologian and his appreciation of Calvinistic theology. The author has made a conscientious study of the *Institutes*, and his summary of the contents of that immortal work is painstaking and in the main accurate. And yet, somehow, we are not assured that he has done justice to Calvin the systematiser, or that he is himself more than a semi-Calvinist. We must content ourselves with making three quotations in justification of our position: (1) Calvin's doctrines of "election and reprobation," writes the Professor, "even where the explanations of God's way with men are nominally maintained, are held in reality with far less than his rigour and with little of his sense of satisfaction." It would, we take it, be more correct to say that the doctrine in question is actually maintained in America and Great Britain with all Calvin's precision and with equal satisfaction. (2) "His [Calvin's] emphasis on the sovereignty of God has been increasingly displaced by a clearer conception of the divine Fatherhood." We demur to that statement. As a matter of fact, no other writer of the Reformation makes such use of the Fatherhood of God as Calvin does. Throughout the *Institutes* the relation of God to believers and their relation to Him are set forth constantly in terms of Fatherhood and sonship. Then, as a matter of doctrine, Sovereignty and Fatherhood are not exclusive but inclusive of each other. "The Fatherhood of God," writes Dr Scott Lidgett, whose fine treatise on the subject we respectfully commend to the notice of our author, "conveys the truth that love *reigns*; that the Father, because He is the source and end of the life He constitutes, is Sovereign. . . . The only perfect Fatherhood is kingly, the only perfect kingship is fatherly." (3) "Much modern thinking, in Churches which still regard Calvin as their spiritual ancestor, denies that men are, even in their worst state, other than wandering children of God, needing to be made conscious of their sonship, but in no sense useful in their destruction only." After repeated readings we fail to grasp the meaning of the last clause in this sentence, but having regard to the general drift of the statement, we

emphatically deny that there is anything in Calvin's doctrine of the depravity of fallen human nature, when rightly rendered, which modern thought has disproved or abandoned.

Professor Walker's style as a writer of Anglo-Saxon is, on the whole, good, but not so good as to be incapable of improvement. Such elliptical expressions as "ordered burned," "ordered banished," "ordered imprisoned," may be current on the other side of the Atlantic; it cannot be said of them that they are drawn from the well of English undefiled. Men led "to go back of" scholastic writings, "Calvin must have had rise before his imagination," "a slap at his former teacher"—these, if not positively inaccurate, are certainly not classic expressions.

As in the case of all the other biographies of the series, this one is embellished with a number of illustrations. Among these are four portraits, one of Farel, one of Bucer, and two of Calvin. Of these, the least satisfactory is that of Calvin, which forms the frontispiece. It is taken from an engraving by Renè Boyvin, now in the *Collection Gosse* in Geneva, and reproduced in Borgeaud's *Histoire de l'université de Genève*, and it purports to represent the Reformer *anno ætatis* 53. We question if at any period of his life Calvin possessed such fulness and roundness of feature, such a portly figure as he is here credited with. We are quite certain he did not do so when within two years of his death. A far better likeness for frontispiece would have been found in that portrait gallery from which the icon of William Farel is taken—Beza's *Icones*. Professor Walker seems to be satisfied, in the dictum of the Rev. H. Denkinger-Rod—the authority is new to us—"that there is no painting or engraving regarding which one can affirm that it was taken from life." No man was more closely associated with Calvin in the later years of his life than Beza, and the *Icones* appeared only sixteen years after the death of the former. What is there to hinder us regarding the Calvin of Beza's collection as taken from life? Let any one read the description of the personal appearance of Calvin by such a contemporary as Calladen, in which mention is made of a slight figure, a pale and dark complexion, emaciated features,

and eyes clear even to death, and then let such a one compare the Calvin of Beza with that of Boyvin, and we have no misgiving as to the conclusion at which he will arrive.

Ayr.

C. G. M'CRIE.

DIE LEHRE DES FIDES IMPLICITA UND DIE REFORMATOREN, von D. Georg Hoffmann, Privatdozent der Theologie an der Universität, Pastor an St Bernhardin in Breslau. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1906. Pp. viii., 231. M. 5.50.

THIS is a careful historical study of the doctrine of *fides implicita* as held by the leaders of the Reformation era—Luther, Melancthon, Zwingli, Calvin. In a previous volume the author investigated with painstaking diligence and some insight the history of the doctrine in the early and mediæval Church. A third volume is promised, dealing with the question in later Protestantism. When completed the whole will form a full catena of passages relating to this subject and serve as a useful work of reference.

The book is of interest to two classes, to those who have at heart the controversy with Rome, and to those who, with a larger horizon, may discern the intrinsic importance of the doctrine itself. Ritschl, who represents a distinct advance of the evangelical consciousness beyond its traditionally intellectualist interpretation, directed in his last years his attention to the *fides implicita*, but with a strong bias against it in the interests of his own ethical definition of faith. He was unable to deny the persistence of the doctrine in Reformation thought, but sought to prove that it was a survival from Catholic tradition and alien to the real nature of faith as understood in Protestantism, and that therefore it is to be eliminated. Hoffmann may be classed in the school of Ritschl. From Ritschl he takes his tone, although he is too conscientious not to discriminate and to indicate many details where Ritschl's special aim led him astray. The polemical note in both unfortunately obscures the wider import of the problem.

Obviously there are two relations in which the *fides*

implicita may be studied : its relation to the authority of the Church, and its relation to the essential character and grounds of faith. And it is certain that what the *fides implicita* is, as well as the reasons for its early appearance in the evolution of doctrine and the secure hold it took, cannot be satisfactorily explained or exhibited by confining the discussion to the first relation alone.

As commonly understood, belief is explicit when it is assent to a truth which is formally known in itself, as, *e.g.*, when knowing the doctrine of the Holy Trinity we give our assent to it ; and belief is implicit when we assent to an article of faith contained in another article which latter is explicitly believed, as, *e.g.*, when one who explicitly believes in the authority and infallibility of the Church believes in all the truths which are taught by the Church. The distinction emerged very early in the growth of Christian institutions. Face to face with the fact of "developments," and in process of time highly elaborate developments, often far removed from common or current understanding, the Church had to make clear the ground of faith in such departures from the original deposit or such unfoldings of its meaning. The necessity was specially urgent in the case of the uncultivated masses which came under the tutelage of the Church. As Christian truth became a system of doctrine and Christian life a discipline, the Church came to stand out as an educational institute. Faith was defined accordingly. It connoted submission to the dogmas of the Church, and was conceived as an activity of the same rational self which expresses itself also in the most elementary act of duty. The doctrine provided for the infant and the immature in experience being included within the pale of the Church, all such as had no personal faith in Christ and knew little of conscious effort to follow Christ, but who were ready to submit reverently to the precepts of Christian morality and the ordinances of the Christian society. This submission was meant, of course, as a means to an end, to assist, *viz.*, towards personal faith and to bring men ever more and more completely and effectually and directly within the circle of Christ's influence. "Oh, man!" exclaims

Bossuet, "accept the remedy as it is presented to you ; believe while you await the act of vision. To believe constitutes your merit, to see is your reward." Catholic theology in her most representative teachers—Tertullian, Augustine, Aquinas—cherished the doctrine.

Two dangers beset it. The means might be made the end and the formal *fides implicita* be taken as a substitute for the moral effort it was designed to assist. Again, trust in the Church's guidance might tend to displace belief in the Spirit's leading and God's willingness to instruct the individual believer. In both cases faith is degraded from being the active faculty of discerning truth into the passive acceptance of truth on the testimony of others ; and is construed as a purely external and mental act. The Reformers were keenly alive to those dangers, Melancthon and Calvin as keenly as Luther ; but the attempt to oust the *fides implicita* from their circle of ideas must prove abortive. There is indeed much quotable material in the writings of the period, in particular in Luther's, to favour the thesis that "*fides*" is identified by them with *fiducia* rather than *assensus*, and that wherever it is found in the latter sense we have the scholastic, not the reformer, speaking. The hypothesis is none the less unwarranted. Luther cannot be adequately interpreted as a stammering Ritschl. His genius could embrace both the old and the new, the scholastic and reformed, and feel no incongruity between them. The excerpts in this book abundantly show that in a modified form the *fides implicita* is native to Luther's religious thought as to that of the other Reformers. The reason why it should have been otherwise is not self-evident. Ritschl's insistence on the moral and personal quality of faith is wholly praiseworthy and a needful protest. His attributing its discovery to Luther is simple justice. It may be granted, too, that nothing but good service will accrue to the Church in the immediate future by renewing Christian doctrine on Ritschlian lines. The appeal to what is specific in Christian experience, as compared with speculative reasonings upon it, must be fruitful. The power with which the Reformers made the appeal is to be acknowledged. Their

endeavours must, however, be set in their true light. It is not to be forgotten that they shared the orthodox inheritance in all fundamentals, including the nature and grounds of Christian belief. Belief came to them as to previous ages on authority—in their case the authority of the Holy Scriptures, and possessed the same three notes of *notitia*, *assensus*, and *fiducia*. Faith thus involved a mental assent, in the Reformed conception, in Melanchthon, Zwingli, and Calvin perhaps more distinctly than in Luther, but in Luther none the less truly. Not here do they part from the older paths; nor in this, that faith is a social virtue. The facts and doctrines of the Gospel were not demonstrable truths, not transferable by means of commonly accepted formulas from one mind to another. Not being wholly based on evidence supplied by sense and by primary intuitions of the consciousness, they were incapable of objective proof. Assent could be yielded to them or withheld from them. Under the same apparent conditions of hearing and seeing, some were convinced by what they heard and saw, and others remained quite unconvinced. How was this? What engendered personal assent? Personal assent was wrought by the recognition of the intrinsic truthfulness of the doctrines, brought home to the conscience by the Holy Spirit, a result secured ordinarily by membership in the Body of Christ, the Church. Belief thus does not arise in solitary isolation, but is nurtured in and supported by the fellowship of faith. The parting of the ways is observable in two points: the limitation of the Church's guidance to its properly educative function and the assertion of the capacity of every believer to receive instruction from God. Infant members of the visible Church (all the Reformation chiefs retain infant baptism); young Christians deficient in knowledge and morals; brethren "weak in the faith"; souls in doubt when outgrowing simple reliance on their parents' teaching which befitted their infancy, but not yet having acquired the spiritual faculty of seeing for themselves; faithful spirits tried at times with darkness through temptation, or difficulty, or desertion of God, are the classes recognised as being as yet incapable of clear spiritual sight,

which cannot be developed until the inner senses have been exercised, and needing guidance until in due time they "come to see for themselves, and their eyes shall behold and not another." They are regarded as in the Church, the means of grace being "appointed for the relief even of weak and doubting Christians" (cf. *Larger Catechism*, Q. 172), who will do well to look to them rather than to their own conscience, to see what their faith is. All liable to lose their faith, if it be held simply as their own, will find help in the social faith of the Church. In such instances faith is not clear and personal; it is implicit. The Reformed spirit did not disparage the lower levels of believing experience. It finds place for faith that is true though unconscious. But unquestionably it is insisted that such faith is only good as far as it goes, that the lower levels are lower and should rise higher, and that the unconscious is not full faith, but must be perfected in the conscious acceptance of Christ.

A. S. MARTIN.

Scone.

DEVELOPMENT AND DIVINE PURPOSE, by
*Vernon F. Storr, M.A. Pp. xii., 287. London: Methuen
& Co. 5s. nett.*

THIS volume is the first product of the Stanton Lectureship in the Philosophy of Religion, recently established in the University of Cambridge. The author, who is a Fellow of University College, Oxford, recognises in his appointment to deliver the first course of lectures a graceful expression on the part of the Cambridge authorities of the feeling that all seekers after truth belong to one brotherhood. The scope of the volume may be indicated by a summary of the introductory chapter. Here it is explained that the Philosophy of Religion has for its central aim the answering of the question whether God is a Personal Being, and that it deals in the course of this inquiry with the subjects which lie on the borderland of science, philosophy, and theology. Among these subjects, the one which gives the book its title falls to be included, and it is regarded as worthy of special

discussion, both because of the hold which the idea of *development* (not only in biology, but in all departments of thought) has obtained on the present generation : and because of the importance of the conception of *purpose*, in view of the weight attached in the past to the theistic argument from design ; of the rise of the philosophic movement known as personal idealism, which sets out towards an interpretation of reality from the practical (and especially the volitional) activities of human nature ; and of the whole Christian conception of the world as the stage on which a great historic purpose is being slowly consummated. The problem to be considered is whether this Christian view of the world process is a true one, whether development is to be construed teleologically, whether the two ideas of purpose and evolution ultimately involve each other ; and it is raised in a special manner by the conflict between evolutionary science and teleology over the argument from design. The plan of the lectures covers three main aspects of the problem. The first and most interesting part of the book is an examination of the validity of the teleological argument in the light of the Darwinian theory ; the second deals with certain facts in the nature of organisms, and certain factors in the evolutionary process, which appear to tell against the claim of physical science to interpret everything in mechanical terms ; while the last goes beyond the narrower field of biology and deals with the ideas of development and purpose in their larger scope and their ultimate relationship.

The controversy over the design argument is popularly though inaccurately conceived as Paley *versus* Darwin, and accordingly in chapter ii. Mr Storr begins with Paley, whose form of the argument is admitted to be open to criticisms of various kinds. Paley's conception of contrivance is somewhat crude, and interprets the Divine activity too much in terms of a human workman designing a machine. He depends entirely upon special instances, for each of which the Darwinian may supply an alternative explanation. His postulate of the fixity of species and their special creation can no longer be maintained.

Chapter iii. is a luminous exposition and analysis of the Darwinian theory of Natural Selection, which appears to substitute for intelligent creative design a self-acting mechanical process, and to lead to the conclusion which Mr Storr sums up thus: "The forms that exist are merely the happy survivors of a host of other forms whose variations did not enable them to compete successfully in the struggle for existence. We who look on are the victims of a great illusion. Seeming order and plan are really the result of chance interactions through innumerable ages, of happy hits effected between the variations of organisms and the variations of environment."

Mr Storr, however, is satisfied that our teleological convictions are too deep-seated to be abandoned without further inquiry, and in the next two chapters, which form the weightiest portion of his book, he takes up the line of defence which is undoubtedly the most satisfactory, and maintains it with perfect fairness and with a keen insight into the real issues of the conflict. Chapter iv. deals with the Implications of the Conception of Progress. Progress is a fact, and it essentially involves the idea of an end or goal. Yet it is no part of the theory of natural selection that adaptations should be progressive, as they undoubtedly have been. There could be no progress if among the variations which occur some were not leading in that direction. What then is the explanation of the fact that variations in the direction of progress *have* occurred? Can we believe in a directed stream of variation, or must we hold that all variation is accidental and indefinite? The question is one which biology is as yet unable to answer satisfactorily, but the Darwinian theory, regarded as a complete explanation of the evolutionary process, rests upon at least three assumptions about the nature of variability, all of which are more or less open to question, while some are now denied by eminent biologists. These are (*a*) that variations are always slight; (*b*) that all those which have been preserved have been useful to their possessors in the struggle for existence; and (*c*) that acquired characteristics have been inherited. Mr Storr dismisses, on various grounds, the

view, in itself attractive to teleologists, that there is in the organism itself a special regulative power or principle, and leans rather to the idea of a correlation or pre-established harmony between organism and environment which can influence the former to vary in the direction of greater adaptation to its surroundings. In any case it is impossible to believe that the relation between the two is merely accidental. Progress involves the conception of an end. The development revealed by evolution lends itself even more impressively to a teleological view of the world than the static order of nature with which our fathers were familiar. The writings of Darwinians themselves are full of teleological language. The advent of man, crowning the process of evolution, seems to indicate that in him we have a true end, in the light of which all earlier and less perfect forms of life may be explained.

Chapter v. deals in an equally admirable manner with the Implications of the Conception of Order. The progress seen in the evolution of life is only part of a larger order of nature. Science assumes that the universe is an orderly system, and does not concern herself with the origin of the order, which is a problem for metaphysics, and very specially for the philosophy of religion. But the only possible explanation appears to be that the system of nature, with its quality of intelligibility, is itself the expression of an intelligence or mind. The human personalities, which are the highest product of nature, cannot reasonably be regarded as incidental results of the interaction of mechanical forces. And when we consider all the conditions demanded in the "First Cause" of the order of nature, we find that the only satisfactory expression for this cause is the word "Person."

Space does not admit of reference to the contents of the subsidiary chapters on Teleological Factors in Evolution, and Organism and Mechanism, or to the concluding section which deals with the Idea of Development, the Tests of Development, and the Conception of Purpose, in their application not only to biological evolution but to all the movements of human history and human thought. It is

sufficient to say that every one of these chapters is thoughtful, amply informed, and richly suggestive, and that the principles which guide the central discussion of the book are consistently and convincingly developed in this larger field.

A word must be said, however, about the two chapters which conclude the main argument. Chapter vii. is a Restatement of the Argument from Design, and is therefore necessarily deserving of particular attention. Mr Storrs maintains that the common consciousness still regards the total movement of nature as purposive. "Order and progress in their broader aspects are the marks in nature upon which the teleologist to-day places special emphasis. In addition, he gives great prominence to the thought of the end which the evolutionary process has reached. Man, as the crown of the world's development, engages his attention." In its religious bearing the process of evolution is an expression of the immanence of God, not in a spatial sense, but in the sense of a continuous causal activity. There are degrees of worth in the total scheme of existence, but when this is recognised it may be held that the perfection of the divine mind involves the pre-determination of every detail in the complex system of the universe, even to the shape of Darwin's nose, which that philosopher propounded as a crucial instance to Lyell and Asa Gray. Chapter ix. deals with some Difficulties and Objections in the way of applying the conception of design to God. To the criticism that the teleological argument gives us only an architect and not a creator of the world, it is replied that while the criticism is valid it raises a problem of quite a different order from that of the evidence of purpose. The apparent design is no less if we assume that matter existed eternally. A second objection, that the argument from design does not enable us to prove the existence of a God who is *perfectly* wise and good, but only of a God who is *very* wise and good, is met in the same way by pointing out that the problem of absolute perfection is a separate one, which the argument does not set out to establish. The lengthy process involved does not render the core of the argument

unsound, and we who live under the conditions of the time-process cannot represent the divine activity to ourselves in any other way, whatever the real unity of its purpose and execution may be. If it be said that it is derogatory to the self-sufficiency of God to think of Him as working towards ends outside of Himself, the criticism is equally applicable to any theory which attempts to deal with the relation of God to the universe.

The dominant thought of the whole volume is that the teleological idea, if not an ultimate category of thought, represents what must remain an ultimate attitude for the majority of men ; and Mr Storr's lectures go far to vindicate that attitude as reasonable and justifiable in the face of all the facts of which science has made us aware.

Burntisland.

JAMES PATRICK.

TRUTH AND FALSEHOOD IN RELIGION. *Six Lectures delivered at Cambridge to Undergraduates in the Lent Term, 1906. By William Ralph Inge, M.A., D.D. London: John Murray. Pp. 176. 3s. 6d.*

THIS book is composed of six lectures delivered to young men interested in current questions of religion. The lectures are written in a discursive style, which sometimes leaves on the reader a desire for greater precision and definiteness of statement on radical points. The general criterion assumed is the normal man who, though himself in the flux of evolution, yet preserves a certain consistent harmony with himself, whereby he guards himself against whatever threatens the balance of his nature. Thus, as applied to religion, the test of his normality will keep him from mal-developments of his religious instincts; he will, for example, reject blind submission to authority, yet not be averse to order; he will not enslave himself to tradition, yet not despise the lessons of experience; he will understand the spirituality of faith, yet not be averse to a reasonable symbolism in worship, and so on. The writer illustrates this principle at considerable length, and with many interesting examples, and it may be said to be the cardinal point of view he adopts. The writer finds in the Founder of Christianity the typical embodiment of the normal man,

and the religion exemplified by Him therefore satisfying to the deepest wants of the human heart—so far as evolution has yet gone. For finality is not to be assumed ; the next great revelation of the truth of human good may come from an unanticipated quarter. Only the good ship of the normal man will sail safely on the course its Creator has appointed for it through the turmoil of conflicting tendencies. But the writer does not halt at this conclusion. Christ is more than the typical religious man adjusted to the purpose of creative intelligence with him ; he embodies that intelligence itself. It is here that the disadvantage of the discursive style of treating such subjects is felt. One feels that the writer himself seems hampered in dealing with the “Logos-doctrine,” which he accepts ; and what can be said in a lecture, even to an intelligent audience, is far too slight to support the tremendous conclusion which that doctrine implies. The practical conclusion the writer comes to is that, both for the guidance of life and for the response to the highest feelings of man, acceptance of the teaching of Christ, with personal devotion to Him, has no rival—is indeed supreme—as a working hypothesis for action and hope. Such is a meagre outline, not of the whole book, but of its determining tenet. It will be seen that the criterion assumed is rather a vague and indefinite one—normal man. Indeed one adopting it might be unconsciously tempted to make himself individually the criterion in question, a sort of spiritual Robinson Crusoe, “monarch of all he surveyed.” Besides, it is the non-normal men that seem to work out most of the successive advances in human attainment and progress, while the normal man seems merely to reap the benefits of their mal-development in an easy life, and to pass by an equally easy death into an inglorious and reposeful oblivion. But, on the whole, this is an excellently written book, covering in an interesting manner questions discussed by every intelligent person in these days ; and its conclusion has this advantage and recommendation, that it is one whose soundness every one, irrespective of his anterior logical wrestlings, can privately and effectively test for himself.

Murroes, Dundee.

JAMES NICOLL.

INDIVIDUELLE UND SOZIALE ETHIK, VIERZEHN VORTRÄGE, von D. Dr A. Dörner. Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn, 1906. Pp. v., 240. 8vo. M. 4.50.

THIS is one of the most interesting, suggestive, and valuable books on morality which has appeared for a number of years. The standpoint is thoroughly modern. The treatment is adequately concrete. "The aim of moral conduct," the author says, "is the mutual action on one another of persons on the basis of their independence, a realm of persons acting on one another, who are both ends and means, who stand in the intercourse of reciprocal giving and taking, to form themselves and to let themselves be formed by others, to give to others, and to form others, in order to let themselves be formed by others, and to enrich themselves by this forming." Personality, development, society—these are the leading categories of his thought. Psychology and sociology are both enlisted in the service of ethics. After an introduction dealing with the present position of ethics, the author lays down his foundation on a psychological analysis of instincts, emotions, appetites, moral intelligence, and will, and an ethical determination of the moral task; in his exposition he deals with the development of the personality in its parts and as a whole, with the relation of personalities to other persons, and with the social institutions. All the living issues of to-day in economics and politics, as well as ethics, are discussed most wisely. For instance, the writer comes to the conclusion that denominational religious education cannot be the function of a State which is itself not denominational. On the relation of individualism and socialism his judgment is well balanced. One mistake he makes; he confuses English trades unions and co-operative societies (p. 188). A word of commendation must be added in regard to the admirable style of the writing.

London.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

CHRISTIAN THEISM AND A SPIRITUAL MONISM. God, Freedom, and Immortality in View of Monistic Evolution, *by the Rev. W. L. Walker.* Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906. Pp. viii., 484. 9s.

THE failure of metaphysics as an arm in the campaign of apologetics is extremely disappointing. The largely intellectualistic character of much idealistic philosophy may be accountable for this. The sick man requires the medicine of a living God, not a cold and abstract Absolute. One feels too often that the metaphysician and the materialist are sparring on stages far apart. What the disciple of Haeckel wants to feel is that the other side is not occupied with a mere cloud-world of its own construction but with the same objective world which is the only reality to himself. In its evolution he needs to be shown the reality of God, and the challenge to him must be—"Account for the spiritual element in nature, and give it its rights." It is hopeless from the apologetic standpoint to throw me back on the illusiveness of sense, and to bid me rise from an analysis of my own mind to the conception of a Mind Universal contemplating eternally the same relations as I detect in things. I want to find God in things and not vaguely beyond them. So far from Dr M'Taggart being correct in predicting in his last work a continuous decay of faith, only to be renewed when all men become metaphysicians, one is inclined to think that the more and more evolutionary science develops, especially in psychology, the more empirical foundation will be available for such a ground of proof of the ultimate realities as will appeal to the plain man. The new faith will rest on the stones and bricks of the workaday world, not on abstract formulæ. Not that metaphysics has no value. Its sphere is beyond that of apologetics. It is inside the pomœrium of faith; it is the science of ultimate synthesis. That is too far off for the common sceptic.

In the above work, which aims at empirical construction, metaphysics is thus ceremoniously bowed out. It is true that on occasions she has to be invited back. But yet the great merit of Mr Walker is that he is professedly at work

on the same objective material as Haeckel and Büchner. In that material he finds at once the premise that they are wilfully blind to—the implication of a rational purpose. Not to acknowledge it is to leave the door open for all the inconsistencies to enter. The physical and spiritual are one, say the scientific Monists. "One, indeed!" rejoins Mr Walker, "but one by the unity of a Power that shows itself in the physical as spiritual from the very first, and at last, after using the outward as the organ all the way, flowers and fruits so to say in the human self-consciousness." The Monism that starves out the spiritual side is false to the record of nature. The true "*μόνος*" is no substance holding in itself the potency of higher things than itself, but the Personal Power that uses matter, energy, life, and human self-consciousness as its own organ.

The book is divided into three parts, Christian Theism, Freedom, and Immortality. The first part lays down the premises of the whole work, and is the most important. The author dwells from several points of view on the rationality of the Universe. Our confidence in this bids us reject Mr Mallock's "synthesis of contradictories." It is a dangerous expedient to decide that the scientific and religious beliefs are after all in complete opposition, and that we can hold both. We cannot. "Whenever we forsake our confidence in reason and in a rational world we are left to drift hopelessly." There is an ultimate explanation of "the concatenation of causes that we know in experience." This was Herbert Spencer's "certainty of certainties." But what sort of explanation is adequate? Nothing surely, but that of an all-working Reason. The main proof comes from the lips of evolutionists; they are not slow to say that the Universe as environment has "trained and educated the human brain to be its mirror and representative." The implication, of course, is that to train the rational, the Universe must be rational. Reason, then, is prior. We do not, as Professor Pearson insinuates, "project our reason" into nature. We are rational because the Universe has trained us to be so. Much illustrative matter is aptly brought forward to bring out the intelligibility of

nature, notably Mendéleef's law of the periodic nature of the properties of the elements.

Next we have it argued that the same power that works in the Universe, gradually evolving, is ultimately revealed in humanity as spirit—there is no break or chasm, all is in an unbroken continuous chain. There is no need with materialistic Monism to dower the primal matter with impossible properties, or to minimise the spiritual when it has come. It is only that the spiritualistic side, innermost from the beginning, has at last revealed itself; and this explains adequately all the previous striving that through the long ages have gone to produce it. Such is the unfolding of "the Open Secret of the All-working Reason."

In the chapters that deal especially with Evolution we have an admirable summary of the present position of the many problems that are included under the name. It is especially helpful in its delineation of the more recent modifying theories that seem to mitigate the ruthlessness of the naked Darwinian hypothesis. The enormous stress that biologists continue to lay on the power of the environment to produce those varieties, which at the birth of the system seemed merely casual and fortuitous, the psychological truth that function precedes organ, Mr Kidd's law of "projected efficiency," which assures us that Natural Selection has no narrow outlook but is ever preparing with a view to the continuation of the species as a whole, and perhaps most of all the hypothesis associated with the name of Prince Krapotkin, that postulates through all the past a very full play to the principal of "mutual aid," where once we could only see rapine and bloodshed in a confused battle for life—all these things turn the "gladiatorial show" of the original Darwinian into a more and more "materialised ethical process." Professors Thomson and Geddes, Henslow and Lloyd Morgan, and other great specialists, yield valuable help in this field, and Herbert Spencer comes to his own at last as one who has done no small service to religion. His constant admission of a spiritual element behind phenomena, unknowable indeed, but certainly not less than personal, leaves it open for us to express the whole course of evolution in the

terms of Monistic spiritualism, as truly as in terms of matter. This is the exact opposite of Haeckel. God is barred out from the discussion altogether by him. He only leaves us—Matter, Force, and Sensation, wherewith to construct the Universe, and the law of the persistence of force to keep it going. Recent developments do not leave the latter a spice of its old authority. What if force after all but comes and goes? Haeckel's Sensation again, the author shows, included as it is to give some material out of which the spiritual may be said to evolve, leads to strange absurdities, while the homogeneity that he ascribes to his protoplasmic substance is from the nature of the case but an unverified hypothesis. The question is whether the universe is best explained on the ground of such an irrational "substance," endowed, how, we know not, with sensation, or as the work of an ultimate Person. Which is most rational?

In chapter x. Mr Walker distinguishes his own spiritual Monism from Monisms that have an idealistic origin. He claims that it brings us back to the common-sense of the plain man, and shows us the internal and the external given in one act of sense-perception: the external and extended world is as real as the world of self-consciousness which interprets it. The ultimate views of Drs Caird and Rashdall and Mr Haldane are subjected to some criticism. They fail, he says, to prove that nothing exists save for a mind, and so do not touch Haeckel, who starts from a self-existing world; we want a Monism which can say, "Your atoms are the experience and result of thought, and that thought unites all finite objects and all finite minds." This is the rational and divine principle of spiritual Monism, and it lies there—the open secret—in things.

If we ask how Mr Walker steers clear of Pantheism, we shall find that he very carefully distinguishes between the immanent and transcendent God. The world is not the scene of the evolution of God, but only the play of His conditioned power: God has created separate centres of spiritual freedom in us ourselves, who all work out our destiny within the Divine transcendency as free spirits. We

must not confuse the latter with the Divine Power, agency, or purpose at work in nature.

And by this path we reach a doctrine of the incarnation that is very impressive from its continuity with all that has gone before. Given an evolving world and God as the immanent principle of its evolution, it is pronounced "inevitable" that that principle should introduce itself as the climax of the world's life ; and so, as the crown of natural evolution, Christ might be expected. But further—beyond this "Logos" doctrine of God immanent we have that of the transcendent Godhead, and Christ also in His perfect spirit on the ethical side represents God as He is in Himself. Christ cannot be reached only along the lines of natural evolution, for in Him God realises Himself with *infinite* ethical content as Son. And this revelation is grand enough in its fulness to bring many sons with it to glory. By His death the lower self was wholly transcended, and God adequately expressed ; and, risen from the dead, Christ, "without losing His personality, has passed into the very life of God, a real present Teacher, Helper, and Saviour of them who look to Him for help."

Part II. deals with Freedom, and its main divisions, "The Determinism of Psychology" and "The Determinism of Matter," are chiefly an acute criticism of the views of Mr W. H. Mallock, who holds the determinist doctrine in its most extreme form. As might be supposed, the author's impregnable inner citadel is his conception of a "self" or character that is constantly building itself up into greater stability by its acts of choice. It freely chooses in its moments of attention and pause which motives it shall adopt for its own, to what future it shall commit itself. Such a view is in close harmony with the psychology which regards the Will as the centre of personality. Indeed there is a long train of voluntaristic psychologists for the determinist to reckon with—so patent a fact is the physiological arrangement which allows for adequate pause and balance before decision. The Will itself is no abstract faculty, but is the most evident aspect of the self, or spiritual principle that

makes use of the physical organs in its commerce with physical things.

In Part III. we have an interesting massing together of the intimations of immortality from the standpoint of a believer in the universal purpose and divine working evident in nature and man. The most difficult argument the author has to meet on his own empirical ground is the relation, revealed by psychology to be so close, between mind and body. It is this which gives ground for the presumption that a union so intimate cannot be severed without the loss of each. But this may be met by dwelling on the predominance of the interests of spirit in the temporary partnership, and by all the claims of personality.

Mr Walker at this critical point seems to be not altogether averse to call in metaphysical considerations. A self beyond time and space is no child of the empirical. And it is on such a self that Mr Walker leans: "As a real self-conscious self each man stands above all that is of the outward world merely." There is nothing of course in his Monism opposed to this, but such arguments will not affect the empirical plain man.

Better the intimations of the deep sub-conscious sphere, the assurance that all organisms are subsequent to functions and needs, the hypothetical inhering of the soul in the ether, and the strange suggestions of telepathy—these and the wonderful evolution of man and his ideals still point us forward beyond the grave; and the Christian doctrine takes up all our queries and transfigures them into certainty. Christ is the life; and death for His follower must be a fuller entry into Him. Nor must we limit our outlook to a narrow individual view. It grows, if we are true to the New Testament, into the grand and overpowering cosmic event outlined in Col. i. 16-20 and Eph. i. 10, 11, "the summing-up of all things in Christ"—the only adequate end of the amazing drama in which we are involved!

Mr Walker has written this valuable book with practical ends in view—the quickening of men to bring in the Kingdom of God, which fuller knowledge, as well as faith, looks forward to. All must be quickened to that work who read

him. There is surely no recent book that can contest with his the honour of adequately meeting attacks on the very fundamentals of belief, and at the same time laying a solid dogmatic foundation in harmony with the revelations of science, in the light of the great central principle of a rational evolution of the world from its dim beginnings up to the glory that shall be revealed when the divine purpose is attained.

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DAS ERKENNTNISPROBLEM IN DER PHILOSOPHIE UND WISSENSCHAFT DER NEUEREN ZEIT, by *Dr Ernst Cassirer*. Berlin : Bruno Cassirer, 1906. Vol. I. Pp. viii., 608. 15 M.

DR CASSIRER'S book is one of the most important contributions to the history of philosophy that have appeared in recent times. The thoroughness with which he has studied the original sources has helped him in many ways to complete and correct the accounts which we find in current textbooks of the history of philosophy. The exposition is clear and crisp, and the bulk of the book is due to the wealth of material, and not to the writer's verbosity. His conception of his own task and duty as a historian of philosophy is thoroughly sound : "The history of philosophy"—he says in the Preface—"if in truth it is to be scientific, cannot consist in a collection of facts in their disconnected succession ; it aims at being a *method* through which we learn to understand those facts." In other words, we cannot be content with an enumeration of theories and speculations on the nature of knowledge, strung loosely together in the order of their temporal appearance, but we require to be shown the principle of their logical coherence, the unity of problem that gives to each successive effort its significance, and allows us to trace the movement of advance from the first obscure and tentative reflexions on the nature of knowledge to the clear elaboration of the problem as *sui generis* and distinct from all others, which preceded its solution by Kant. Unless we thus view a process as a whole, and as pervaded by one

principle, we have no right to speak of development or progress ; we cannot judge the beginning in the light of the end, nor strike the balance between early aspirations and ultimate achievement. Dr Cassirer is undoubtedly right in regarding the problem of knowledge as the fundamental problem in modern philosophy. The principle which underlies all the intellectual efforts of modern thought, in whatever direction they may seem to tend, is the elaboration of a *new ideal and conception of knowledge*. We are apt to forget this truth over the enormous expansion of our intellectual world, which has made necessary a minute division of labour, and immerses the individual in the details of some particular line of study and research, without giving him time to reflect on the fundamental character and presuppositions of the knowledge which he is assiduously labouring to enlarge by some detailed investigation. Descartes already saw this danger, and raised his warning voice against the pursuit of one branch of knowledge in total separation from the whole : "C'est là une grande erreur ; car . . . les sciences toutes ensemble ne sont rien autre chose que l'intelligence humaine, qui reste une et toujours la même quelle que soit la variété des objets auxquels elle s'applique. . . ." The modern scientist seems wholly engrossed in the empirical aspect of his science, the acquisition of new facts and the formulation of new theories about them. He rarely reflects on the philosophical problems involved in his fundamental methodological assumptions, on which, after all, depends the value and meaning of his results. And if one should be found ready to inquire into the philosophy of his science, he is—as more than one recent case has shown—more likely than not to be regarded by his scientific brethren as in a sense a traitor to his cause, and as one "lost to science." Nothing is more calculated to correct this mistaken point of view than an inquiry into the origins of modern science. For we there find how closely science and theory of knowledge are connected ; how reflection on a particular scientific problem and the methods of its solution invariably led to an inquiry into the nature and possibility of knowledge ; and how the very men to whom we owe the foundations of our scientific world-view, such as Galilei and

Descartes, were pioneers in the theory of knowledge. No doubt, the general problem split itself up into many special questions, thus reflecting the variety of ways and considerations by which different thinkers were led up to it. With some the starting-point was mechanical science, the conceptions of force, of matter, of motion; with others it was mathematics, the nature of space and time, and the application of mathematical truths to the actual objects of experience; yet others approached the problem from the side of psychology or physiology and the relation of body and soul in perception. Further, there were the metaphysical problems of substance and of function; and again, the logical problems of the use of the syllogism, the relation of ideas to judgments, the nature of deduction, intuition, induction, the character of universals and their relation to particulars, the nature and validity of abstraction and hypothesis. Nor, finally, must we overlook the host of problems arising out of the opposition between sense-experience and thought or reason, between what the mind passively receives and what by its activity it makes out of the given; and lastly, the root-opposition between the subjective and the objective, the mind and the world that it knows. And when we recollect further, that all these problems, which, surely, are difficult enough in themselves, were further complicated by theological cross-currents, and the effort on the one hand to avoid a break with the authority of the Church, and on the other to set reason free from the bondage of traditional dogma, we may faintly realise the enormous complexity of the intellectual situation at the time of the Renaissance. We may, perhaps, appreciate why progress was so halting and so slow, and why so often a thinker's position seems to us not only inconsistent, but, maybe, even hypocritical and disingenuous. Yet, surely, in such a case we should not hesitate to give him the "benefit of the doubt," when we reflect on the tremendous spiritual conflict through which he must have passed when forced to choose between truth in the guise of authority and truth as revealed to him by the light of his own reason. If Descartes' attempt to reach certainty through universal doubt strikes us nowadays as fantastic

and strange, we may understand it better and sympathise with it more when we try to realise the intense hunger with which a mind, bent on seeing the truth for himself, must have sought for a certain guide through the tangled mazes of the intellectual situation. When we think of him as confronted on the one side with the results of the new science, so promising, so suggestive, and, in spite of its immaturity, so plainly bearing the stamp of truth, and on the other with a settled world-view, venerable through its associations and its age, but in hopeless conflict with experience, we can understand how he was "filled with enthusiasm" when he discovered in the *cogito ergo sum* the fixed point, on which he could rest unassailed by any doubt, and in "clear and distinct perception" a criterion of truth. We shall realise the fundamental importance of these two principles in his philosophy when we reflect that in them he had found a basis *which neither Science nor Theology could assail*, because it lay wholly outside their conflict. The truth which he had not been able to find so long as he considered merely this or that particular concrete theory or dogma or fact of experience, he found in reflecting on the self-assurance of his own existence as a thinking being. And we can see also how in the clearness of his apprehension of this fundamental fact he thought he had discovered a criterion by which to decide what was true both in religious dogma and in scientific theory. We shall not do justice to Descartes' philosophy unless we bear in mind that he was as genuine and sincere in his attempts to demonstrate the existence of God as in his foundation of mathematical physics.

One of the great merits of Dr Cassirer's book is that he traces throughout the intimate connection between the problem of knowledge and the concrete scientific questions and theories out of which it arose. In this, the first volume, he takes us from Nicolaus of Cusa to Descartes and Malebranche. In the second volume, which is to appear shortly, he proposes to deal first with the English philosophy of experience and the scientific theories of Newton, and next with the developments of Idealism in Leibniz, until both

streams of thought are finally seen to mingle in the critical philosophy of Kant. But up to the last—and this is an important point in which Dr Cassirer is beyond question right—the positive relation to contemporary science is never lost. Kant's criticism of space and time, and his treatment of mathematics and mechanical science, are throughout determined by the form which these conceptions had assumed in the disputes, *e.g.*, between Newton and Leibniz, with which Kant's own scientific studies had made him abundantly familiar.

It is, of course, impossible within the limits of a short review to criticise in detail an author who covers so wide a field, and whose knowledge, to all appearance, is so detailed and so sound. And I must content myself with giving, as best I can, an idea of the contents of the book, so as to convince others of its exceeding interest and importance, and to induce them to study it for themselves. I can assure them that they will not regret it.

After a short introduction dealing mainly with the problem of knowledge in Greek philosophy, Dr Cassirer proceeds to trace in Book i. the *Renaissance of the Problem of Knowledge*, as shown in the philosophy of Nicolaus of Cusa; the revival of Platonism; the criticism of Aristotelianism and the Logic of the Schools; and also the Scepticism of Montaigne, Charron, Sanchez.

The second book deals with *The Discovery of the Conception of Nature*, and traces in detail the rise of Natural Science from its beginning in the Natural Philosophy of Paracelsus through Telesio, Campanella, to Leonardo da Vinci, Kepler, Galilei, where we find ourselves in the midst of discussions about force, matter, gravitation, etc., as well as questions of scientific and logical method, not to forget mathematics, with its beginnings of analytic and projective geometry, and the invention of logarithms. The book closes with an account of Giordano Bruno. I have no room here to say more than that the accounts, both of Kepler and Galilei, seem particularly good and full.

The third book deals with the *Foundations of Idealism*. It discusses first Descartes' theory of method and his meta-

physics, and then shows how the further development of Cartesian Philosophy turns wholly on the interpretation of the criterion of clear and distinct perception. The weakness of this criterion was that, though in intention an appeal to reason, it was in fact no better than an encouragement to accept as true what seemed psychologically most clear to each individual thinker. That is the substance of the criticism which Leibniz brought against it. And not only was the principle thus abandoned by Rationalists, it was also attacked fiercely from the other side by the English Empiricists. The truth is that the Cartesian philosophy was wrecked, because the inner dialectic of the system forced it to make explicit an ambiguity in the treatment of innate ideas which was but latent in the thought of Descartes himself. The true and suggestive view of innate ideas is that which Descartes set forth in reply to the criticisms of Hobbes. He there shows that they are to be conceived, not as inborn ideas of particular objects, but as fundamental principles discovered only in the course of, and by reflection on, experience. And when so discovered, they are (1) apprehended with intuitive certainty (criterion of clear and distinct perception), and (2) seen to express the real nature of self-conscious mind. They are "inborn" in that they are not derived from without, but developed from within. We who have learnt from Kant, can see how near Descartes here came to Kant's view of the *a priori* categories of the mind as the fundamental conditions of all experience, and as expressing the nature of mind over against the "given manifold of sense." And we can see how the true development was bound to take the line of transforming Descartes' innate ideas into Kant's *a priori*. But Descartes' himself never consistently held to the right view. He ever showed a tendency to relapse from the view of mind as active in knowledge and "constitutive" (in Kant's language) of the object-world, into a view of mind as merely passive, receiving its ideas as imprints from God, and needing a belief in a good and undeceiving God to guarantee the objective truth of the ideas thus received.

There is a characteristic passage in one of his later letters (*Correspondence*, v. 136): "Intuitive knowledge is an illumi-

nation of the mind, by virtue of which it perceives in the light of God the things which God is pleased to reveal to it : it takes place through the immediate working of the divine clearness on our reason, which in this process is not to be regarded as active, but as merely receptive of the rays of the divine." This, of course, means the abandonment of the view of reason and its function in knowledge, which Descartes had learnt from science, and which is the foundation of modern idealism. It is a return to the view of St Augustin, who regarded non-empirical knowledge (exemplified by mathematics), not as "the mind's own light," but as the passively received gift of God. From this point of view we can understand how Arnauld could find an agreement between the theories of St Augustin and Descartes.

It is interesting to reflect on the importance of the problem of mathematics in the history of the problem of knowledge, as we can trace it in St Augustin, in Descartes, in Kant, and amongst Empiricists in Hume and Mill. For mathematics supplies the crucial instance in all theory of knowledge, in that, though apparently wholly non-empirical, and concerned purely with the mind's own creations, it is yet applicable to, and true of, the objects given to us in sense-experience. This problem, it would seem, can be solved only by insisting with modern idealism on the fundamental unity of subject and object, and by making the mind "constitutive" of the object-world. The validity of *a priori* (= Descartes' "inborn") principles depends on their being conditions of our experience of objects. But the separation of subject and object, for which Descartes' absolute distinction of body and soul paved the way, made the criterion of clear and distinct perception useless as a criterion of truth, in that it was unable to remove the inherent subjectivity of our ideas. And having thus cut themselves off from the true solution of showing the validity of *a priori* principles *in* experience, the Cartesians had nothing to fall back on except the assumed guarantee of God. And the attempt to heal the breach between the knowing mind and the object known by an appeal to God led straight to the Occasionalism of Geulincx, and the Subjectivism of

Malebranche. The Cartesian school in the narrower sense thus develops an ambiguity in Descartes' thought in the wrong direction, and represents an aberration from the true line of idealistic development.

I have no space left for a few remarks on that important and too little known figure with an account of whom Dr Cassirer opens his book, viz., Nicolaus of Cusa. But it is worth noting what striking anticipations of later idealism are to be found in the reflections of that thinker on the relation of reason to sense-experience: "non enim est intentio intellectus, ut fiat sensus, sed ut fiat intellectus perfectus et in actu: sed quoniam in actu aliter constitui nequit, fit sensus, ut sic hoc medio de potentia in actum pergere queat. Ita quidem supra seipsum intellectus reddit circulari completa reditione . . ." Sense-experience thus has its legitimate function in that reason must "descend" into the manifold of sense, making it intelligible, before it can return upon itself. Indeed, sense-experience is spoken of as the "other" of the intellect in language that strangely reminds one of Hegel: "non attingitur unitas, nisi mediante alteritate."

There are many other interesting subjects on which I should like to comment, if reasons of space did not forbid it. All I can do in conclusion is to recommend this book once more most heartily to every student of philosophy. There are few pages in it from which he will not learn something

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Review of Theology and Philosophy

SURVEY OF RECENT LITERATURE ON THE HISTORY AND RELIGION OF ISRAEL

(Continued.)

I notice with much interest that Winckler (p. 25) does ample justice to Wilhelm Erbt, whose remarkable work *Die Hebräer* was noticed in this Journal in July 1906. He even denominates this able young scholar "the first [German] who has worked through" the second volume of his *Geschichte Israels*. In truth, what Erbt gives is an extremely acute revision of the historical views given by Winckler in the *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament* (vol. i.). I say revision—not development—because Erbt's volume is not without a large measure of originality (see the descriptive notice in this Review). Some, of course, will object to this and call it mere eccentricity, but Erbt will reply that when the outlines of history are blurred, powerful glasses must be resorted to, and that it is better to put forward a possible view of history than one which, as it stands in most books, is, to say the least, not very satisfactory.

But some one may ask, If things are in this state, is it well to attempt a history of Israel—for such Erbt's work is in miniature? Has the time come for it? I reply, No, if we indulge the illusion that we have reconstructed the actual course of events. But, Yes, if we value our history chiefly for the incidental discoveries to which it may have led us.

And what of Erbt's attitude towards the text? Like Winckler he emends, but like his master, inexpertly. He has no conception of the extent to which the old Hebrew text is covered over, and no adequate idea of the means of restoring it. In spite of this, he has succeeded in arriving at, at least, a few results which, if not certain, are at any rate on the road to truth. One of them is the discovery (reached also by myself¹) that the cult of Yahweh among the early Israelites was combined with that of Ashtart, and that one of the names of this goddess underlies the hitherto unexplained Šeba'oth. I think, too, that he, like myself, is on the right track in the investigation of the god-name Dôd. Some other points in which he may perhaps be right are mentioned in the *Hibbert Journal*, July 1906, p. 941. Among these I have not included the unattractive view that Ps. cx. is "the primitive liturgy used at the enthronement of the priest-prince of Shechem" (pp. 74 f.), nor the interpretation (p. 155) of *shôl*, in Isa. xxviii. 18, as "Blitzbündel." Is not this difficult word rather, like *sheth* in Num. xxiv. 7 (which Ed. Meyer, like most others, misunderstands), a corruption of *asht* = *ashtar* (= the southern Asshur, discovered by recent research, and susceptible of a wider as well as a narrower explanation)? The view of "book of Yashar" (p. 61) as equivalent to "book of Israel" is, however, worthy of consideration; it was first put forward, as Erbt should have known, in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, "Jashar," "Jeshurun."

But interesting as Erbt's book is, there are many who will gain more from a less impetuous student—Hugo Gressmann. The author loves open windows and fresh air, and has shown us a number of tempting prospects, of the existence of which most of us were unaware. It is the Israelitish-Jewish eschatology which forms the subject of this able work, which should be taken side by side with Gunkel's admirable tractate *Zum religiösen Verständniss des Neuen Testaments* (1903). I shall here assume that the reader is at any rate not hostile to the view that the Old

¹ May I refer here to my *Traditions and Beliefs of Ancient Israel* (A. & C. Black) now in the press?

Testament writers, especially where the first and the last things are referred to, betray the influence of a mythology which is to a great extent borrowed. To point out exactly where the author is both original and probably correct is not easy. He will not, I hope, consider himself bound to the printed page, nor mind my pointing out one conspicuous deficiency, viz., that he is neither skilful in textual criticism himself, nor (as one of his own *confrères* has remarked to me) at all fully acquainted with what has already been done in this department.

The book falls into two parts: (1) the eschatology of woe, and (2) the eschatology of bliss. One of the best things in the former is the proof that Sinai was a volcano, though where situated our author does not venture to say; this, however, is not original (see above, on Meyer). But when he proceeds to say that in order to connect Sinai with Israel we need a historical Moses, and further, that Exod. iii. shows that Yahweh's sacred plant was the "thorn-bush," he goes further than sound criticism will allow. That Yahweh was not held to be exclusively present in any one natural phenomenon is a good observation. The popular mythology gave different representations of him. Earthquake, hurricane, fire, volcanic eruption, storm, flood—in all these phenomena it saw Yahweh. Among the storm-flood passages is Isa. xxviii. 14-22. Gressmann wonders that no previous exegete has pointed out that Yahweh is here the sole agent, and that underlying the whole section is the myth of an eschatological deluge.¹ I doubt whether he is altogether right. As remarked above, the word *shot* is extremely difficult; indeed, the "overflowing scourge" is altogether impossible. I will here only remark that in vers. 15 and 18 a human power (Asshur, cf. ver. 2) is most probably referred to, and so, too, in Isa. x. 26 (when *shot* occurs again). One may also suspect the existence of names of peoples underneath the words in xxviii 15, 18, rendered "death" and "hell." It appears that the impending strife between Israel and the nations was to Isaiah a scene in the great eschatological drama. Later on,

¹ Cf. Gunkel, *Ausgewählte Psalmen*, pp. 96 f. (on Ps. xli.).

when the political situation was changed, other nations became dangerous to Israel, and had the same part allotted to them in the great drama. I may notice here that Gressmann is still far from comprehending why Israel's mighty foe is so often said to come from *Šāfōn* ("north" ?), and is even (Joel ii. 20) once called *hazzeḥfoni* ("the northern one" ?), and that, like Wellhausen and Bertholet, he holds a very disputable opinion as to the origin of Ezekiel's prophecy of Gog.

Another illuminative remark occurs in the pages headed "the day of the pestilences." That pestilences played a great rôle in eschatology is manifest, not only from a Babylonian legend (see Jastrow, *Religion of Babyl. and Assyr.*, p. 533 ; Zimmern, *KAT*³, p. 394), but from passages in the Hebrew prophecies—our author adduces as examples Hos. xiii. 14 ; Hab. iii. 5 ; Joel ii. From the second of these Gressmann derives the perfectly original theory that *reshef* (fever) and *deber* (plague) are angels who have arisen out of deposed Canaanitish gods (for the former see Phœnician inscriptions). Reshef in particular, we appear to be told (pp. 85, 87), has been degraded into the famous *mal'ak Yahweh*. Gressmann is here at any rate on the right track, though a more severely methodical procedure would, I think, have led him to a different result. Not Reshef, but another, is the true original of Mal'ak Yahweh.

I must confess, however, that Gressmann's expression is not as clear as could be wished. What he says of Reshef (p. 87) is, that this old Canaanitish deity became degraded "zum Mal'ak Yahweh." But on p. 202 he says that the *mal'ak habbērtih* of Mal. iii. 1 was probably equivalent to the *bā'al bērtih* of Judg. viii. 33 ; ix. 4, who may have become degraded "zum Engel Jahves," and on p. 348 that the "Man" in Daniel must originally have been a god who became degraded, "zum Engel," by Jewish monotheists. Whether Gressmann means that there was a class of highest angels (like the four angels of the "Face"), which included Reshef, the *Mal'ak habbērtih*, and the "Man," is not clear.

But far more interesting is the second part—that on the

Eschatology of Bliss. If the author has opened more questions than he has solved, this is not to his discredit. One of the most important sections is that on the genuineness of the prophetic description of the ideal future. It has been usual for critics to deny these descriptions to the prophets in whose "books" they occur, and to declare them to be exilic or post-exilic. But this negation has not been accompanied by a sufficiently penetrating examination of the contents; if the critics had understood the genius and development of the ideas in the passages they might have come to a different conclusion. Unless there are historical references or allusions which forbid us so to do, we *are* justified in attributing those descriptions to the prophets in whose "books" they occur. Phraseological arguments have but little force, for the language of such descriptions is largely conventional. For my own part I partly sympathise on this point with the author. But it is one thing to assert that Isaiah himself wrote the famous idealistic descriptions, and another thing to admit that the contents of the descriptions may be partly pre-exilic. I am willing to admit the one, but am by no means inclined to assume the other. Probably Gunkel will soon discuss the whole question much more fully than his follower has done. It will then become possible to take up a more definite position. Meantime Gressmann must not suppose that Gunkel and himself have been solitary travellers. Whoever has studied the traces of mythology in the Old Testament must have become conscious of an incipient breaking down of some at least of the old results of literary criticism. A recasting of our "Introductions" may before long be necessary.

The subdivision, headed the Golden Age, however important, must here be treated scantily. I will not fail, however, to praise the section on mythical topography. One of the most original points is the explanation of the levelling of the hills (except, of course, Yahweh's mountain) in several eschatological passages (*e.g.* Zech. xiv. 10). Our author suggests that this feature may be of Persian origin (*cf.* *Bundakish*, xxx. 33). Syncretism must have gone to great lengths even before the conquests of Alexander. It is

remarkable, however, that in Isa. ii. 2 (= Mic. iv. 1) the hills are supposed to remain as they were. How is this to be accounted for? To this Gressmann replies that dogmatic harmony is not to be expected in mythology. But must we not first of all be sure about the facts? (see pp. 116 ff., 222 ff.). Textual criticism surely has to be applied. According to Gunkel and Gressmann, Zion will either, in the latter days, be transplanted to the north or else take the place of the northern sacred mountain. The text of these passages, however, needs to be re-examined (Ps. xlviii. 3; Isa. ii. 2; Ezek. xl. 2). The dogma of a northern sacred mountain is based on error; the sacred mountain of Israel is always in the south. But I must not go further; I am chiefly concerned to show that throughout such studies as Gressmann's the help of a keener textual criticism needs to be called in.

Next comes the subdivision headed "The Messiah." It begins with a section entitled "The court-style." Our author is of opinion that the wishes, to our thinking so exuberant, expressed on behalf of a king, or kings, of Israel in certain psalms are mere court forms borrowed from some other court, at which they may perhaps have had a genuine meaning. That these expressions are parallel to phrases commonly used by courtiers elsewhere has long been recognised, but absolute denial that they had any genuine meaning in Israel is new. Here Gressmann even goes beyond his teacher Gunkel. As a piece of original exegesis I may refer to his comment on Ps. lxxii. 8b, that it must have been derived from some as yet unknown Babylonian source, a view which takes for granted that "the river" in the Old Testament always means the Euphrates. He thinks too that in Ps. xlv. 7 (6) the reigning king is addressed as Elohîm, and remarks that it is "a relic from a period when it was more usual to address the king so" (similarly Gunkel, *Ausgewählte Psalmen*, p. 90), and due to foreign influence.

In connection with this it is noteworthy that things were sometimes said of the birth and divine call of Babylonian and Assyrian kings which are purely mythical. This we, many of us, know directly from Zimmern (*KAT*³, pp. 382,

403); others will be glad to learn it through our well-equipped author. It is, however, to Gressmann, under the stimulus of Zimmern's facts, that a highly original idea is due, which will surprise many readers. It is that in the time of Isaiah there was a well-known prophecy of a child, to be called Immanuel, who should live on milk and honey, and before he was five years old should become the deliverer of his people. Upon this theory the wonderfulness of Isaiah's faith consists in this—that whereas the people assigned the fulfilment of the prophecy to an uncertain future, Isaiah ventured to assure Ahaz that the child's mother was *already* with child. The food spoken of comes, according to Gressmann, from the streams of supernatural milk and honey in Paradise, to which I hope myself to refer elsewhere. A fascinating account is also given of Isa. ix. 1-6 and xi. 1-8 (both Isaianic). That the eschatological king is inseparable from restored Paradise (p. 289), and that the first man in the original Paradise myth was a king (pp. 292 f.), is at any rate correct. And even if ix. 1-6 and xi. 1-8 are not Isaiah's, the editor who inserted them may have been right in regarding the "Immanuel" of Isa. vii. 14-16 as the eschatological king, the Messiah. Why then should we not follow Gressmann? The chief objections arise (1) from the parallelism between vii. 16 and viii. 4; (2) from the improbable name of the divine child "Immanuel"; and (3) from the uncertainty of the text of vers. 15, 16. Very possibly, however, a resourceful textual criticism may overcome these objections.

It is a survey of progress that I am writing; successes, not failures, are of importance. That the writer of Ps. lxxxii. in its original form addressed the idols as gods, and justified this by referring to a divine oracle, is not, I think, successful exegesis. There is, no doubt, a difficulty; but instead of seeking to relieve this by assuming a non-Israelite, mythical source, it would have been better (as also in Ps. lviii.) to apply a keener criticism to the text. But on the royal psalms, at any rate, the next commentator will certainly do well to consider Gressmann's suggestions.

And what progress shall our survey record concerning

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the explanation of that mysterious form, the Servant of Yahweh? It is a pity that want of space should have compelled the author to omit so much; I may at least be permitted to regret, in the interests of free discussion, that he has not even mentioned the elaborate article, "Servant of the Lord," in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*. Professor Haupt's Old Testament lies under the same ban, while, in explaining Isa. xli. 27 (surely a corrupt passage), Gressmann actually explains *ri'shôn* by the Babylonian *mahru* at the end of the Creation Epic, which he supposes to have acquired the sense of "prophet." How can this be? "The first man" (Delitzsch, Jensen), or "the arch-teacher" (Winckler), is possible, but surely not "prophet." Indeed, throughout this section, the want of preliminary textual criticism is very perceptible. Nevertheless, how frank, how interesting it all is! And if the germ of the best idea of all—that relating to the origin of Isa. liii.—is Gunkel's (see *Zum Verständniss*, etc., p. 78), that does not diminish Gressmann's credit for developing it. It is in truth possible that the writer of Isa. lii. 13-liii. may have consciously or unconsciously derived some features of his portrait from an old and dimly remembered myth of a divine being who died and rose again; but neither from the present highly corrupt text, nor from a text sanctioned by a keen criticism, can we infer the section to be based on a song that was actually sung in the cultus of a Syrian Attis.

But the best sections in the whole book are probably those relating to the phrase, "the son of man." After endorsing the view of Wellhausen, Nathaniel Schmidt, and others, that the phrase must have the same meaning as its Aramaic equivalent, *i.e.* "the man," he asks how this phrase can have become a designation of the Messiah. In connection with this he points out—(1) after Gunkel, that "the Man" belongs to a series of mysterious technical terms in the apocalyptic literature (among which, however, he wrongly includes the phrase commonly rendered "the abomination of desolation"), and (2) that it must have a pregnant sense, since only a man in the concrete can be addressed as Messiah. Fuller forms of the same designation

may be "cloud-man," "heavenly man," "upper man," "first man." The inquiry which follows necessitates a thorough examination of the relevant passages in Daniel, 4 Ezra, and Enoch, from a "religions-geschichtlich" point of view. I can only record a few points here. Gressmann rightly denies that the phrase "the Man" can have originated in Dan. vii. 13, and will not identify the Being "like a man" in that passage with Michael, as N. Schmidt and the present writer have proposed to do. His opinion is that already expressed in *Bible Problems* (1904) by the present writer, that the "Man" in Daniel is the greatest of the angels—a deposed or degraded god. We may call him, he says, a parallel figure to the Messiah. But he will not let us identify them, because, near as they are to one another, the two figures are at the same time clearly distinguished. I am not at all sure, however, that he is right. The Messiah may have become an earthly form, but originally, as Gressmann himself points out, he was a heavenly personage. And may we not say that the representation of the Davidic descent of the Messiah has probably arisen out of a misunderstanding? There is, in fact, reason to conjecture that originally the Messiah was not the son of David, but the son of Dôd (= of Elohim). Nor is this the only point in which the earliest tradition appears to have undergone a change. That the "Man" in Daniel is identical with "Michael" is much more probable than Gressmann at present allows, and the divine name which can be shown to underlie Michael is probably equivalent to Dôd. Nor is it at all certain that "Enoch" and the "Man" were not originally identical, of which there may be a late indication (late documents often preserve early beliefs) in the remarkable words addressed to Enoch in *Eth. Enoch* (Charles), c. 71: "Thou art the son of man who art born unto righteousness." We must remember, too, that in *Slav. Enoch*, c. 65, according to one reading, Enoch is described as "one who removes the sins of men," i.e. as a redeemer; also that in *Eth. Enoch*, xc. 31, Enoch is brought into a somewhat mysterious connection with the judgment. Altogether, these seemingly distinct figures "the (heavenly) man," the Messiah, Enoch, to which we may add

Mal'aki or Mal'ak, and Dôd or Ben Dôd, either are or have originated in the same divine Being. To go further would involve an investigation of early Israelitish beliefs which Gressmann would hardly at present see his way to undertake. We should then, of course, find new problems, one of which relates to "the Man": Was there a time when "the Man" was the divine Creator, and not, as Bousset explains the term, "the first-created man"?

The problems of "origins" are so hard that sincerest thanks are due to the scholars who approach them. A regard for due proportion forbids me to treat Dibelius' work on the Ark as fully as I should like. Compared with Gressmann's book it is a trifle, and yet such trifles as this are not to be despised. Gunkel and Gressmann have both given it high praise. On the other hand, Budde expresses himself very unfavourably; while Ed. Meyer takes a middle position, and thinks that the Ark was originally a chest, but afterwards acquired the secondary meaning of a throne. I must say that the linguistic difficulty involved in taking *'ăron* (properly "chest") in the sense of *kîssē* ("throne") has not been adequately dealt with by Dibelius. I admit, however, that some of the passages quoted do become at first sight more intelligible if Yahweh is supposed to be seated upon, rather than shut up—in some material symbol—within the ark. But when we look more closely into it, fresh difficulty arises. In what way can the divine Being have been imagined as seated on the chest, or on the winged cherubic figures attached in some way to the chest? The archaeological apparatus introduced is of much interest, but how far does it really help us to a decision? Incidental questions such as the Mal'ak Yahweh, the Panim of Yahweh, and the famous divine name, Yahweh Šeba'oth, receive very unoriginal solutions; and the critical treatment of that important passage, Num. x. 33-36, leaves very much to be desired. Still, the author has, no doubt, materially promoted the cause of progress by attempting to apply "religions-geschichtlich" methods to a problem which he rightly thought had not yet been solved. Perhaps the next step forward may be to give a keener edge to our textual

criticisms with a special reference to divine names and religious phrases. We may not be so fortunate as to arrive at certainty in all cases, but solutions, at once more probable and more definite, may not be altogether beyond us.

Oxford.

T. K. CHEYNE.

Reviews

LE PROPHÉTISME HÉBREU : Esquisse de son histoire et de ses destinées, par Jean Réville. *Paris : Leroux, 1906. ("Hebrew Prophecy," by J. Réville.) 12mo. 1 fr. 25 c.*

RELIGIONSGESCHICHTLICHE VOLKSBÜCHER :
ii. *Reihe*, 8. *Heft.*, *Elias, Jahvè und Baal, von H. Gunkel.* *Tübingen : Mohr, 1906. (Popular Books on the History of Religion : Series ii., No. 8, Elias [or] Jahvè and Baal, by H. Gunkel, of Berlin.) 12mo. Pp. 76. 40. pf.*

IDEE DES PRIESTERTUMS IN ISRAEL-JUDAH UND IM URCHRISTENTUM, von Dr Phil. Otto Kluge. *Leipzig : Deichert, 1906. ("The Idea of the Priesthood in Israel and Judah, as also in Primitive Christianity.") Pp. viii., 67. M. 1.60.*

SOZIALISMUS UND INDIVIDUALISMUS IM ALTEN TESTAMENT, EIN BEITRAG ZUR A.T. RELIGIONSGESCHICHTE, von Dr Max Löhr, Prof. in Breslau. *Giessen : Töpelmann, 1906. ("Socialism and Individualism in the Old Testament : A Contribution to the History of Religion," by Dr Löhr, Prof. at Breslau.)*

WE have put the titles of these books together for more reasons than one. They have all appeared in the last year. All deal, all but one deal exclusively, with the theology of the Old Testament. Moreover, they are written in an interesting and simple style : they meet the wants of educated readers who do not read Hebrew and have little acquaintance with the methods of Old Testament criticism. This kind of literature, at once popular and scientific, is more or less a novelty in Germany, and its appearance is a most hopeful sign. It is high time that German laymen

should have the means of learning the history of their religion in a reasonable way and without excessive demands upon their time and labour.

The first book on our list, that of M. Réville, on Hebrew prophecy, gains something perhaps from the fact that it is written in French, not in German. Certainly it has the merits of the best French style, an admirable lucidity and an easy flow of well-chosen words. The view of prophecy is that which is familiar to scholars, and is in England becoming the common possession of most educated men. Some things in the little book are, so far as we know, original. We refer, for instance, to an instructive parallel between Hebrew prophecy and Greek tragedy. Each began with scant promise. Hebrew prophecy started from the patriotic frenzy of men who behaved like the Dervishes who supported the Mahdi in the Soudan ; indeed, the early prophets bore themselves like madmen. Yet from this sacred frenzy came the sublime religion and morality of Amos and Isaiah. In like manner, from the revelry of the vintage feast and the orgiastic worship of the wine-god came Greek tragedy, with its lofty teaching and great place in the literature of the world. M. Réville is also particularly happy in the language with which, briefly but clearly, he traces the progress of Hebrew prophecy from a sort of physical intoxication to the "obsession of an idea," *i.e.* to a state in which a great moral or religious idea obtains complete mastery of the prophet's mind, compels him to recognise the thought which burns within him as the inspiration of Jehovah, and constrains him to utter it, be the consequences what they may.

There is no occasion to say much of Gunkel's monograph on Elijah. The criticism is, as we should expect, masterly, and it shows that delicate sympathy with the literary merits of the best Hebrew narrative which gives Gunkel a unique place among German scholars. It is much to be wished that Gunkel would give the world a series of popular studies on Hebrew history like that which now lies before us. It would be worth while to translate them into good English.

Kluge's essay on the Priesthood maintains a theory on its origin among the Hebrews which seems to be incredible. He bases it on the well-known passage, Exod. xix. 4-6, according to which Israel is to be "a kingdom of priests," "a holy people." Kluge infers from this that in the time of Moses all Israelites were priests. He even thinks that all Israelites were circumcised, because in Egypt they had learned to regard circumcision as a distinctive mark of priesthood. Finally, for the sake of convenience, Moses chose his own tribe, that of Levi, for the actual exercise of priestly functions. They were to be in this respect the representatives of the whole nation. We would reply that no primitive nation begins with abstractions; the concrete and particular priesthood must have been long familiar before the idea of a universal priesthood could arise. This objection is confirmed by the fact that the passage in Exodus is in the Deuteronomic style, and is generally regarded as very late. The idea is late also. Jehovah by His free choice has made Israel "holy," *i.e.* separated it from the rest of the world to enjoy the peculiar right of serving Jehovah and drawing near to Him. We may compare Isa. lxi. 6: "Ye shall be named the priests of Jehovah; men shall call you the ministers of our God." Certainly the ideal is a noble one, but it arose at a late period and has nothing to do with circumcision. It is only fair to add that most of Kluge's little book is occupied with the doctrine of priesthood in the New Testament and in the early Church, and that all this part of his work is very well done. Moreover, his illustrations of Hebrew from Gentile religions are often interesting and helpful; see especially (p. 24) the note on the Flamen Dialis, and the restrictions to which he was subjected.

The book which we have placed last is the most important of all from a theological point of view. It is an attempt, and so far as we can judge a successful attempt, to correct an exaggeration which has obtained something like general acceptance among Old Testament critics. We may express the current theory in the words of Giesebrecht: "In ancient Israel nobody ever dreamed that God required each individual according to his works"; or of Smend, who maintains

that Jehovah was concerned exclusively with national affairs, and that a man had to seek help in his individual needs from private gods or spirits. He believes that sorcery and necromancy were popular, because the ordinary Hebrew was incapable of the self-forgetfulness which the national religion demanded. Now it is true that in ancient Israel the individual was to a great extent lost in his family, clan, and nation. "To a great extent," but not, as Löhr rightly answers, altogether. The writer of an ancient document (2 Sam. iii. 39) not only dreamed but believed that Jehovah would "reward the doer of evil according to his wickedness." So the seven thousand who had not bowed the knee to the Syrian Baal were under the protection of their God; and the very fact that from Elijah's time personal names were compounded with that of Jehovah, proves the same point. No doubt the fate of individual men was often mysterious, and the justice of Jehovah was thought to be sufficiently vindicated by the fate of their descendants. Still, Jupiter of early Rome was a god of justice for individuals as well as for States, and assuredly the early worship of Jehovah had the same twofold ethical significance. Again, it is true that the prophets, as a rule, address the nation rather than particular persons. We must not, however, proceed with such "vigour and rigour" as to expunge passages like "Say to the just man it is well" (Isa. iii. 10). Jehovah, through His prophets, summons collective Israel to repentance and amendment. But each individual, as Löhr points out, has to take his part in the work of reformation. In what other way could the national change be effected?

Oxford.

W. E. ADDIS.

THE HIGHER CRITICISM. *Three Papers,*¹ by Professor S. R. Driver, D.D., and Professor A. F. Kirkpatrick, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1905. Pp. x., 72. 1s. net.

THE republication in pamphlet form of these wise and sober statements of the methods and results of Old Testament criticism meets a timely need. As candid expressions of the "views which have been formed deliberately long ago, and held for many years" by scholars so trusted as Professors Driver and Kirkpatrick, they cannot fail to give direction and confidence to many who feel the strain and trial of a time of transition.

The criticism of the Scriptures is not the work of an enemy, but the duty and "necessity" of the Christian scholar. The Bible is, indeed, "sacred ground"; and "reverence is demanded of us as we approach it." But "inquiry into the origin, the structure, the character, the meaning of the books which compose it is not merely permissible, but indispensable." For "the aim of the Christian student is truth" (pp. 4 f.). Nor is the work of the critic the spinning of unsubstantial fancies. Allowing for the necessary margin of subjective speculations and extravagances which are the "excrescences" of all great movements, the issue of the critical research of the past century has been the building up of a solid structure of ascertained results, accepted by scholars of widely separated tendencies: the analysis of the Hexateuch into four main narratives representing "three well-defined stages in literature, legislation, and history," the compilation of the other historical books "out of the writings of distinct and independent authors, characterised by different styles, and representing different points of view," the ascription of Job, Qoheleth, the Proverbs, and many of the Psalms to a much later date than

¹ I. "The Claims of Criticism upon the Clergy and Laity." By A. F. Kirkpatrick, D.D. A Paper read at the Church Congress, Northampton, October 1902. II. "The Old Testament in the Light of To-Day." By S. R. Driver, D.D. An Address delivered in connection with the Jubilee of New College, Hampstead, November 1900. III. "The Permanent Religious Value of the Old Testament." By S. R. Driver, D.D. Reprinted from the *Interpreter*, January 1905, pp. 10 ff.

tradition assigned them, and the interpretation of prophecy by reference to the facts and movements of the prophet's own time (pp. 20 ff.).

What, then, is left after criticism has done its work? The last of the three papers, which is devoted to this question, may be summarised in its closing paragraph. "The Old Testament Scriptures enshrine truths of permanent and universal validity. They depict, under majestic and vivid anthropomorphic imagery, the spiritual character and attributes of God. They contain a wonderful manifestation of His grace and love, and of the working of His Spirit upon the soul of man. They form a great and indispensable preparation for the coming of Christ. . . . They fix and exemplify all the cardinal qualities of the righteous and God-fearing man. . . . They present examples of faith and conduct, of character and principle, in many varied circumstances of life, which we ourselves may adopt as our models, and strive to emulate. They propound, in opposition to all formalism, a standard of pure and spiritual religion. They lift us into an atmosphere of religious thought and feeling, which is the highest that man has ever reached, save in the pages of the New Testament. They hold up to us, in those pictures of a renovated human nature and transformed social state, which the prophets love to delineate, high and ennobling ideals of human life and society, upon which we linger with wonder and delight, as they open out before us the unbounded possibilities of the future. And all these great themes are set forth with a classic beauty and felicity of diction, and with a choice variety of literary form, which are no unimportant factors in the secret of their power over mankind" (pp. 66 ff.).

But most attention will naturally be devoted to the supremely important question touched on briefly in the first paper, and more resolutely grappled with in the second—of the bearing of criticism on the position accorded to the Scriptures as the Word of God. How does criticism affect the Christian scholar's reverence for the Bible as the "inspired" Library of Divine Revelation?

It must be frankly acknowledged, criticism has brought

into clearer light the human side of the Bible—the “earthen vessels” in which the “treasure” is contained. With this is involved the recognition of manifold individuality, variety of view and outlook on God and the world, and gradual progress through immaturity, crudeness of thought and conduct, and even “immoralities and barbarities,” to purer and loftier things. Nevertheless, the process is of God. The prophets and historians of the Old Testament “set before us, from different points of view, the successive stages in the divine education of the race.” Thus, “the great theological verities taught in the Old Testament are absolutely untouched by critical investigation.” They are but set forth in their historical development (pp. 26 ff.).

The inspiration of the Scriptures, therefore, is neither a verbal nor a uniform quality. “By inspiration I suppose we may understand a divine afflatus which, without superseding or suppressing the human faculties, but rather using them as its instruments, and so conferring upon Scripture its remarkable manifoldness and variety, enabled holy men of old to apprehend, and declare in different degrees, and in accordance with the needs and circumstances of particular ages or occasions, the mind and purpose of God” (p. 33).

We must confess to a strong dislike of the idea of “accommodation” by which Dr Driver explains the crudities and imperfections of the Old Testament revelation (*cf.* pp. 28 and 52). In its original import the word is no doubt innocent enough; but as currently understood it is too suggestive of the *disciplina arcani*. Is not the truth involved in the idea preserved, while the “offence” is avoided, by the simple analogy of “education”? God “educates” His children, like a wise Master, “line upon line, precept upon precept, here a little and there a little,” leading them beyond their immature thoughts to higher things.

ALEX. R. GORDON.

Monikie, Dundee.

DAS URCHRISTENTUM UND DAS ALTE TESTAMENT; Rede gehalten beim Antritt des Rektorates zu Bonn am 18ten Oktober 1906, von *Eduard Grafe*. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1907. Pp. 48. 1 M.

PROFESSOR GRAFE truly observes that in spite of all the proposals made to trace Christianity to Parsecism, to Buddhism, and other Gentile religions, it is more intimately connected with the religion of the Old Testament than with any other. He then goes on to trace in the various books of the New Testament and extra-canonical Christian literature to Justin how it was that the Old Testament came to be a Christian book. The Christians had a great controversy with the Jews, and in Christ all things were made new, and yet Christianity served itself heir to the books of the Jewish canon, as well as to the promises given to Israel, its forefathers, its history. On the other hand the Old Testament exercised a powerful influence on Christianity. The Gospel history was to a large extent moulded by it; Professor Grafe can scarcely believe that the cry of despair on the Cross was really spoken by Jesus; it was added, like other traits from the twenty-second Psalm, to the story of the Passion; thus does one of Professor Schmiedel's pillars crumble away. It was Paul, however, who, while he rejected the Old Testament as law, gave it a firm place in Christianity as a prophecy-book, and as a book of types of Christ and Christian things. Paul's doctrine of the two Covenants is, very curiously, not mentioned; it surely contains for Paul the very gist of the whole matter. The way in which the Old Testament is regarded and used in Hebrews, in the Fourth Gospel, in Clement, etc., etc., is very aptly, if briefly, exhibited; all the manifold dialectics of a great question are brought before us. The deeper, inner reason why Christianity had to claim the Old Testament as its own is, however, not set forth, viz., that it had the same God, the same morality, so great a source of strength in its mission to the Gentiles, and that it was in fact the same religion, though newly incorporated in Christ. One cannot

have Christ without having the religion in which He was brought up, and to which He gave all His powers.

St Andrews.

ALLAN MENZIES.

BIBLICAL CHRISTIANITY, by *Hermann Lüdemann, D.D.*, translated by *Maurice A. Canney, M.A.* London: *Owen & Coy.* Pp. xii., 82. 2s.

PROFESSOR LÜDEMANN believes in Christianity. He is convinced that it ought to remain, and will remain, the religion of men, no matter how far they may develop, because it is adapted to their real nature. But the Christianity in which Professor Lüdemann believes is not that of the churches and the creeds. It is something purer and simpler. It is Christianity minus the science and philosophy of 2000 years ago. When the great truth of the Christian religion was first enunciated, certain views of the universe, based on Greek dualistic philosophy, and strongly coloured with Jewish Apocalypse, were prevalent, and were the only available vehicle by which the truth could be conveyed to the men of that time. But a vast change has come over science and philosophy since then, and these old forms of thought are quite alien to us, and are now hopelessly outworn. The pressing duty of the present, therefore, is to strip Christianity from its ancient wrappings, and get at its real substance. The "historical understanding" of the New Testament shows that the essence of Christianity is the eternal truth of God's grace, the truth that "God is Love." This is the foundation of religion and morality, and the source of the highest life and blessedness for men. This is the religion of Jesus and Paul and John. This is Christianity; everything else is *ab extra*, and may be consigned to the limbo of outworn beliefs. When this is done it is found that "mysteries" disappear too; they belong, not to the truth of Christianity, but to the forms in which it has been conveyed.

This is the theme of Professor Lüdemann's booklet, which

is interesting, and written with a fervour that has not been lost in the process of translation. But it is too short. Readers who are familiar with this method of treating the literary sources of Christianity will not gain much from it; and those to whom the method is new will demand more than the brief and unsupported conclusions set down in barely seventy small pages of pica type.

WILLIAM EDIE.

Dumfries.

THE TRADITION OF SCRIPTURE: its Origin, Authority, and Interpretation, by the Rev. William Barry, D.D. Longmans, 1906. Pp. xxvi., 278. 3s. 6d.

THIS volume is the first of a series called *The Westminster Library*, edited by the Right Rev. Mgr. Ward and the Rev. H. Thurston, and intended to furnish Catholic priests and students with handy volumes dealing with subjects other than dogmatic and moral theology. The fact that the series begins with a handbook on the literature of the Bible may be taken as a sign of the times, one of many indications that the Catholic Church, with all its decrees and infallible pronouncements, cannot continue to be unmoved by the progress of biblical criticism, and is bound to take notice of its results. In Sections i. and ii. Dr Barry goes over the common ground of Introduction, and gives a very fair and clear account of the questions connected with the origin of the books in the Vulgate Canon. He is well acquainted with the literature of this large subject, as is evidenced by the very useful bibliography at the end of the volume, including both Catholic and non-Catholic authors. It can hardly be said that there is much originality displayed in the treatment of critical questions; for the most part Dr Barry is content with a brief survey of arguments and conclusions. It is not always easy to determine whether he is stating his own views or merely reporting those of others; but his sympathies are evidently with modern scholars, and he is not averse to some modification of traditional theories. In the case of the Pentateuch, *e.g.*,

he would be content with a "virtual rather than technical authorship" by Moses; it is a "compilation which has passed through many hands." Similarly with Isaiah; he confesses that "no effort to prove the intrinsic unity of the sixty-six chapters can be deemed successful," and that "it does not appear that Christian dogma would lose by giving these distinct but not discordant parts to more than one messenger."

To Protestant readers the chapter on the Old Testament Antilegomena will be interesting, as one not usually found in their manuals of Introduction. To the Canon of the New Testament Dr Barry gives little more than fifty pages, and here he adheres rather more closely to traditional lines. We should have liked a fuller statement of the Synoptic problem; but the writer is not troubled with "sources of sources." The only Gospels approved by the Church are those actually in the New Testament; and so "the Synoptic problem is one not of faith but of scholarship." The differences between the Synoptics and the Fourth Gospel are thought to be reconciled by saying that "our Lord spoke according to the Synoptists, but His thought has been set in high relief by St John," under the operation of what is called "retrospective intuition," an explanation which gets rid of the differences by practically saying that they do not exist, and which seems to ignore the chief difficulty, viz., the different views of the Person of Christ as portrayed in the Synoptics and the Fourth Gospel. The free handling of the speeches in Acts is admitted. They are not to be read as if taken down in shorthand: "lessons are driven home, explanations added, and speeches designed somewhat after the style of Thucydides." They are "a true but artistic rendering of what was said." From these examples it will be inferred that Dr Barry steers a middle course between the traditional and the critical positions, and his dispassionate review of both sides should serve a good purpose in presenting to beginners a more liberal view of the origin of the books of the Bible than has generally obtained, without unnecessarily offending their religious susceptibilities.

Section iii. deals with the Authority and Interpretation of Holy Writ. Here there is a great deal with which every open-minded reader will agree, as, *e.g.*, when he says of the theory of mechanical inspiration that it is "a dream, having no basis in the structure of our sacred books, and contradicted by their history," that "the spiritual intent of Scripture must be won through the medium of its letter and history," and that in judging such things as "historic sources, author's aim, and the degree of responsibility for statements which in a given case he assumes, we must look at the phenomena; by anticipation we cannot determine them." But it is difficult to reconcile a principle like this last with that submission to tradition and the authority of the Church avowed by Dr Barry as a good Catholic. The force of his conclusions is surely weakened considerably by such "anticipations" as the following, which appear in his preface, that "whatever is taken from non-Catholic sources . . . is of course only approved so far as it agrees with orthodox tradition or is compatible with it," and "should thought or language fail to harmonise with accredited Catholic teaching, it is beforehand retracted and disowned." Whether the dilemma of the Protestant is any more comfortable than that of the Catholic is another question; he too is hampered with his theory of an external authority that is infallible, but to discuss the merits, or demerits, of the two systems would require a volume larger than the one before us. Dr Barry writes for Catholics and from the Catholic standpoint, and for that very reason his little manual on "The Tradition of Scripture" may be commended to the attention of non-Catholic readers.

Dumfries.

WILLIAM EDIE.

NEWMAN, PASCAL, LOISY, AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, *by W. J. Williams. London: Francis Griffiths, 1906. Pp. 316. 6s. nett.*

THIS is the work of a Liberal modern Roman Catholic, a layman plainly, who is anxious to restate his Church's claim, with full maintenance of its exclusive character, and

to repel the suspicion of scepticism which attaches to his favourite Newman. The book is curiously disposed. First, a General Introduction: then Part I.: Newman—"(1) Newman as Sceptic and Idealist; (2) Newman as Traditionalist; (3) Newman as Sceptic and Empiricist; (4) Newman as Mystic—the Interior Argument of Newman and Pascal." Finally, Part II.: The Church—" (1) The Actual Position of the Church; (2) The Ideal of the Church; the Truth which makes us Free; (3) Marks of Corruption in the Dogmatic Life of the Church; (4) The Mission of the Church." Beyond these headings, there is no index or analysis; and who is to say whether we are to gather that Newman *is* in a sense an Empiricist (*e.g.*) or that he is calumniously so called? Authors are quoted—"Burke says";¹ "Dr Fairbairn says"; "Matthew Arnold says"; but rarely is a book named, still more rarely a particular page or section. Surely an inconvenient method! On punctuation and misprints we do not dwell.

Several theses can be disentangled in the argument. To begin with, there is the usual attack on the alleged corrosive influence of "private judgment." Free discussion destroys, and cannot build. Instead of mere intellect, we must appeal to "the whole nature." But further: instead of the individual, we must rely upon the race; while, for ultimate truth, we must appeal from the present to the remote future. As things now are, even an authoritative Church can only speak in the imperfect language of a growing mind. Truth will be revealed at Judgment Day; a "dynamic" view of reason forbids us to expect truth sooner. The attack upon the abstract and individual intellect is what has been called—wrongly, according to Mr Williams—scepticism, when found in Pascal or in Newman. Really, the answer to scepticism is given in Newman's theory of development as expanded by Loisy—*i.e.* in a theory of the *developing teachings of one authoritative Church*. It is a perfect

¹ Compare Acton upon Burke (*Lord Acton and his Circle*, p. 4): "In the writings of his last years (1792-97), whatever was Protestant, or partial, or revolutionary of 1688 in his political views, disappeared, and what remained was a purely Catholic view of political principles and of history." Is this true? The question is of no small historical interest.

egg-dance of an argument. If it fairly represents Roman Catholicism, that system is honeycombed with scepticism more than one ever dreamed.

The very first step is challenged by Dr Fairbairn. Supported by his studies of philosophy, and especially of the movement which culminated in Hume, Dr Fairbairn contends that the view of reason as a *part* of human nature—as a mill that grinds what is put into it *ab extra* by sense, or feelings, or conscience, or revelation—is fatal to belief and to sound philosophy. To an idealist like Dr Fairbairn, reason is the whole man; there is, there can be, nothing outside reason. So, the more Mr Williams protests that reason can and ought to act “organically” along with *other elements of human nature*, the more clearly does he write himself down as a sceptic in Dr Fairbairn’s black books. This is not to parry, but to confirm the charge, as Dr Fairbairn conceives it. It is at the best a doubtful view of reason—a faculty which in itself has no natural gravitation towards truth. All of us who criticise intellectualism have need to be clear about what we are doing and where we are drifting.¹

Rightly or wrongly, however, most Protestants make some such appeal as that which Mr Williams begins with and Dr Fairbairn so deeply distrusts—to “value judgment”: from the head to the heart; from mere science to the whole nature. We do not hold indeed that intellect corrodes, but merely that it is incomplete; and, when we have said that healthy feelings and healthy moral judgment contain the promise of religious truth, we believe we have laid a sound and sufficient foundation. What comes next with Mr Williams is to us an amazingly loose joint in the argument. The same unsatisfactoriness demands a second remedy! We must not only appeal from scientific curiosity to the moral nature, but must also appeal from individual insight to race authority. Why? If this is not

¹ At p. 123 Mr Williams misses the sentence in Newman which gives meaning to Dr Fairbairn’s charge of an “infinite series”—“Reason, in every act of it, depends for success on the assumption of *prior* acts *similar* to that which it has itself involved” (*Catholicism, Roman and Anglican*, p. 211, quoting *Contemporary Review*, Oct. 1885, p. 459).

scepticism, what is it? Why should the sound as well as the unsound individual nature be shut out from truth?

Then comes a second and still more amazing loose joint. The appeal to universal mankind might be regarded as an appeal to history. And, if taken as an accessory source of light, history has much to teach. For instance: that the Church of Rome has life in it, and does not owe its success merely to tyranny, or cunning, or spiritual bribes, or spiritual narcotics. That it is the largest Church (and probably contains the greatest variety of elements). *Contra*: That there is no universal organ of civilisation or even of Christianity. That other Churches exist, and grow, and are in some ways superior, and, amid faults of their own, yet do no small service to God and man. And probably this too: That rigid outward unity is not to be expected, and hardly to be wished, before the end of history—the region to which Mr Williams banishes real truth. Such might be the findings of history. The Roman attempt to rank as Catholic by ignoring or condemning every one else would seem to the historian most unhistorical—and probably might seem to him due to blind prejudice, if not to bitter inward narrowness, the most uncatholic and schismatic of tempers. Again we may say—changing the words, but not the thought—this would be the *biological* and *evolutionary* verdict. But now comes the paradox. As the appeal to the *whole man* became an appeal to *the whole of mankind*, so the Catholic voice of the human race turns abruptly into the Roman Catholic Church! The argument seems to run as follows: No truth without universal consent. But the only body which can claim to be the organised vehicle of universal consent is the Church of Rome. Therefore, no truth apart from Rome. The idea of a statutory organ for the universal life or universal truth may correspond to the prejudices of Romanism; but earlier chapters have not led up to it, and science refuses to back it. The only organism that is to count, the one which *calls itself* universal! This is a curiously doctored biology. Ideas, it seems, are to “survive” in Romanism alone! How can they survive where authority stands with a club ready to knock them

down? The voice may be the voice of Darwin, but the hands are the hands of Torquemada or Hildebrand.

The furthest extreme of scepticism meets us at this stage. Dr Fairbairn had bidden Newman test developments by the original idea of Christianity. Mr Williams rejoins—But *ex hypothesi* we cannot reach the genuine idea except through a circuitous historical investigation: (1) What has Christianity grown into? (2) Which of the outgrowths is the authorised and sole vehicle of the universal life? Mr Williams now seems to speak more sceptically than Newman's words, or even, I verily believe, than Newman's thoughts. The argument is not to be accessory; it is to be exclusive. *That means scepticism*—(1) historical—no knowledge of primitive Christianity, except as what must have been to give rise to Romanism; (2) religious—no knowledge of Jesus Christ Himself except as the supernatural backer of the Pope and his polity. What are the words that Newman quotes at the end of the *Grammar of Assent*? "My sheep hear My voice, and I know them, and they follow Me. And I give unto them eternal life; and they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of My hand." Yes, that is Christianity; close linked, living, perfect; without priest or Pope; and without room in it for Pope or priest. No amount of subtle ingenuity could console us for the loss of that, or make evangelical Christians view with any other feelings than anger and disgust a proposal to buy security for Romanism at the cost of Christianity itself.

Where does the Liberalism come in? In its own way, it comes in everywhere. The political claim indeed remains—Be a Romanist: there is no other hope! But every further claim is whittled away. Error is very freely admitted. It would seem as if the infallible Church always did the right thing in the wrong spirit. Much use is made of the few leaders in science and criticism who died in the peace of the Church, even Galileo—it takes courage, surely, to name Galileo as one of the recommendations of Romanism! A recent Protestant writer, Dr Troeltsch, has been arguing similarly; but he also, though not speaking to a brief, is riding a hobby, and riding it somewhat hard. Of course

the main "Liberal" position here is once more sceptical in its substance. Nothing is known as yet—the breach between the present and the ultimate future is absolute. So the Church can lay down in "regulative" language—the thought is Mr Williams', if the phrase is Mansel's—such approximations to truth as may be expedient or feasible. Their claim to outward respect is absolute, but to inward concurrence scanty or null. Is this a possible Roman apology, or is it the utterance of one very erratic "private judgment"? A pathetic passage on p. 293 shows us how uneasy the author is. His *apologia*—such as it is—vindicates a certain ideal or imaginary Church of Rome, not the Rome of the real past or of the probable future. Shall we then, or will any wise man, stake everything on Rome? For, if Mr Williams is right, then should Rome fail us (as it may)—then we must be absolutely sceptical, absolutely ignorant of God and Christ, absolutely hopeless.

That is one way of religion. Another way is better: "*My sheep hear My voice, and I know them, and they follow Me. And I give unto them eternal life; and they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of My hand.*"

Manchester.

ROBERT MACKINTOSH.

RUDOLF EUCKEN'S PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE, by
W. R. Boyce Gibson. London: A. & C. Black, 1906.
Pp. viii., 168. 3s. 6d. nett.

THE writer of this book in his Preface states the motive for its publication—"the deep respect I feel for the work and personality of Professor Eucken, and a profound sense of the importance of his teaching for philosophy, for religion, and for everyday life." He also acknowledges his great indebtedness to "Professor Eucken himself, who very kindly read through all the proof sheets, and assisted me in many ways with the most unfailing cordiality and goodwill."

The volume may then be regarded as an authoritative as well as sympathetic exposition of the philosophy of a thinker to whose importance I had the pleasure of calling attention in a review of his volume on the *Truth of Religion*

in this Journal (vol. i. p. 664). It gives me very great personal satisfaction most cordially to welcome this worthy endeavour to make Eucken's philosophy more widely known.

In the *first chapter*, after a short sketch of the life of Eucken, the writer, while confessing that in regard to this philosophy he is "profoundly convinced of its vitality and fundamental soundness," candidly criticises Eucken's excessive anti-intellectualism and his disregard of psychology, and is able to show, from his correspondence with the philosopher, that he himself recognises these defects in his own philosophy. The function the writer assigns to this system he states as follows: "It is the comprehensive vitality of the new idealism that would justify its serving as a focus or rallying-point for the varied idealistic effort of the present day." In Eucken's system, naturalism and intellectualism alike are criticised from the standpoint of personalism, which takes the whole personality as its ultimate category; and his own philosophy is constructed in the form of a plea for "the life of heroic spiritual activity," in which, from the stage of nature by renunciation (the negative movement), the individual attains liberty, in contact "with the life of the Absolute Spirit," and co-operating "in the spiritual transfiguration of the universe." The philosophy in this defence of spiritual liberty is as religious as it is ethical.

The *second chapter* deals with "Eucken's views of the relation of philosophy to history, particularly to the history of philosophy, illustrated by his own handling of the philosophy of Augustine." One sentence may sum up the matter. "Two great conceptions thus stand out as indispensable guides to the true interpretation of history—the conception of *an eternal spiritual present*, in which the past relives with a new spiritual meaning and value in the consciousness that has made it its own; and the conception of a *free appropriative activity*, that sustains this immortalised past, and is perpetually going back upon the prosaic record of events, and drawing new strength from it in the light of new ideas." This method is described as on its analytical side *reductive*, tracing all ideas back to their inward roots in the personality; and as on its synthetic side

noological, that is, from the standpoint of the *spirit*, avoiding the one-sidedness of the *cosmological* method, "which treats of the world out of relation to the individual consciousness," and of the *psychological* method, "which treats the individual out of relation to a world."

In the *third chapter* Eucken's philosophy of history is further discussed. The historical *fact* must be, according to his view, "a *Lebenssystem*, some systematised whole of life," not an isolated event, but a movement with beginning and middle, even if it lack a finish. Illustrations of a *Lebenssystem* are naturalism and intellectualism. *Syntagma* the philosopher also uses for such a world-view. His criticism of naturalism and intellectualism, the exposition of which is continued in *Chapter IV.* of this book, must be passed over.

The *fifth chapter* is devoted to Eucken's discussion of the "negative movement," which is "negative and critical" in treating such "philosophies as do not allow for it"; but "positive and constructive" in expounding the "philosophy of life which regards it as indispensable." Naturalism, intellectualism, optimism, pantheism so acquiesce in the world as it is that they exclude this negative movement. A break with the past, Eucken holds, is necessary to progress.

The *sixth chapter* presents "the great alternative: nature or spirit, individuality or personality." Man must rise from the one to the other. He must become a spiritual personality, having a "being-for-self," and not merged in the divine consciousness, though developed by contact with the divine life. This spiritual personality expresses itself in "a life of action, which includes and envelops an objectivity within itself, and transfigures it in so doing." The self uses and subdues the world in its own free activity. The complete subjugation is anticipated in the religious life, in which the self is satisfied in intimacy of life with God—the all-embracing spiritual life.

In the *seventh chapter* the import of the religious life in Eucken's philosophy is expounded. Revelation, the union of the human and the divine, is an individual experience.

"Our moral activities seeking for the sources of their inspiration, receive in the depths of our nature a re-awakening and renewal that can only be called religious ; our human freedom is uplifted and consecrated by a grace that is no mere product of our own activity, but a salvation straight from God." The birthplace of this spiritual life of man Eucken calls *Gemüth*. A rational account cannot be given of it ; here Mr Gibson charges Eucken with "resigning himself to an irrationalism which is radically inconsistent with his own theory of knowledge." The union of the divine and human, the freedom of man, and the oneness of moral freedom and religious dependence on God are "characterised as being at once insoluble mysteries and axiomatic certainties." Mr Gibson insists that each stage of personal development brings with it its own self-interpreting reason, and that this cannot be consistently denied of the highest stage. As *Chapter VIII.* deals with the mere abstract problem of knowledge, it may here be passed over.

Chapter IX. contains acute criticism of Eucken's views on the relation of unity and multiplicity (in a philosophy of life represented by spiritual order and moral freedom), on the distinction of substance and existence (or of personality in its unity and in its division, regarded as a collection of psychical powers), on the *noological* and *psychological* methods. In this connection Mr Gibson rightly advocates a new psychological method, which "must presuppose the freedom of the developing individual and the solidarity of the various psychical functions, not only *inter se*, but with the object or world in and through which they develop" ; and "must start, not from atomic states of consciousness, but from vital unities of interest and endeavour, and in this sense must be from the outset teleological in tendency." Such a psychology would correct some of the defects of Eucken's method.

In the *tenth chapter* "the limitations of the foregoing treatment of Eucken's philosophy" are indicated. Stress is laid on the fundamental principles and their development, while also note is taken of any deviation from them. Mr Gibson excuses himself from dealing with Eucken's work—

the *Truth of Religion*—on the ground that it did not require special attention from the general point of view. This I cannot but regret. I am inclined to attach more importance to the distinction Eucken makes between a universal and a characteristic religion than Mr Gibson seems to do. It seems to me also very desirable that Eucken's attitude to Christianity should have been more closely defined. Only with qualifications should I assent to Mr Gibson's judgment that "Eucken's philosophy is essentially a Christian philosophy of life." It may be "a restatement and development in philosophical form of the religious teaching of Jesus"; but in its denial of the unique mediation of Christ in the religious life, it opposes itself to a characteristic feature of the Christian faith (see my review in vol. i. of this Journal, p. 664). Want of space compels me to pass over Mr Gibson's skilful defence of Eucken's philosophy in respect of his treatment of the oppositions of immanence and transcendence, personalism and absolutism, and his candid admission of some of its defects, especially in its disregard of the mystical in life and philosophy. In Eucken's defence of freedom two truths are said to be affirmed, first, "that a spiritual realm, a social culture in which ideas dominate and prevail, is still in the making"; second, "that our moral freedom is rooted in the religious life; that our freedom as autonomous law-givers gains its deepest significance through that perpetual act of self-surrender which expresses our dependence upon God." It is on these grounds that Mr Gibson calls this philosophy a religious, even a Christian idealism. Mr Gibson may be congratulated very heartily on the worthy subject he has chosen, the skilful, sympathetic exposition he has given, and the valuable contribution he has thus made to philosophical thought tending toward Christian faith.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

London.

THE UNITY OF THE WILL : Studies of an Irrationalist, by *George Ainslie Hight*. London : *Chapman & Hall, Ltd.* Pp. xv., 244. 10s. 6d. nett.

THE writer of this book is to be numbered among those who have turned from the thought of the West to find the satisfaction of their rational and religious needs in the religious philosophy of India. He takes over from Schopenhauer the doctrine of the primacy of the Will, but his circle of ideas is substantially that of the Vedānta. His starting-point is the idea of the unity of all existence. Everything that exists—a stone and a plant, no less than a human soul—is the manifestation of a single principle. What is this fundamental reality? Science cannot tell us; forward and backward science leads us into the unknown. Nor can dialectic help us, for the primary reality is undemonstrable, and incapable of being formulated in words. It is not thought, for thought is but a product of the brain, which is an elaborate mechanism for the transformation of energy. It is not any substance, for there is no real permanence. Individuality is as transient as the waves on the surface of the water. The only reality is action. Every object, from the human brain to the rocks and the soil, is but a contrivance for the transforming of energy of one kind into energy of another. This universal energy reveals itself in our consciousness as Will. By the metaphysical Will, we are not to understand Will as directed to any particular object. It has neither direction nor parts nor beginning nor end. "Fully to comprehend its depths you must shut off the picture, not only that of the external senses, but all objects of desire, appetites, pains, pleasures within your own body, and then in solitude, transported high above human things, in the dream of poetry, in the wrapt contemplation of the peaceful beauty of nature, in the ecstasy of music, your Will rises before your consciousness, not as desire, still less as appetite, but as a deep, vague, undirected longing, a *sehnsucht* overwhelming your being and blinding your senses to things external. You are conscious only of the one amidst the many, which no words can tell. Individuality has fallen

away with the burden of *avidyā*, and you are one with your fellow-creatures, one with all creation ; one lever in a wondrous mechanism, nothing by itself, but in its place in connexion with the whole performing a vital function."

To criticise such a system would serve no useful purpose. The book can hardly be regarded as anything more than a curiosity by those outside the Oriental cult.

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W. MORGAN.

FOR FAITH AND SCIENCE, by *F. H. Woods, B.D., sometime Fellow and Theological Lecturer of St John's College, Oxford, Rector of Bainton.* London : Longmans, Green & Co., 1906. 8vo. Pp. ix., 207. 3s. 6d. net.

LIKE certain other volumes that have been published of recent years, this book sets us thinking on the tremendous distance thought in the Church of England has travelled since the authors of *Essays and Reviews* were denounced as *Septem contra Christum*.

For Mr Woods comes forward, not as a critic, but as an apologist. The object of his essay, he assures us, is not polemical. It is written for believers who are beginning to fear that the researches of science may compel them, as honest men, to give up their most cherished convictions. Yet he gives away without scruple some beliefs which were once generally regarded as of the very essence of the Faith, and which are still cherished by a very large number of the clergy of his Communion. In answering the question, "What do I believe?" he declines at the very outset to give any of the recognised creeds or formularies of the Christian Faith. At a later stage he has some shrewd criticisms on the Creed which goes by the name of the Apostles. He is willing, apparently, to admit that the categorical mention of the three Persons of the Holy Trinity, in St Matt. xxviii. 19, may be an unconscious assimilation to early ecclesiastical usage. And in his criticism of the Gospels he allows himself a freedom which will not be approved, even by some of

those who are willing to apply critical methods to the study of the Old Testament.

The first question which Mr Woods sets himself to answer is, "What do I believe?" He takes up the position of the "average well-informed Christian." Of course, it is open to the obvious criticism that men who hold the most various beliefs all regard themselves as "well-informed Christians." On the other hand, those who insist on the necessity of dogmatic religious training, even in elementary schools, will hardly be satisfied with Mr Woods' statement of the "well-informed Christian's" belief concerning Christ, and God, and Human Nature, and the Spirit of God, and Sin. In fact, the typical well-educated Christian of the book is a little like Macaulay's school-boy, who knew just the things that it suited the author of his being to regard as elementary. But it may be granted that Mr Woods gives a very fair account of the beliefs actually held by a great many educated people without ecclesiastical bias in the present day.

The next question is, "Why do I believe?" As before, Mr Woods avoids the word *ought*. He confines himself to a description of the process by which a thoughtful and well-informed man does, in fact, commonly arrive at faith. Tradition and the Bible have their share, but the true source of his convictions is his inner consciousness. It is, indeed, the Protestant position. Even those who profess to found upon the Bible or the Church cannot escape from it. Whatever men may think they believe about the Bible, practically they never use it as a guide by itself. It contains a human element, and they in turn bring something of their own to the study of it. So the way is prepared for the third question, which has suggested the title of the book, viz., "What influence is Science exercising on the Christian Faith?"

As a particular instance, we have first a discussion of the bearing of the doctrine of Evolution on the Creation stories in Genesis, which frankly abandons the old attempts to reconcile the discrepancies between Science and Revelation. The mythical character of parts of the Bible is acknowledged,

but it is argued that there is a point beyond which the evolutionist, at present at least, cannot go. Science at present can offer no explanation of the origin of life, and room is still left for an act of creative power in the appearance of Man with his moral and spiritual nature. But, indeed, the doctrine of evolution makes a stronger appeal to our sense of reverence for God than the old belief in specific creation. The Bible may be to us a source of spiritual truth, although the stories in which it is embodied are not literally true.

One of the best chapters in the book (as we might expect from Mr Woods' reputation as a biblical scholar) is that on the Influence of the Scientific Spirit on the Study of the Bible, which contains a very lucid statement of some of the results of Old Testament Criticism. It is followed by another, equally good, on the Influence of the Scientific Spirit on Christian Doctrine, which should be of great use in showing intelligent readers who are not theological experts the process by which dogmas have actually been developed. If this were generally understood, there would be less superstitious reverence for the actual words and phraseology of the Creeds on the one hand, and less impatience of Dogmatic Theology on the other. Some of Mr Woods' remarks on doctrine are very suggestive, *e.g.*, that there is in the present day a common tendency (though not avowedly, yet frequently in fact) to conceive of the Holy Trinity as a Triad of Gods. One cannot help thinking of the shibboleth sometimes heard at the end of sermons—"Now to God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost"—which is really Tritheistic under a guise of orthodoxy.

A popular apologetic book in the present day would be incomplete without a special reference to Agnosticism. Mr Woods has written a very fair chapter on the subject, frankly admitting the inadequacy of the old teleological argument, but pointing out that the province of Science is limited, and that the plea for Agnosticism leaves room for faith in the love of God. It is pleasant to read a book of this sort, which is so perfectly honest in admitting difficulties and so free from special pleading. It is a book which can

be recommended to any educated Christian who wishes to be able to give a reason for the hope that is in him, and to gain a larger view of the Faith wherein he has been instructed.

WALTER W. COATS.

Brechin.

ORIENTATION—*Studien zur Geschichte der Religion, von Heinrich Nissen. Erstes Heft. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung (Edinburgh: Otto Schulze & Co.), 1906. 8vo. Pp. iv., 108. M. 2.80.*

ORIENTATION, as regards churches, is a subject tolerably familiar in this country, and is often looked on as a chance growth of superstition. It is, however, a growth whose roots penetrate to the remotest past, and it has good claim to be specially studied in the vast field of the history of religion.

In Germany, hitherto, little attention has been given to the subject, orientation in the realms of thought being more sought after than in material stones and bricks. Nissen, in these studies, endeavours to make up for past neglect. He sketches out for his studies a wide region, embracing prehistoric and ancient as well as more recent periods—Egypt, primitive America, the rude monuments of Northern Europe, the buildings of classic Rome, Christian churches—and the cognate subject of orientation in worship is naturally included.

He finds that the majority of examples have their origin in sun-worship, once almost universally prevalent over the whole Eastern Hemisphere, and still practised in South-Eastern Asia.

But while in the cloudy north the sun is almost exclusively the determining factor in orientation, it is different in brighter climes, where the stars shine with magnificent lustre.

Nissen begins with Egypt, which he finds peculiarly rich in material for his purpose, although research has accomplished as yet comparatively little in this direction. It was formerly believed, that as the temples there faced in all sorts of directions, there could have been no thought of orientation. This mistaken idea arose from leaving the stars out of con-

sideration. Of 21 temples investigated and measured, the orientation of 4 has been proved to be determined by the solstice ; of 2 by Sirius, the brightest of the fixed stars, whose rising is also coincident with the swelling of the Nile ; of 2 by Canopus, the next brightest star ; of 2 by Arcturus, the next brightest ; while other stars, Orion, Regulus, etc., determine the rest. The rite of orientation, when a temple was founded, was a solemn and most important one, as it fixed not only the position of the temple, but the god's festival day. The great feature was "the stretching of the line" between pegs driven in by the king in person, assisted by the god or by the chief of the temple founders or engineers. The object was to secure that the first rays of the star or sun should strike directly into the holy place, the god thus at his birth entering his temple. There was a goddess, Safech, who presided over laying foundations. Implements used on the occasion, made for show rather than for use, have been found buried under the foundation of a temple at Thebes—axe, hammer, and chisel engraved with the name of Thutmosis III.

This sounds modern enough, but is less wonderful than the persistence of these rites of heathen sun-worship taken over and reproduced in the Christian Church ages after with hardly any alteration. Nissen quotes Wordsworth's poem on the founding of the old Grasmere Church, dedicated to St Oswald, where the night vigil is described, and, at sunrise, the determination of the position of the altar by means of a pole set up against the rising sun, and a line stretched, while masons and priests assisted, the festival of the church or saint's day being also thus fixed.

In Egypt these oriented temples all belong to the great second or to the later epochs of Egyptian history, when the kings erected colossal temples to the gods. In the old kingdom the kings, themselves practically the gods, erected their own monuments, the great pyramids. Nissen believes that the secret of the orientation of these may one day be discovered. The dead Pharaoh, being a god, coursed round with the sun by day, but at night appeared as a star. But which star? An unappropriated one, and therefore difficult

to identify, but doubtless the star which determined the pyramid's orientation. In all cases immense difficulties lie in the way of getting correctly the astronomical data at such remote epochs. Astronomy was never practised in Egypt as a pure science, but solely from practical ends, and in the service of religion. Still, it has been found possible to fix many orientations, and each of these is so much gained in the knowledge of Egyptian astronomy. Further research is sure to clear up much, and will also throw much light on Greek and Roman orientation.

The Semitic races, though originally sun-worshippers, bring very little grist to Nissen's mill. We know that the Jews found great difficulty in stamping out sun and star worship, but they did so. Among them, the only orientation is that which is still in use, namely, worship in the direction of the Holy Land and their old central Temple, which, so far as can now be traced, had an eastward orientation. Babylon yields practically nothing, nor could much be expected, as their favourite cult was the planets, which do not admit of orientation.

On the other hand, Islam is of peculiar interest, owing to its recent origin. Before its advent sun-worship was a popular religion in Arabia; it is still practised in some parts. It was strictly forbidden by the prophet, yet the old ingrained heathenism asserted itself in the adoration of the Ka'ba, which regulates so much in Islam. This stone, called by Wellhausen a clumsy lump of heathenism, has become, in defiance of the prophet's principles, the centre point of his religion. It fixes the Kibla, so important a matter in Islam, that in churches adapted as mosques the mats, etc., are often arranged slantwise across the axis of the building towards the niche marking the Kibla, in defiance of all symmetry. The Ka'ba itself is thought to be oriented northwards towards some star, but measurements are not available. The Kibla of Islam was taken over from the Jews, and in both religions it is the abiding symbol of the narrowness and limitation of both; while the Kibla of Christianity, not directed to one spot, keeps in touch with the past, and yet takes an outlook wide as humanity.

Nissen goes on in the last chapter of this first volume of his studies to treat of land measurement and the orientation of towns among the Romans. Land measurement was looked upon as a sacred work. When a new town was laid out, if the situation permitted, it was so arranged that the Kardo and Decumanus, crossing exactly in the middle of the town, divided it into four parts. The best examples are Alexandria and Priene. Less visible traces of orientation are to be seen in Pompeii, Antioch, Naples.

The continuation of these interesting studies promises much, and Nissen's style of writing has a freshness that saves what might easily be a dry study from dullness. Symbols are not dead to him, but the embodiment of what once were, or still are, living religious ideas.

Rhynd, Perth.

JAMES BALLINGAL.

RELIGION UND RELIGIONEN, von Otto Pfeleiderer,
Professor an der Universität zu Berlin. Pp. iv., 249.
München ; Lehmann, 1906. 4 M.; Geb. 5 M.

THIS book consists of a set of lectures delivered in Berlin University last winter, to an audience consisting of students of all the faculties, as well as of members of the public. The lectures were delivered without a manuscript, and printed from the notes of a shorthand writer. They bear no traces of haste or carelessness, but are a well-arranged and very readable popular statement of a subject on which few have so well established a right to speak as Dr Pfeleiderer. As the title implies, the book furnishes in the first place a statement of what religion is, a condensed philosophy of religion, and then goes on to speak of the different religions, seeking to give a clear notion of the character of each. No section is devoted to the comparison of the religions with each other, but many a comparison is offered incidentally in the chapters describing them. The book thus forms a primer of the great subject of the study of religion, and as it is not burdened with references or notes—it has not even an index—and is full from one end to the other of life and

movement, it deserves to be, and no doubt will be, extremely popular.

The views of Dr Pffeiderer as to the origin and the validity of religion are so well known from his *Philosophy of Religion* and his *Gifford Lectures* that it is not necessary to dwell on them. The intelligent reader of this book will learn from it, without being a philosopher, that religion is an intercourse all men have practised with a Being inadequately known, but sought to be better known, and that it can be proved from nature, and from His relation to the world, that that Being exists—exists both in the world and above it. He will learn that religion is feeling and prompts to worship, that the true worship is moral conduct towards men, though there is a recurrent tendency to put formal acts of worship, which are only symbolical, in the place of what they symbolise. In the third chapter he will be told about the relation of religion to science, and shown how necessary each is to the other, as supplement and as corrective; and in the fourth he will be taken over the questions as to the origin of religion and its primitive form or forms. Religion is not traced to a single root, but animism, soul-worship, and the formation of abstract higher beings are all recognised as primitive. Fetishism is a degeneration: with this I agree. That magic also is a degeneration from direct worship of higher beings is, I think, much more questionable. The question is a very wide, indeed an immense one, and Pffeiderer's position, while true in some instances, cannot be accepted as a general principle. The origin of religion is found to lie not with the individual but with communities; naïve patriarchal Henotheism is the primitive form.

What remains of the book belongs to the history of religion. Ten great religions are described, two chapters being given to that of the Old Testament. The arrangement follows no morphological principle, but is partly ethnological, partly chronological. China, Egypt, and Babylon come first, the question of priority not being mentioned; then come the Indo-Germanic group, in the order Parsism and Mithraism, Brahmanism, Buddhism, the religion of Greece. The ancient religion of Germany is not taken up,

though the Indo-Germanic animism which underlies all these faiths appears in it most clearly ; nor is the religion of Rome, in which no doubt there is little inspiration. Then come the religions of the Old and the New Testament, and a short chapter on Islam concludes the book. The accounts of the religions are all uncommonly fresh and buoyant ; the main characteristics of each are drawn with a firm touch and with great sympathy ; the reader will only regret that they are so short. One sees that the author is acquainted with the latest lights on each subject. He quotes the view of Guinalt at the late Bale Congress, that the doctrine of Tao was an importation from Egypt ; and he states a suggestion which appears to be new, that the Hellenistic Christians at Antioch kept up certain rites they had practised in heathenism, applying them to Christ, and that Paul's doctrine of the person of Christ, crucified and risen, came afterwards, and was due in part to this suggestion. It may be regretted that Pfeiderer does not give any bibliography, but only refers his readers to that given in earlier handbooks. His own bibliography would have been of much interest and value.

No better introduction could be named to a study with which it is more and more necessary for every intelligent person to have some acquaintance.

St Andrews.

ALLAN MENZIES.

ADONIS, ATTIS, OSIRIS: Studies in the History of Oriental Religion, by J. G. Fraser, D.C.L., etc. London: Macmillans, 1906. Pp. xvi., 339. Price 10s. nett.

A SCIENTIFIC writer often finds it convenient to submit his views to the judgment of his colleagues in the form of a paper in order to profit by their criticisms before the appearance of his work in book form. Dr Fraser's labours are on such a scale that his *ballon d'essai* takes the form of a substantial volume ; where, however, as in the present case, the volume deals with a limited field and has a unity of its own, his procedure is amply justified both in the eyes of his

readers and of his reviewers ; the former especially will feel themselves in a position to follow his argument in a way that is impossible when they are tackling a work on the encyclopædic lines of the *Golden Bough*, to the third edition of which the present volume is a forerunner.

If we may judge by his preface, Dr Frazer has found that the criticisms passed on the *Origin of Kingship* will enable him to present his theories in an improved form in the *Golden Bough* ; at any rate he here invites criticism and welcomes it. The preface touches on another point of interest—the greater prominence given in the present work to the natural features of the countries in which the three cults were practised—this results from Dr Frazer's growing conviction of the influence of environment on religion, as on all other institutions. In this connection an obvious remark suggests itself—environment is not the only element of which we need to learn something ; mental characteristics and outlook on the world may in the long run be products of environment ; but they may clearly be developed in one *milieu* and transplanted to another ; there is a close kinship between the rites of Attis, Adonis, and Osiris ; does this point to a special psychological resemblance between the peoples who practised the cults ? For it is clear that resemblance of environment can hardly be the explanation of likenesses in the cults of Cyprus, Egypt, and Cappadocia. Or does Dr Frazer prefer the borrowing hypothesis with which he accounts for the wide area over which the cult of Adonis was spread ? Rites connected with agriculture and vegetation, wherever they are found, seem to be cast in a common mould, and Dr Frazer will probably say that this underlying unity of the cults is an expression of the fundamental homogeneity of the human mind. But the psychological modifications due to environment are a fascinating theme, and Dr Frazer's readers would welcome a development of this side of the subject.

The work before us is divided into three books, of which the first deals with Adonis. There is some reason for supposing that Tammuz, as Adonis is more properly termed, was a Sumerian god ; but we first meet with his name in

Babylonian literature. His rites were celebrated with much solemnity at Byblus on the coast of Syria and at Paphos in Cyprus. As early as the seventh century B.C., his worship passed into the Greek world ; and in Greece, as in Babylon, he is represented as the spouse or lover of a goddess. At Babylon it was the goddess Ishtar, the great mother of nature, and especially of vegetation, who was thus associated with Tammuz ; every year she was said to journey in search of him to the gloomy subterranean world, for Tammuz, himself the representative of vegetation, was believed to pass away each year, even as the fruits of the earth fall into decay and vegetation ceases with the changing seasons to give signs of life. The absence of Ishtar caused a general stagnation in the operations of nature ; the passion of love was extinguished, man and beast alike ceased to reproduce his kind, and life was threatened with extinction. In this extremity the goddess Ea sent a messenger, and at his request Alla-tu, queen of the infernal regions, reluctantly allowed Ishtar to depart after being sprinkled with the water of life. Whether Tammuz accompanied her is not clear ; but if we may judge from the Greek form of the myth, in which Aphrodite and Proserpine contend for the possession of Adonis, he returned to the upper world in company with the mother goddess. Tammuz was mourned at Babylon, probably in June or July, and the hymns liken him to the plants that quickly fade.

Round this theme, Dr Frazer weaves many speculations. From a general survey of the evidence he concludes that "a great Mother Goddess, the personification of all the reproductive energies of nature, was worshipped under different names but with a substantial similarity of myth and ritual by many peoples of Western Asia ; that associated with her was a lover, or rather a series of lovers, divine yet mortal, with whom she mated year by year, their commerce being deemed essential to the propagation of animals and plants, each in their several kind ; and further that the fabulous union of the divine pair was stimulated and, as it were, multiplied by the real though temporary union of the human sexes at the sanctuary of the goddess. . . . And if the con-

ception of such a goddess dates, as seems probable, from a time when the institution of marriage was unknown or at most barely tolerated as an immoral infringement of old communal rights, we can understand why the goddess was regularly supposed to be at once unmarried and unchaste." Dr Frazer notes that Astarte or Ishtar, the mate of Adonis, is, like Cybele and Isis, the female counterparts of Attis and Osiris, regarded as the superior divinity ; she always survives her lover. This Dr Frazer explains as "the result of a social system in which maternity counted for more than paternity, descent being traced and property handed down through women rather than through men." In the third place, attention is called to the fact that the Cinyrads of Cyprus and other kings are said to have committed incest with their daughters ; this, too, Dr Frazer explains by reference to the custom of mother-right. If royal blood was traced through women only, the king held office in virtue of his marriage with a hereditary princess. This explains the custom of brother and sister marriage in royal families, and affords a rational motive for the union of father and daughter, if we suppose that the king had to vacate the throne on the death of his wife.

Side by side with these newer speculations, to which we shall return in a moment, we find the older and more certain explanations of the nature and rites of Tammuz and his congeners, of whom Dr Frazer enumerates a large number. Tammuz was in historical times pre-eminently a deity of the corn, though Dr Frazer suggests that he was in earlier times a spirit of wild fruits. His passing beneath the earth was simply a mythological way of accounting for the dying down of vegetation, though there is an alternative view that his death and the mourning for him refer to the cutting of the corn. Dr Frazer holds that human victims were slain in the character of Adonis, and this leads him to suggest that the cult of the dead may have been fused with the propitiation of the corn spirit ; in Greece the festival of the dead seems to have been a festival of flowers ; and the "Gardens of Adonis" are well known ; indeed, their mention by Shakespeare suggests that they must have been in use in

England in the Middle Ages. In connection with the cult of Osiris, Dr Frazer recurs to the association of the cult of the dead with that of vegetation deities, but the evidence for it is slight, and the same is true of many of the speculations reproduced above.

As an example of the slender nature of some of Dr Frazer's evidence, we may take his argument in chapter ii. for the amours of kings and goddesses. Some of the kings of Byblus bore names compounded with *melek*, Dr Frazer says; now *melek* is another form of Moloch or Baal, who was their god. The king therefore claimed affinity with this god. To back up this suggestion, Dr Frazer cites other Semitic cases in which the king bears the name of the god. On this slender basis Dr Frazer hazards the suggestion that the kings of Byblus may have assumed the name of Adonis. Dr Frazer goes on: "But if Semitic kings in general, and the kings of Byblus in particular, often assumed the style of Baal or Adonis, it follows that they may have mated with the goddess, the Baalath or Astarte of the city."

In the first place, it should be noted that both *melek* and *adon*, as Dr Frazer himself points out, simply mean "lord"; they are therefore in no sense evidence for his view unless he can show that they were never used except by those who claimed affinity with the god. In the second place, no evidence whatever is produced that any King of Byblus ever called himself Adonis; the only evidence quoted is that of the names of some Canaanitish kings of Jerusalem; yet Dr Frazer uses the word "often" as if there were no doubt in the matter. Thirdly, even if the kings did use the style of Adonis, it by no means follows that they mated with the goddess. And yet on such a basis Dr Frazer says: "If, then, at Byblus and elsewhere the Semitic king was allowed or rather required to personate the god and marry the goddess. . . ." It may be the case that other Semitic kings did so, but there is no evidence in the work before us to associate them with Tammuz. It may therefore be said without injustice that the whole of this second chapter, which deals with Byblus, hangs in the air and has no solid foundation.

Although Dr Frazer quotes no evidence, there is some which he might have quoted. My friend Mr A. B. Cook points out to me that Probus says (*Vergil*, ed. Leon, p. 356) "Adonis regnavit in Cypro"; this is, of course, not indisputable evidence that the king assumed the title of Adonis, for it may be a mere piece of mythology to refer to the god Adonis; but Dr Frazer may not unreasonably claim to interpret the passage as in favour of the hypothesis that the Kings of Cyprus took the title of Adonis.

Turning to another of the speculations cited above, it may be granted that the goddesses seem to occupy the more important place, but that is far from saying that Dr Frazer's theory is justified. He speaks of "communal rights" as if primitive promiscuity or the so-called "group-marriage" were proved; so far from that being the case, the theory now finds few supporters outside the ranks of English anthropologists, and even they are by no means united on the question. The system of "mother-right," the tracing of descent and inheritance through women, does not, of course, necessarily hang together with primitive communism. Dr Frazer's explanation of the position of the goddesses is therefore not necessarily invalidated, even if his views on the origin of marriage are mistaken. But it is by no means self-evident that "mother-right" implies mother goddesses. In Australia, over two-thirds of which descent is reckoned through the mother, or was so till the tribes were exterminated, the gods are male; in North America, where the same custom was widely spread, the deities of the Red Indians were almost invariably male; in Africa, where inheritance through females, of small importance in Australia and America, determines succession to the throne, female deities are unknown or figure only in a crowded Pantheon. *Prima facie* therefore mother-right does not evolve the mother goddess.

It may be rash to generalise without having at one's disposal all the available data, but it may be argued that mother goddesses do not appear till a certain standard of culture has been reached. Is it accidental that these deities are found precisely in the area where civilisation first made its appearance? Dr Frazer probably holds that mother

right was once universal. It cannot therefore by itself afford an explanation of this very local character of the mother goddess. Can Dr Frazer point out what was the other factor?

An erotic element is often present in agricultural rites, and Dr Frazer makes this also a survival of primitive promiscuity. In presenting his evidence Dr Frazer seems to confuse three classes of customs: (1) irregular connections in intimate relation with the operations of agriculture; (2) the prostituting of women once only in their lives to a stranger in the temple of a goddess; and (3) the practice of religious prostitution. We may pass over the first class, for which the evidence is satisfactory. There appears to be no evidence to connect the second class either with agriculture or with primitive promiscuity—the whole point of the rite was that the woman must suffer the embraces of a stranger, and after Mr Crawley's discussion of these questions in the *Mystic Rose*, it is surprising that Dr Frazer does not at least allude to the view that the object was to thrust upon a stranger the dangers which the husband in other parts of the world evades by enlisting the services of a priest.

For the third class of cases there is also an alternative explanation. The club-house or bachelor's house is in some parts of the world, thanks to the licence accorded to the unmarried, a veritable temple of Venus in the metaphorical sense; the club-house also tends to become associated with the cult of the dead. These two elements combined afford a very simple explanation of habitual temple prostitution. Perhaps we may go further and say that if the distribution of the cults of mother goddesses can be shown to correspond roughly with the prevalence of religious prostitution, this type of religion is due to the female element in the temple elsewhere reserved for the other sex.

Dr Frazer seems to be more fortunate in his explanations of royal marriage customs; at least his theory holds the field; but further evidence of succession to the crown through women only is desirable, and, in particular, evidence

as to its comparative frequency. The case of William III. shows that isolated instances may be otherwise explained. In this connection we may allude to the case of the Flamen Dialis, who was bound to vacate his office on the death of his wife. It is by no means self-evident that this is a parallel case to the king who reigns in virtue of a right acquired by marriage; Dr Frazer must at least show that if the Flaminica survived her husband she remained in office and had to marry again; if she too was deposed, his case is far from strong. Dr Frazer has to reckon with the possibility that both husband and wife laid down their office in compliance with a rule enjoining ceremonial purity; for mourners' tabus are specially severe and long-enduring, and we know that the Flamen was subject to tabus of all sorts.

This survey of the more novel theories has covered only a small portion of the work, and lack of space will not permit us to treat of the remainder at any length. After dealing with Adonis, Dr Frazer passes on to other gods, many of whom are said to have died a fiery death. He discusses Melcarth of Gades and Tyre, Sandan of Tarsus, the god of the Corycian cave, the goddesses of Cilicia, Sardanapalus and Hercules; an interesting chapter sets forth the influence of environment, and Dr Frazer shows how prevalent were cults of fire, earthquakes, and similar gods.

Less than fifty pages suffice for Attis, the Phrygian counterpart of Adonis, and a portion of this deals with Christmas and other Christian festivals, which Dr Frazer traces back to the influence of Mithraism. Twice as much space is allotted to Osiris; we get an account of the myth followed by a dissertation on the Egyptian calendar; then we read how the Egyptian farmer's time was occupied. In connection with the festivals of Osiris, Dr Frazer hazards the suggestion that one of them was also a feast of All Souls, and shows the wide distribution of such customs. Then we have a discussion of Osiris as a god of vegetation, of his relations to the sun and moon, both, in Dr Frazer's view, of secondary origin, and of the doctrine of lunar sympathy. In another chapter Dr Frazer gives some

grounds for supposing that at intervals the King of Egypt personated Osiris ; but the interpretation of pictures of the festival is hardly solid ground for speculations of this sort. Finally, Dr Frazer sums up and deals incidentally with the Egyptian custom of brother and sister marriage.

Dr Frazer's literary skill has never been better displayed than in the present work. He has sometimes succeeded in giving unity to a mass of apparently incongruous materials. Here he had a real unity to start with, and if he does not always convince he always fascinates by his grace of diction and wealth of learning.

N. W. THOMAS.

London.

PRINCIPES DE MORALE RATIONNELLE, *par*
Adolphe Landry, Agrégé de Philosophie, Docteur ès lettres.
Paris : Félix Alcan, 1906. Pp. x., 278. 5 fr.

A WRITER who believes that he has found the supreme moral end and finally solved the problem of conduct, deserves some little consideration ; and although that may not lead us to accept M. Landry's gospel, it must compel our respect for the sincerity of his convictions and the vigour and acuteness with which they are maintained. A great part of the book—in my opinion far too much—is occupied with discussions of the doctrines of contemporary writers, mainly French, and to this I shall only refer, because in his effort to balance and conciliate opposing opinions the author comes perilously near displaying mere ingenuity, and because his views cannot simply be accepted for the reason that they are not open to the objections he makes to those of other people.

What M. Landry endeavours to effect is the fusion of Utilitarianism with a Rationalism void of any suspicion of metaphysical implication ; and, if we must consider him to have failed, his claim to originality remains in this effort to get over the hedonistic difficulty of conflicting motives by coupling hedonism to the demands of reason : *Le principe moral est le principe du plaisir. Celui seul satisfait aux exigences de la raison* (p. 127). That is the whole of

M. Landry in, shall we say, an egg-shell? But the egg is somewhat of a cuckoo's egg, laid by Naturalism in the nest of an unconscious metaphysical moralist. Let us follow, as briefly as possible, M. Landry's exposition of his doctrine.

His point of departure is from the determination of the true nature of the moral problem. Now, the moral problem is there because we are reasonable beings, and because our reason professes to direct our conduct; and it consists in seeking a principle such that, inspiring ourselves with it in all our acts, we should at the same time satisfy the demands of our reason. Now, reason demands that we should do nothing which we are unable to justify in our own eyes, and the approbation of reason is at once given to those actions which the ego, when it reflects and takes possession of itself, invincibly wishes (p. 187). We have to give up seeing in pleasure the unique principle which should determine our actions. Along with it there are desire, tendency, unconscious impulses, a whole series of diverse forces which act upon us, and with which it has no relation, or of which, at least, it does not regulate the efficacy. But what remains to be said, and that suffices to establish hedonism as an ethical doctrine, is that reflexion inevitably leads us to seek pleasure and avoid pain. By the adoption of the hedonistic principle as the supreme principle of conduct, the need we experience of doing nothing which we cannot justify finds itself completely satisfied. If it is true that we often follow pleasure exactly as we might follow any other instinct, we can also follow it after having taken possession of ourselves by reflexion, after having shown its harmony with the demands of reason: *Dès lors, la difficulté s'évanouit; et l'autorité du principe hédonistique apparaît identique à celle que nous avons reconnue à la raison elle-même* (p. 132). This is not all. Reason demands the unification of all our conduct. To be complete, the justification of an act implies a comparison of this act, taken in itself, with all its consequences, and moreover with those acts which one could have performed in its stead; and this comparison is only possible if one adopts a sole and unique principle

for conduct. There will then be a supreme end and common measure which will permit the value of all actions to be fixed. Finally, reason, being a faculty which universalises, no account will be taken in this measure of moral values, either of moments of time or of individuals. It matters nothing to reason that in the end what it approves should be realised to-day or to-morrow, or realised in regard to such a man or such an other. And all these requirements of reason are satisfied by the doctrine of general utility. It recommends us to seek pleasure and to avoid pain, which is what the ego, freed from the influence of internal compulsions, cannot but do; it furnishes us with a measure to which we can refer all actions. Finally it invites us to increase as much as possible the sum of happiness, to diminish as much as possible that of suffering among sentient beings, without pre-occupying ourselves with one moment of duration rather than another, without favouring one individual at the expense of another. The Utilitarianism thus founded is a rationalist doctrine, but it gives naturalism its due by refusing to put into duty anything transcendent. The idea of obligation is, indeed, M. Landry's *bête noire*, which he assails throughout his book with wearisome persistence. "You ought to do this" means simply, "If you wish to act like a reasonable being, you must follow such and such a line of conduct." The moral imperative is a hypothetical imperative, in the sense that it corresponds to a force which acts in us, and that it has reality only if the force—which is a natural force—is present and acts in us, and according to the measure of its action. Morality is something real which varies from one individual to another according to the greater or less influence of the rational motive. Immorality, understood not as the absence of morality or the insufficient efficacy of reason, but as the contrary of morality, has no foundation, and is even absurd, because it implies the idea—really destitute of meaning—of some authority or other which the prescriptions of reason would possess and which should subsist even where reason no longer made itself heard. In short, M. Landry teaches us that duty only exists because reason

is a natural force active in us, opposing other natural forces or uniting with them. The characteristics by which the moral need is distinguished from other needs are its universality and sovereignty, mitigating what has been said of its hypothetical character. It is a need forcing us to justify all our other needs. In morals we cannot go further back than reason, or deny the insistence with which it claims the direction of our conduct. The facts, if we examine them dispassionately, show us (M. Landry is here opposing Kant) that reason aids us to decide for those actions which appear best to it, that it has an influence upon our activity (p. 98). Duty is not something from which morality flows, but imposes itself gradually upon the developing rationality of the subject. The more we wish to be our own masters, that is the more our ego affirms and realises itself, the more the motive force of the rational need increases, the more duty imposes itself upon us. Altogether, M. Landry is as insistent as Kant upon the primacy of the practical reason. In its practical function, he says, reason is more exacting, complete, and profound than in its speculative. It does not merely unify, like speculation; the principle of unification must obtain its approval; it alone has the power of making objections, and cannot without absurdity criticise itself; it even measures the value of the end of speculative reason.

Here is a fine chain of reasoning, what are we to say to it? Simply that M. Landry has overlooked the fact that his premises are not self-evident propositions. Who is prepared to admit without further argument that the pursuit of pleasure is dictated by reason? Who is prepared to accept offhand the statement that to ensue pleasure and eschew pain is something which *le moi ne peut manquer de faire pour autant qu'il se libère de l'influence des impulsions internes*? Precisely the contrary might appear true to some people. How many will grant him without more ado that his conception of reason as something as natural and relative as any other faculty is a correct one? Or, if one does, will he follow M. Landry in regarding such a faculty as identical in each man, universal and sovereign? Then again, is his statement, that individuals, like moments of time, are equal

before reason, something we all see at once? Although M. Landry seems quite unconscious of the fact, where these are not mere assumptions, they are metaphysical hypotheses requiring further elucidation. M. Landry's psychology appears to be of the crudest faculty type. That his argument, even as it stands, would have any force apart from the implicit assumption that reason reveals the pursuit of pleasure to be the real end of our activity at the same time that it approves of it, I very much doubt; and if that is all, I agree with Kant that such an end may be more safely left to instinct than to reason, which is only likely to muddle matters. There are, M. Landry says, no absolute moral laws, but there are valuable generalisations, and it is well to live according to rules, even if these are in a minority of cases inapplicable. And he makes the very naïve statement: *Celui qui s'astreint à observer des règles-quelles que soient ces règles-sans jamais y manquer, celui-là augmente en lui l'empire de la raison, il rend plus facile du moins l'exercice par la raison de l'autorité qui lui appartient* (p. 254). The man who made it a strict rule to drink a bottle of whisky *per diem* would be very unlikely to increase the empire of reason as most people would understand that term, and reason is not a liability to hypnotic suggestion. This much seems clear, that for M. Landry the admitted reasonableness of the rules is not the essential; it is their evident derivation from the principle of utility. So that, after all, he gives us a sort of *à priori* ethics; special rules are to be deduced from the general principle of utility, and to be inflexibly applied, by force if necessary. *He* sees their reasonableness: others *must*.¹

To return for a moment to what M. Landry has just inculcated. Conduct is to be unified by the establishment of a common measure among pleasures which is to become the standard of our actions. Our old friend the hedonistic calculus has no terrors for M. Landry. He has no doubt whatever that pleasures are susceptible of quantitative analysis. He talks of them as if they could even now be weighed and measured with the accuracy of potatoes, and seems to expect that the advance of physiology, psychology,

¹ See his views on political action below.

and sociology will make their calculation as fine as that of gold-dust. There is no such difference as Bentham held between present and future pleasure. Of two pleasures, that to which our conscious ego leans is the more intense. This last statement sounds rather like nonsense, and, without going into particulars, it may be said that M. Landry still leaves the penetrating criticisms of M. Bergson and others against the possibility of the hedonistic calculus much where they were, although he talks of them as *écarté*. The paradox may be said to assume rather monstrous proportions when we are asked to believe that we can find a common measure for the pleasures and pains of different individuals without overwhelming difficulty. The pleasures of *Primus* and *Secundus* may be weighed and measured against one another almost down to a fraction. *Primus* has just to imagine himself in the place of *Secundus*, and there you are! The first calculus is admitted even by M. Landry to be *grossier*, the second *dans la plupart des cas très malaisé*: we cordially agree. *Primus* and *Secundus* are the most unreal of abstractions, identities to us indiscernible; but what about the application of the calculus to the Kaiser and the Captain von Koeppenick? You see people have grown up so very different from one another, owing to the postponement of the socialistic millennium and the lateness of a sound theory of ethics! It is the establishment of a better state of things that the author has at heart. According to him, if we inspire ourselves with the principle of the common welfare, we shall arrive at the conclusion that, to fulfil our duty in its integrity, we should require to divest ourselves of almost everything we possess, because, considering the great number of unfortunate people and their extreme misery, there is scarcely any fraction of our possessions or income which would not be more useful to others than it can be to ourselves. However, he does not propose to leave the matter to individual initiative. Nothing great, no general result can happen without political action. A more equal distribution of riches can only be brought about when the concerted action of those who suffer, and the disinterested among those who are privileged, under the present,

have succeeded in establishing, by force, a new social order. M. Landry considers a radical transformation of the *régime* of property and a redivision of accumulated wealth as being an improvement in general well-being, and a moral advance only in the power of politics to affect (p. 268). In the meantime, prudence limits our political activities, and the author recommends even extreme temporising (p. 267).

In conclusion, we recommend M. Landry to take his own advice: "Let us not regard any particular side of the moral reality in isolation, but keep the whole of this reality before our minds." His wilful isolation of the indissoluble elements of a complex whole—egoism, altruism, reason, striving, pleasure—could yield no such result as he hoped when writing this book, which must remain abortive, convincing one of nothing except the ability and earnestness of the author.

DAVID MORRISON.

St Andrews.

IDOLA THEATRI: A Criticism of Oxford Thought and Thinkers from the Standpoint of Personal Idealism, by Henry Sturt. Macmillan & Co., 1906. Pp. xvi., 344. 10s. nett.

THIS book attempts to follow up the line of thought of the *Essays on Personal Idealism*, edited by Mr Sturt four years ago. In his opinion, the value of the Pragmatist movement, which found its first definite expression in Mr Schiller's essay on "Axioms as Postulates," "lies in its recognition of personal striving, and its suggestion of a philosophy of the future which will treat personal striving as the central fact of our experience." Such a philosophy, he thinks, might be made by combining what is true in English Idealism with the results of modern biology. But in the meantime, the uncompromising attitude of Idealist thinkers makes it necessary to drive Anglo-Hegelianism from the field to give the new movement a fair chance. With this in view, he sets out in this book to expose the *Idola Theatri*, the fallacies that prevent appreciation of those facts of personality and evolution on which his synthesis is based.

He calls attention, in the first place (chapter ii.), to the Passive Fallacy as the besetting temptation of philosophers in all times. The thinker, separated from the bracing activities of life in the seclusion of academic work, tends to forget the dynamic character of human experience and to think of reality as static beneath its appearance of change. Concurrent with this fallacy, and in some sense due to it, are the three Idola—Intellectualism, Absolutism, and Subjectivism. To the discussion of these, he now proceeds (chapters iii., iv.).

Intellectualism, or, as Mr Sturt sometimes calls it, Static Intellectualism, is regarded by him as the most important of the Idola, and the chapter devoted to its discussion is one of the best in the book. The Intellectualist, he says, "is one who attempts to explain everything in terms of thought or reason to the neglect of other sides of our experience, more particularly of sensation and volition." The system of thought which is most fully worked out along these lines is Hegel's; but implicit or explicit, the intellectualist attitude of mind vitiates the thinking of all the Oxford Idealists. It appears in Green's metaphysics, and makes his account of God and human freedom wholly unsatisfactory; it underlies Mr F. H. Bradley's *Logic*, showing itself, for example, in his doctrine of the judgment as abstract; and even Prof. Bosanquet, who meets with a qualified approval, is not free from the taint. This, however, is to anticipate. In the first part of the book, the Idola are treated more generally in a discussion that ranges through Cosmology and the various philosophic disciplines.

Calling to his aid the "ordinary man," the man who "judges his pen to be real because he sees and feels it in his hand," he shows without difficulty that the Hegelian view involves the denial of the commonly accepted characters of things. "Ordinary men suppose that the objective material world consists of stones and things like stones. The Hegelian asserts much in the spirit of mediæval Realism that conceptions alone have real substantiality." So, too, Intellectualism, as Mr Sturt understands it, leads inevitably to a denial of the reality of change and time, and swallows

up the movements of history in the timeless abstractions of science. Ignoring the conative side of experience, it goes without saying that it fails to give any adequate account of the moral life; and even in Logic, where it should be successful if it is to be successful anywhere, it gives a wrong account of the nature and functions of knowledge. Judgment, for example, is identified by the Intellectualist with the passive recognition of existing facts rather than with the active execution of purposes. A recognitive judgment like "Here's a table" is regarded as typical; whereas the expression of active resolve, "I'll bring a table," is more truly typical, seeing that the recognitive judgment is always subsidiary to something beyond it.

Absolutism, the second Idolon, "may be defined as consisting in the assertion of an absolutely perfect and changeless being which includes within itself all individualities that ever existed or will exist." Hegel's system is again most typical; and we may venture the suggestion that Mr Sturt would have given a more satisfactory treatment of the subject had he chosen to discuss Hegel at this point rather than Mr F. H. Bradley. It is true that Mr Bradley is the chief modern exponent of Absolutism; but his Feeling-Absolutism is too individual to form the basis for a discussion of the general characters of Anglo-Hegelianism. The main contention of the chapter, that relations are bound up with Personality, may be an answer to Mr Bradley's view that relation is characteristic of Appearance and not of Reality; but obviously it has little bearing on any view of the Absolute considered as Reason.

The third Idolon is treated less fully than the extensive use made of it in the subsequent criticism might lead one to expect. Subjectivism, according to Mr Sturt, assumes two forms. The more obvious is the individual Subjectivism of traditional English thought, based on the proposition "that the individual mind has direct knowledge of nothing beyond its conscious states." Then by an extension of meaning, of doubtful legitimacy, Mr Sturt designates the Hegelian view of things Impersonal Subjectivism, "summed up in the phrase that the universe is to be viewed as Subject." It

may be true, as he seems to suggest, that this Impersonal Subjectivism is derived from the solipsistic form. But surely some attempt should have been made to justify the transition: the relationship is by no means obvious.

Having discussed the *Idola* at length in the first part of the book, Mr Sturt passes to a critical survey of contemporary Idealism in so far as it exemplifies them. T. H. Green, though strictly speaking not contemporary, still counts in Oxford thought, and against him criticism is first directed. The doctrine of the eternal consciousness reproducing itself in man is due to Intellectualism and fails to give proper account either of God or human freedom: not only so, but Green's work, contrary to his own genius, is marred by Subjectivism. Mr F. H. Bradley, whose thought is followed through the *Ethical Studies*, the *Logic*, and *Appearance and Reality*, has an even more comprehensive assortment of fallacies. He shows the influence of the passive fallacy, Intellectualism, Feeling Absolutism, and Subjectivism! And it is suggested in a rather perfunctory discussion that keeps in the safety of generalities, that Prof. Bosanquet is also under the influence of the *Idola*, though with tendencies to a better philosophy.

That Mr Sturt does not show at his best in these latter chapters, except perhaps in the analysis of Mr Bradley's *Logic*, is probably due to the weakness of his method. He does not "set up to judge these writers completely, still less to make an all-round survey of contemporary thought." Hence he emphasises differences and glosses over agreement; and he is tempted, in looking for examples of the *Idola*, to detach passages from the writer's thought as a whole. For example, it does not seem quite fair to find Prof. Bosanquet guilty of subjectivism on the strength of a single passage in a popular *Logic* (p. 334). So too when he characterises Green's view of perception as solipsistic on the ground that he "never makes it clear in what sense, if any, the object is more than 'a thing in our mind'" (pp. 245, 246), he seems to expect too much from a discussion that for a particular purpose emphasised the constitutive activity of thought in perception.

One might discuss at considerable length Mr Sturt's criticisms of contemporary Idealism. But the purposes of review will probably be best served by getting at what gives these criticisms their distinctive character—Mr Sturt's own point of view. The point of view, of course, is that of Personal Idealism. All through the book, he poses as the champion of Personality. Personal striving "is the central fact of our experience." Idealists have failed "to do justice to the most important fact in our experience, personality, and to the most important element in personality, volition." Mind is essentially "dynamic," "creative," "purposive." Expressions like these occur throughout, and the casual reader might be led to think that Mr Sturt had behind him a well-defined system of thought. But on closer examination, one finds that the system is yet to make, as indeed the author himself admits (p. 104). Now, the chief value of this attack on Idealism depends on the possibility of constructing such a philosophy of personality as the critic implies. Apart from it, Mr Sturt's criticism sinks to the level of a guerilla eclecticism that falls on the weak points of the Idealist without much system or principle. Can we find in Mr Sturt's work the promise of such a philosophy? So far as I can judge, no. It seems to me that no consistent account of personality can be given on the lines he has chosen to follow.

In the first place, his anxiety for the preservation of the finite personality leads him to emphasise its non-relatedness both to objects and to other personalities. He finds it meaningless, for example, to think of an Absolute that includes, or reproduces itself in, finite personalities, and he insists on stating the antithesis in such a way that either the absolute or the finite personalities disappear. Again, in his criticism of Green's *Ethics*, he will not allow that the idea of "self-realisation" is really compatible with the interests in objects and causes by means of which, in Green's view, the self is realised (p. 254). In short, to keep the Person inviolate, Mr Sturt seems to be forced to view it as an *exclusive* entity.

It is in keeping with this insistence on the peculiarly

individual aspects of personality that such account of knowledge as Mr Sturt gives is irremediably solipsistic. This may be seen in the exaltation of Psychology over Logic, exemplified, for instance, in his finding the permanent elements in knowledge in human purpose and plan, not in a reality that determines thought (p. 293). It appears again in his view of relation. The relational form, he says, is "a fundamental and essential character of personality." This sounds like Idealist doctrine, but, as a matter of fact, nothing could be further removed from Idealism; for, as is clearly brought out in his account of Green's "eternal consciousness," he thinks of relations as a product of the mind process, seemingly independent of reality, and called into being for the purposes of a particular phase of personal striving. Truth, as he says in an early chapter, is subordinate to relevance or interest; and interest is in its essence subjective and individual. It is no answer to the charge of solipsism to say that we have "an intuition of objectivity with certain conscious states" and that "all further experience confirms the postulate of objects." The question is not whether, and in what sense, there are objects, but whether on Mr Sturt's view of personality the Person ever can break out from the prison-house of his subjectivity.

If this view of Mr Sturt's work be correct, the philosophy of Personal Idealism must be content with a humbler *role* than he anticipates for it. But even if he fails to drive Anglo-Hegelianism from the field, he may at least hope to count in the work of re-construction which a living Idealism must ever and anon undertake. Such a book as this is a clear enough indication that English Idealism has failed in some measure to do justice to will, just as Mr Bradley's work indicates similar defects in regard to feeling. When the new synthesis comes to be made, it will probably take up into itself both movements of reaction, and give a more comprehensive account of reason itself in doing so.

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- (1) **The International Journal of the Apocrypha**, with which is incorporated *Deutero-Canonica*, 1905-1906, organ of the I.S.A., January 1907. 6d. each No., quarterly. (*Published by the I.S.A., 15 Paternoster Row, London.*)
- (2) **The Value of the Apocrypha**, by *Bernard J. Snell, M.A.* James Clarke & Co., 1905. Pp. 127. 1s. 6d. nett.
- (3) **The Story of the Apocrypha**, by the *Rev. S. N. Sedgwick, M.A. (S.P.C.K.)*, 1906. Pp. xii., 155. 2s.
- (4) **The Three Additions to Daniel**, by *W. H. Daubney, B.D.* Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co., 1906. Pp. xvi., 258. 5s. nett.
- (5) **Article, Development of Doctrine in the Apocryphal Period**, by *W. Fairweather*, in *Hastings' Extra Vol. of Dictionary of the Bible*, 1904.
- (6) **Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach**, erklärt von *Rudolf Smend*. Berlin: Verlag von Georg Reimer, 1906. Pp. cl. (*Proleg.*), 517. 16 M.
- (7) **Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach: Hebräisch und Deutsch**. Same Author and Publishers. Pp. vi., xxii., 95, 81. 5 M.
- (8) **Kanonisch und Apokryph**, von *Dr G. Hölscher*. Leipzig: Deichert, 1905. Pp. viii., 77. 2 M.

THE first three publications enumerated in the above list are of a decidedly popular character, and, as such, afford a welcome indication that the cloud of prejudice and obloquy,

which has hitherto for long surrounded all that branch of sacred literature which can be termed "Apocryphal," is at last beginning to dissipate. The fact that two volumes of popular lectures based on the Apocrypha, together with a magazine for promoting the study of it, should have appeared almost simultaneously, is all to the good. It bears eloquent testimony to a genuine revival of interest in this much neglected department of biblical study.

Popular neglect and indifference here have not been without serious results. "Hitherto nearly all scholarly works on the Deutero-Canonical books, from the *Speaker's Commentary* downwards, have been published at considerable financial loss; and this state of things must continue while the Apocrypha itself remains unread or unknown." We have nothing at present in English to correspond with the two splendid volumes edited by Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments* (1900). It is true the *Cambridge Bible* has made a beginning with the *First Book of Maccabees* (edited by W. Fairweather and J. Sutherland Black), and other volumes are promised. There is also the *Temple Apocrypha*,¹ which includes an admirable little volume on the New Testament Apocrypha (edited by Dr Orr), and all the volumes of which are provided with excellent introductions and brief notes. The *Century Bible*, however, which represents in other respects so great an advance in popular scientific exegesis, is still confined to the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments.

It is the laudable aim of the *International Society of the Apocrypha* (I.S.A.), which was founded a little more than two years ago by the Rev. H. Pentin, to stimulate popular interest in the study of the Apocrypha by enlisting students among the ranks of the clergy, ministers, and members of Christian denominations generally. Something like a propaganda in popularising this branch of reading and study has been started, and with marked success. The latest number of this Society's *Journal* marks a considerable advance on the earlier numbers of *Deutero-Canonica*. For one thing its space

¹ 6 vols., published by J. M. Dent, London. 1s. each.

is enlarged. Among its varied contents room is found for articles on the First Book of Maccabees (Fairweather), the Esther Additions in the Apocrypha (Streane), the Didache (G. C. Allen), the Personality of the Son of Sirach (R. G. Moulton), the Psalter of Solomon (Dr Bernhard Pick). Another improvement is the change of name. A very useful feature is the list of books (not confined to recent volumes), with short descriptive notices, which regularly appears in each number of the magazine (it would be well if dates of publication could be added in all cases). We hope the time may soon arrive when room may be found for one or two articles of a more solid and substantial character than those that have so far appeared. Would it not be possible to arrange for a series on some particular book which would expound the material (with new translations) in the style of Prof. G. A. Smith's *Minor Prophets*?

Slight as it is, and without making the smallest pretence to originality, Mr Snell's little volume ought to fulfil a useful purpose. It is sane, scholarly, and written in a style of singular gracefulness. It possesses a distinctly literary flavour. The four lectures which form the substance of the book deal with (1) Apocryphal Scriptures generally, (2) the Story of the Maccabees, (3) Apocryphal Legends and Prophecies, and (4) the Wisdom Books. Some statements of the author regarding the Canon need revision. To suggest the year 100 B.C. as a "sufficiently exact" date for the definite close of the Hebrew Canon (p. 22) betrays serious misconception. Apart from this the work is sufficiently accurate, and ought to be most useful in stimulating popular interest. Mr Snell's defence of the Apocryphal Books, as important for the history of religious ideas, as literature, and as works possessing present value for edification, is admirable.

Mr Sedgwick's volume, *The Story of the Apocrypha*, is interestingly written, though of a slight and quite popular character. The author gives a rapid *résumé*—somewhat attenuated in parts—of the history down to A.D. 70, dealing with the literature by the way (including also apocalyptic books like Enoch and 2 (4) Esdras). His book may be

found useful as a supplement to Mr Snell's. The treatment of the history might with advantage have been rather fuller and more critical.¹

In *The Three Additions to Daniel* Mr Daubney presents us with a work of much learning and industry. As a compilation of material his book will be found helpful, but it cannot be said that the author contributes much of value towards the solution of the problems involved. He collects the data, and reviews impartially the various estimates and inferences that have been arrived at by different scholars. His own remarks are sometimes exceedingly naïve, and he seems inclined (without absolutely committing himself) to a belief in the historical character of the "Additions" ("Song of the Three Holy Children," "Susanna," "Bel and the Dragon"). Each of the three pieces is discussed under the following heads: Analysis, (1) title and position, (2) authorship, (3) date and place of writing, (4) for whom and with what object written, (5) integrity and state of the text, (6) language and style, (7) religious and social state, (8) theology, (9) chronology, (10) canonicity, (11) early Christian literature and art, (12) liturgical use,² (13) "example of life and instruction of manners." Regarding the question as to the connection between Azariah's prayer and the "Song of the Three," Mr Daubney thinks they belong together. The prayer has remarkable parallelisms with the prayer in Daniel ix. and Baruch i. 15-iii. 18. All three are liturgical in character (notice the *national* note in the confession), and both in phraseology and thought are strongly reminiscent of prayers and supplications extant in the present Jewish liturgy, a fact which Mr Daubney does not seem to realise. Not improbably Dan. ix. 3-19 is an interpolation, and the prayer of Azariah and the "Song" (also liturgical probably)

¹ In this connection mention ought to be made of Mr E. Bevan's delightful volume, *Jerusalem under the High Priests* (London: Edward Arnold, 1904). Though it is primarily a historical sketch (and for this reason has not been included in our formal list of books above given), it deals with apocryphal and apocalyptic literature incidentally (especially in chap. ii.). It is by far the best book of its kind in English. Mr Fairweather's volume, *From Exile to Advent* (T. & T. Clark), is also very useful.

² This subdivision only occurs, of course, in the case of the "Song."

are likely enough interpolations of a similar character originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic. In the text translated by the LXX. they seem already to have stood in chap. iii. If the prayer and the "Song" existed originally in Hebrew, this fact might account for the interpolation not having won its way finally into the canonical Heb.-Aram. text of Daniel (though admitted in some MSS.), as the context in chap. iii. is Aramaic; whereas in chap. ix. it is Hebrew, and the incongruity would not be felt in the case of the interpolated verses (3-19) there. That the prayer and the "Song" are independent compositions is suggested by the fact that in the one mention is made of the absence of "prophet, leader, and sacrifice," while in the other the address to priests and Temple-ministers indicates that the former state of things had ceased. In his discussion of Susanna Mr Daubney remarks: "Another object may have been to extol Daniel and his judicial acumen" (p. 123). Though our author seems to be unaware of it, this probably was the controlling motive of the composition. It is a Midrashic narrative suggested by the name Daniel (= "*El is my judge*"), as, indeed, the title occurring in some Greek MSS., *Judgment of Daniel*, may indicate. On the whole question of the historical value of such narratives as these, Mr Daubney does not sufficiently appreciate a point which has been admirably put by an accomplished English commentator on the "Three Additions to Daniel," the Rev. C. J. Ball.¹ Mr Ball says: "We have to bear in mind a fact familiar enough to students of the Talmudic and Midrashic literature, though apparently unknown to many expositors of Scripture whose minds conspicuously lack that *orientation* which is an indispensable preliminary to a right understanding of the treasures of Eastern thought; I mean the inveterate tendency of Jewish teachers to convey their doctrine not in the form of abstract discourse, but in a mode appealing directly to the imagination, and seeking to rouse the interest and sympathy of the man rather than the philosopher. The Rabbi em-

¹ In the Speaker's Commentary on the Apocrypha. Mr Ball's work still remains the most valuable aid to the exegesis of these "additions" that exists in English.

bodies his lesson in a story, whether parable or allegory or seeming historical narrative; and the last thing he or his disciples would think of is to ask whether the selected persons, events, and circumstances which so vividly suggest the doctrine are in themselves real or fictitious. The doctrine is everything; the mode of presentation has no independent value. To make the story the first consideration, and the doctrine it was intended to convey an afterthought, as we with our dry Western literalness are predisposed to do, is to reverse the Jewish order of thinking, and to do unconscious injustice to the authors of many edifying narratives of antiquity."¹

Of works dealing with the Apocrypha (critical texts and commentaries) English scholarship has not been very prolific in recent years. Mr Fairweather's commentary on 1 Maccabees in the *Cambridge Bible* has already been alluded to. The valuable edition by Bensley and James of the text of perhaps the finest of the Apocalypses (and the only representative of apocalyptic literature in the official Old Testament Apocrypha), 2 (4) Esdras, appeared in 1895. But it still awaits an adequate commentary. In the voluminous literature which has grown up around the Hebrew text of Ecclesiasticus, English scholarship is honourably represented in the pioneer work of text-editions. Much solid work has also been done by English scholars in the form of articles contributed to the new Bible Dictionaries (Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible and Cheyne-Black's Encycl. Bibl.), as well as to the Jewish Encyclopædia.² In this connection mention—and from lack of space it can only be a bare mention—must be made of the elaborate and important article by Mr Fairweather in the extra volume of Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible (1904), on Development of Doctrine in the Apocryphal Period, which occupies seventy-two columns. It surveys the whole field of religious ideas, which had so fruitful a development within this period in Jewish religion, and deals with (1) the doctrine of God, (2) the doctrine of the wisdom,

¹ Introduction to the Song of the Three Holy Children, Speaker's Commentary on Apocrypha, vol. ii., p. 307.

² *S.v.*, the names of the various Books (*e.g.*, Baruch, Sirach, etc.). *Cf.* also the artt., Apocrypha, Apocalypse, in the same works.

(3) angelology and demonology, (4) anthropology, (5) the Messianic hope, and (6) eschatology. No English scholar has yet produced a complete commentary on the Hebrew Ecclesiasticus. Here France as well as Germany has out-distanced us. M. Israel Lévi published his admirable *L'Ecclesiastique*,¹ vol. i., in 1898, and vol. ii. in 1901, and now there has just appeared what promises to be a definitive text, with full commentary and elaborate prolegomena, from the competent hand of Prof. Rudolf Smend. Lack of space precludes more than a brief mention of this important work. In the smaller of the two volumes a critical edition of the Hebrew text is given, together with a German translation, notes, and Hebrew glossary. The larger contains no less than 517 pp. of commentary, mainly textual, with full and copious reference to the versions, and 150 pp. of prolegomena.

The last publication on the selected list given at the head of this article, *Kanonisch und Apokryph*, is a monograph by Dr Hölscher on the history of the Old Testament Canon. This pamphlet of 77 pages is an excellent example of thorough scientific investigation. The author discusses the subject under ten sections. In the first of these he deals with "the idea of the Canon," pointing out that while the word "Canon" is a specifically Church term, the idea springs from Jewish ground. He emphasises again the distinction to be drawn between the collection and official use of writings and the conception of them as canonical. In the one case literary factors are concerned; in the other, a dogmatic theory. Citing the well-known passage from the work of "the Pharisee Josephus," *contra Apion*, i. 8, which, though written in Rome (c. 100 A.D.), yet represents Palestinian views current among the Pharisees² in Josephus' lifetime, Dr Hölscher finds the essential marks of canonicity in the presence of the following factors:—

(a) Canonical writings are *Θεοῦ λόγια*, *decrees of God*, and as such are to be believed implicitly; they emanate

¹ *Texte original Hébreu, édité, traduit et commenté.*

² The author remarks, "To Hellenistic Judaism the essential conception of the Canon was, on the whole, foreign," p. 3 f.

entirely from the prophetic period, in other words they are inspired ;

(b) in contradistinction to all other (profane) literature they bear the specific character of holiness ;

(c) their number is exactly determined ;

(d) their wording is inviolable.

In the time of Josephus the idea of the Canon seems to have been peculiar to the Pharisees (Josephus' view of canonicity practically coincides with the Rabbinical ; he merely avoids technical Rabbinical terms). The Rabbinical expression "defile the hands," which is used of the canonical Scriptures, first occurs in the mouth of Jochanan b. Zakkai (1st cent. A.D.), while "holy Scripture" (*ἡ ἁγία βιβλία*) only occurs once before Josephus, viz., in the Pharisaic 2 Macc. (viii. 23). In the next section (§ 2) Hölscher discusses the Tora, and argues strongly against the view that there once existed a Tora-Canon. It is true the written law became more and more the ground-factor of Judaism after the time of Deuteronomy ; but it was not invested with the characteristic marks of canonicity till a much later period. "Like a tree the Tora grew ; no canonical limitations hindered this growth" (p. 12). The text of the Tora was not finally fixed till long after the time of Ezra. Toleration of redactors' work on an inspired book would be an impossibility. On pp. 14ff., the author meets the arguments put forward in favour of the supposed Tora-Canon. The most important of these, the fact that the Samaritan community has only acknowledged the Tora, he meets by arguing that the Samaritans deliberately rejected the prophets on account of the "strongly marked Anti-Ephraimitic character" of the witness of most of them. He does not deny that the law occupied a principal place and the Prophets a comparatively subordinate one. Only it was "not the [Law] Book as such, but the Law contained in it" that formed the "Canon" of the community ; in other words there existed a material, but not a formal Canon (*cf.* the case of the early Christian community, which, before the Canon of the New Testament had been delimited, possessed a "material" Canon in the traditional words of

the Lord). The objection as to the Tora having been first translated (and in a superior way) in the LXX. is also well met (p. 18). In § 3 the prophets are dealt with. Here also a "Canon of the Tora and Nebiim" is ruled out. The same principles are applied—a sharp distinction being drawn between the definitive close of the *collection* of the prophetical books (which had been accomplished before the composition of Daniel) and their *canonisation*. "The collection of the Prophets is not identical with their canonisation" (p. 20). There was no sharp opposition between the idea of the Canon as it existed in Palestine in the time of Ben Sira and that held by the Alexandrians. In § 4 ("The time at which the idea of the Canon arose") Hölscher argues strongly for the superior antiquity of the number 22 (as opposed to 24) in relation to the canonical books, Ruth and Lamentations being reckoned in with Judges and Jeremiah respectively, and forming part of the prophetic collection. This, he thinks, was the case in Palestine in the time of the grandson of Ben Sira (c. 130 B.C.). But the latter shows no recognition of Proverbs, Canticles, and Koheleth. Thus *circa* 130 B.C., the "Canon" was not yet in existence. The *terminus a quo* will be the beginning of the first century B.C.; the *terminus ad quem* is fixed by the Talmudic Canon-controversies. In § 5 an important discussion follows on the principles and determining factors at work in the formation of the Canon. As Josephus (c. *Ap.* i. 8), in agreement with the Rabbis, makes clear, this was found in the delimitation of a fixed period within which the divine Revelation, "and therefore, also, the production of canonical writings," took place. The superior limit is the time of Moses. "Before Moses no canonical Scripture can have been written." Job is no exception to this rule, for though he himself was regarded as a contemporary of the patriarchs, the Book of Job is supposed by the Rabbis to have been written by Moses. The period of Ezra forms the inferior limit.¹ "The teachers of the Law were con-

¹ In the technical language of the Talmud denoted by the terms *עז כמן* ("so far") and *מכאן ואילך* ("from this point onwards"), e.g., "The Books of Ben Sira, and all the books which were written *from this point onwards* do not defile the hands" (Tos. Jad. ii. 13.)

vinced that a period of divine Revelation, classical and normative for all times, had existed; only writings belonging to this period could be canonical" (p. 38). What was the governing motive for this procedure? The author finds it in the anti-Apocalyptic bias of the teachers of the Law. The Maccabean period, and the time that followed, was marked by a vast quickening of religious life and hopes, which found characteristic expression in Apocalyptic books. But the vogue of the latter inevitably threatened the relegation of the older religious literature into the background. "What availed the age of the Tora, which Moses had received, in face of the revelation which in the primeval period had been vouchsafed to the Patriarchs, to Noah, Enoch, and even Adam?" The Apocalyptic literature itself shows traces of a certain feeling of superiority (*cf.* Enoch civ. 11-13; and esp. 4 Ezra xiv. 44-47). Hence the necessity felt by the teachers of the Law for arriving at some principle for safeguarding the superior position of the older religious literature, and this was found in the theory of the prophetic period (Moses to Ezra). All literature falling outside these limits was necessarily excluded by this, and so Enoch and Ben Sira share a similar fate. The Pharisaic view did not, of course, win an immediate victory. But it became increasingly dominant in Judaism, and exercised a decisive and fateful influence on its later development.

In § 6 ("Allowed and Forbidden Books") the author justly draws a distinction between two classes of uncanonical books, viz., those which, like Ben Sira, Maccabees, Tobit, Judith, were good, orthodox, Jewish literature (*cf.* also the Mishna, Targums, and Midrashim), and heathen and heretical (Jewish) books. He suggests that by *ספרים חיצוניים* may be meant "Apocalypses" (*cf.* in Syr. *geljānā de juchanan* "Apocalypse of John"). This is very attractive. The "external books" (*ספרים חיצוניים*), the reading of which is so sternly forbidden by R. Aqiba (Sanh. x. 1), are explained to be heretical books. The term would not be applied, on this view, to such books as Ben Sira, Tobit, Judith, 1 Maccabees.

The last four sections (§§ 7-10) are devoted mainly to the discussion of "Apocrypha." The original connotation of the term is rightly traced to the esoteric use of secret books or teaching among religious or philosophic sects. The term is neither specifically Jewish nor Christian. In the first instance it is used by the writers of the books themselves, not as a term of reproach, but of honour. Apocryphal teaching and books in this sense find their analogies in Judaism. Hölscher defines the "idea of Apocryphal literature" here as "secret literature of isolated circles in Judaism" (p. 51). Traces of such are met with in Rabbinical literature where reference is made to mystical speculations connected especially with the "chariot"-vision in Ezekiel (מעשה מרכבה) and the Creation-chapter in Genesis (מעשי בראשית). These chapters, together with Canticles (which was allegorically understood of the mysteries of the Godhead), were regarded as possessing an esoteric character, and were only discussed by the initiated. Such speculative debate was ultimately regarded as dangerous, and banished altogether from orthodox circles. The same holds good of the Apocryphal (apocalyptic) literature. Official Judaism was at first friendly, and admitted the Book of Daniel into the Canon. Later apocalyptic writings, however, seem to have come under the Rabbinical ban. Josephus (a typical Pharisee in feeling) quotes only from the Book of Daniel among apocalyptic writings. Aqiba's sharp denunciation of the perusal of גליות is also highly significant in this connection if the latter word really means "Apocalypses."

In the next section (§ 8) a very interesting discussion of the meaning and use of the term גנ (ganas) follows. Here Hölscher argues strongly against the prevailing view that *gānas* means simply to "remove from public (liturgical) use." He points out that the Syr. *g'nīs* = *μυστικός*, and maintains that from the linguistic side there can be no difficulty in connecting the meaning of *ganas* and *ἀπόκρυφος*. Further, the term is used in a series of passages of uncanonical books (e.g., the *gilyontm*, and the *books of the Mintm*), and therefore the assertion of Moore that "it is

used only of books which were, after all, included in the Jewish Canon, never of the kind of literature to which the Church Fathers gave the name 'Apocrypha,' cannot be sustained. Where canonical books are referred to in connection with *gānas* (e.g., Ezekiel), what is meant is that a real attempt was made by unnamed people of an earlier time to eliminate the Book from the Canon, which attempt was, however, successfully resisted. It would be easier to suppose, however, that the attempts referred to really aimed at investing these Books with an esoteric character, which the teachers of the Law successfully withstood by the application of an exegesis which brought the passages in question into relation with the Tora. This view would agree well with the earlier meaning of ἀπόκρυφος. The term was also used in a material sense of *concealing* by burial. Doubtful documents (including spoiled copies of Tora-scrolls) were "concealed" or "hidden away" by burial. Hence, apparently, arose the *gēnīsa* (גניזא) or lumber-room of the synagogue, where such documents were retained until it was cleared out and its contents emptied into a well, a grave, or a churchyard.

In § 9 the author discusses "The Apocrypha in Christendom," the high regard in which Apocalyptic books were held in the first two centuries in Christian circles (the evidence is reviewed in detail), the change that took place in the third century, when, under the influence of the Greek Church, the oriental element in ancient Christianity was by gradual steps largely eliminated, and the subsequent disappearance of Apocryphal (apocalyptic) Books like Enoch from general (official) use. The later use of the term "Apocrypha" to denote Books not recognised in the Hebrew Canon, and then the Books extant in the LXX. which fall within this category—a usage quite foreign to the earlier period—is due to Jerome.

The monograph closes (§ 10) with an illuminating comment on "the historical significance of the idea of the Canon." "The opposition between the two tendencies [the legalistic and the apocalyptic] which was fully developed in the course of two centuries, and the most

important moment in which was the emancipation of Christianity from Judaism, resulted in the complete elimination of all apocalyptic elements, and transformed Judaism into Talmudism, which is nothing else than the Religion of the Canon" (p. 77).

Hölscher's monograph is of considerable importance, and deserves careful study. Every page is illuminating, the collection of the material is full, and, in the main, we are convinced that his contentions are right. Many interesting points have been passed over here from lack of space. Incidentally his discussion emphasises the necessity which all students of the Apocrypha must sooner or later feel, viz., that the literature must be investigated in the light of its whole development, and that the artificial boundaries implied by "Canonical" and "Deutero-Canonical" must be disregarded. The Book of Daniel, 2 (4) Ezra, and the Apocalypse of John are, after all, only links in a long chain, which stretches far outside "Canonical" or "Deutero-Canonical" boundaries. This fact has been wisely recognised by the editor of the organ of the I.S.A., which now appears under the comprehensive title of *International Journal of Apocrypha*, in place of the earlier, more restricted, *Deutero-Canonica*.

Linton Rectory.

G. H. BOX.

Reviews

DIE SÜNDE IM ALTEN ISRAEL, by Lic. Fritz Bennewitz, Pfarrer in Rheinsberg, Westpreussen. Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf (Georg Böhme), (Edinburgh: Otto Schulze & Co.), 1907. Pp. xii., 272. 5 M.

AS far as literary criticism is concerned, the general standpoint of this work is that of the Wellhausen school; later on we shall be able to indicate more fully the position of our author. Himself a pastor and preacher, he is anxious to show the advantages which the working pastor, *dem*

praktischen Geistlichen, may derive from recent investigations; and the homiletic spirit and interest are evident throughout. Indeed, he has experimented upon himself and his congregation with a view to this book, having preached for a whole year on texts from the Old Testament. Such a preparation has its dangers, for the homiletic use of Scripture includes suggestions and deductions from the text, which may go far beyond anything which was in the mind of the writers or those whom they addressed. When a preacher sets to work to give a scientific account of the religion of Israel he may easily read these suggestions and deductions into his documents. For the most part Pfarrer Bennewitz has successfully avoided this danger, though he sometimes betrays an amiable predilection for the more edifying view on doubtful matters. He writes with a competent knowledge of the subject and its literature, in a scholarly spirit, and with well-balanced judgment. The book is carefully arranged; there are good indices and a full table of contents; but the material is not sufficiently digested, the main lines of the discussion are obscured by the mass of details—quotations, references to authorities, and so forth. As usual the reader is expected to refer to his Bible about six times in each of many of the pages—a perfectly futile expectation.

The "ancient Israel" of the title is the pre-prophetic Israel of the period before Amos.

Bennewitz begins with a brief discussion of the literature of his period. He includes Amos, rightly holding that the presuppositions of that prophet afford valuable evidence as to the earlier religion. The only other available documents are the older portions of the Pentateuch and of the historical books, including ancient material preserved in the Priestly Code and *Deuteronomy*. In deciding which sections belong to his period, our author shows a sound judgment, although he must have been tempted to a certain partiality; for he had limited himself to a period for which little material is available, and he might have mitigated the trouble of making bricks without straw by

unduly favouring an early date in doubtful cases. But such a charge against our author could not be sustained. Naturally he rejects extreme views, which favour late dates, *e.g.*, the Exilic origin of the secondary (not the latest) strata of Samuel, and the post-Exilic date of the main Balaam speeches. But such moderation is quite justifiable. He refers the latter to the period of Solomon. The Book of the Covenant, Exod. xx. 22-xxiii. 19, includes very ancient traditions on law and custom; a very brief, simple form of the Decalogue, including the law of the Sabbath, may be ascribed to Moses; the episode of Nathan and David is genuine history.

Bennewitz holds that the religion of Israel is only comprehensible if founded by a great, consciously inspired personality, *i.e.* Moses, with similar, if lesser, successors. At the same time he holds that pre-Mosaic Israel had already risen to a religious level higher than that of the Semitic stock from which it had separated, and that the idea of sin amongst the Semites generally possessed an ethical element, pp. 10, 158, 160.

After dealing with the documents, he devotes about a hundred and twenty pages to the general subject of the consciousness of sin in Israel. The late Prof. Seeley used to say that history should be written backwards; our author obeys this maxim, no doubt unconsciously. He begins with Amos, and works his way back to the pre-Mosaic period, finding evidence everywhere that men knew that they were sinners. Sometimes, indeed, he presses doubtful material into his service. The consciousness of sin was no more shown by an Israelite washing his clothes before sacrificing than it is by an English working man putting on a clean shirt on Sunday morning. It is quite natural, however, that this consciousness should be found everywhere: it was inseparable from primitive religion. The early idea of sin, as Bennewitz points out, p. 159, was not always ethical; it included unconscious, as well as conscious, failure to do the will of God; and the terminology shows that no clear distinction was drawn between sin, guilt, punishment, compensation, and atonement, p. 50.

But he does not sufficiently emphasise the fact that the primitive consciousness of sin was only very partially ethical, and arose inevitably out of the conditions of life. The consciousness of sin was the consciousness of having displeased God; the displeasure of God was shown by His inflicting disease and misfortune upon men. Hence few could long escape such consciousness. Our author, however, touches one side of the real problem in his careful account of the traces of the recognition of the ethical character of sin; and here again he is right in finding traces of such recognition in early times. Another interesting question which might have been more fully treated may be stated thus: The primitive consciousness of sin is partly the recognition that an arbitrary standard of conduct has been disregarded: how soon and how far can we discern the acknowledgment that this standard is not really arbitrary, but commends itself to the conscience of man?

The rest of the book is devoted to special questions—the teaching of the older documents as to the universality, grades, origin, effect, and forgiveness of sin, together with a brief general conclusion. There is a long discussion, under the head of “Origin of Sin,” of the significance of the narrative of the Fall, in which the tendency to squeeze meaning out of details is unduly indulged. It is not sufficiently recognised that the primitive author adapted an older story. Many of its details he simply took over without either endorsing the meaning they originally had, or attaching to them any new interpretation of his own; he had the dramatic instincts of a good *raconteur*, and was not anxious that minor details should be edifying, so long as they were interesting.

Various references to sin are interpreted as indicating that sin arises in the human will through the use of freedom of choice (*Wahlfreiheit*, p. 194) and is not caused by God. We are not sure that the two causes, human and divine, were mutually exclusive in the primitive view of matters. At anyrate we must not expect to find in ancient Israel opinions on the obscure metaphysical problem of the Freedom of the Will; nor does Bennewitz, as we understand

him, maintain that such opinions existed. The language of popular theology in all ages constantly and cheerfully contradicts itself; it is libertarian one moment and determinist the next, without any intention of deciding problems which it does not understand.

The treatment of sacrifice is not altogether satisfactory. We agree, chiefly on *a priori* grounds, that an atoning value was attached to sacrifice in ancient Israel; but this feature is not emphasised in the literature as it is by Bennewitz. In other matters he recognises that much recorded in the earlier documents was survival from primitive cults. It seems to us that the attitude of the prophets of the eighth century suggests that this was the case with the propitiatory use of sacrifice, and that the latter was not prominent or important in "Jahvismus."

Though we may differ on some points from our author, yet we must thank him for a very sane and suggestive monograph, containing much information on the views of modern scholars. It usefully supplements the corresponding section of Köberle's *Sunde und Gnade* noticed in the recent survey of literature on Old Testament theology in this Review (vol. ii. p. 345).

London.

W. H. BENNETT.

THE MINOR PROPHETS (The Century Bible, Vol. II. Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi). *Introductions, Revised Version with Notes, Index, and Map, edited by Rev. S. R. Driver, D.D., Litt.D.* Edinburgh: T. C. & E. C. Jack, 1906. Pp. 337. 2s. 6d. nett.

THIS book deals with the second portion of the Minor Prophets, and from the point of view of scholarship will be regarded as worthy of one of the foremost and most trusted Hebrew scholars of the day, and perhaps also as doing more than any other commentary in bringing the results of modern criticism into line with what may safely be regarded as orthodox interpretation.

The great aim of the commentary is at once emphasised in the preface, viz., "to explain the prophets, whose writings

it embraces, in the light of history, to make their words intelligible to modern readers, so far as our knowledge enables us to do so, in the sense which they conveyed to those who first heard or read them. . . . Each as he spoke or wrote had his eye steadily fixed on the questions of national interest prominent at the time. . . . Neither the prophets' judgments on their contemporaries, nor the great ideals which they project upon the future, can be rightly understood without reference to the influences under which they wrote," etc.

The historical position is thus made the basis for all sound exposition. Such as still have a lingering fear of the effect of modern displacement of the antiquated orthodoxy which made the prophet the mechanical medium of inspiration and the mystic clairvoyant of the future, may be reassured by the following :—"Of course, at the same time, the writings of the prophets abound in elements of permanent value : the great principles of religion and morality which they proclaim, and which they also make the basis of their ideals, are applicable to all time."

Generous tribute is paid to previous authorities on the subject, particularly to the works of "the venerable Dr Pusey" and Professor G. A. Smith, and also to the more recent commentaries by Nowack and Marti.

While the Revised Version has been used as the text, it has necessarily been supplemented by numerous annotations ; and a very useful collection of archaisms occurring in the Revised Version is given and explained in the Index. Each book is preceded by a full introduction dealing with the main lines of discussion—the person of the prophet, the history of his time, the contents and occasion of his prophecy, critical questions connected with the book, and any outstanding characteristic.

A very striking feature of this commentary is the use of symbols in indicating the mixed authorship of a book. A glance suffices to distinguish the occurrence of a later addition, or the more prolonged work of a new writer. Thus, *e.g.*, the opening text of the prophecy of Zephaniah is preceded by [Z]; a later addition, such as ii. 7 (last clause), is

introduced by [A], the following verse being again preceded by the main symbol [Z] to indicate the original prophecy. The advantage of this system of symbols in dealing with a book of mixed authorship is still more appreciable in such a complex problem as the latter part of the Book of Zechariah, to which one turns with natural curiosity for the views of our learned author. Here we find chaps. ix.-xiv. subdivided as follows :—chaps. ix., x. [A¹]; xi. [A²]; xii.-xiii. 6 [A³]; xiii. 7-9 [A²]; xiv. [A⁴]*—a truly illuminative system, even though the symbols are here somewhat guardedly explained as indicating “Four anonymous Prophecies, perhaps the work of four distinct Prophets.”* In general, however, readers will note with satisfaction the crystallisation, as it were, of scholarly opinion thus denoted—further illustrated, *e.g.*, in the recognition of the thread of acrostic in Nahum i. 1-9, and in the assignment of Hab. iii. to other authorship than that of the prophet. The discussion of obscure texts, it may be added, is everywhere characterised by great learning and impartial judgment.

Particular value attaches to this most recent commentary in the extensive use Professor Driver has made of the rich field now afforded by archæological research in throwing light on the period of history dealt with; and although the record of an Assyrian or Babylonian monarch may afford less interesting matter to the general reader than that of a King of Israel, knowledge of its relationship with Jewish history is none the less valuable.

New Byth.

T. M'WILLIAM.

**LA CROYANCE A LA VIE FUTURE ET LE
CULTE DES MORTS DANS L'ANTIQUITÉ
ISRAÉLITE, par Adolphe Lods. Paris, 1906.
*Librairie Fischbacher. Two vols. 12 fr.***

M. LODS is a professor in the Faculty of Protestant Theology of Paris, and is already favourably known to the theological public by his works on oriental subjects. Several years ago he published an edition of the *Greek Fragments*

of the *Book of Enoch*, discovered at Akhmim in Upper Egypt, and soon afterwards an edition of the *Gospel and Apocalypse of Peter*, photographed from the text of the manuscript of Gizeh. He is also responsible for Part III. of the ninth volume of the *Mémoires publiés par la Mission Archéologique française au Caire*. More recent works of his deal with the institution of the Israelitish kingship, the Babylonian discoveries and the Old Testament, and the Hebrew belief in a future life. The enumeration of these works is sufficient proof that Professor Lods has prepared himself by preliminary studies for the considerable task which he has set himself in the volumes before us.

Before proceeding to a detailed consideration of ancient Hebrew belief in a future life and Hebrew worship of the dead, M. Lods presents the reader with a historic sketch of the development of opinion on these matters, more especially of opinion within the last thirty years. He shows at the outset that it was an axiom with the old school of theologians to regard the Old Testament as containing the same opinions as to future life as are contained in the New. It is true that the old Cambridge theologian John Spencer, in his work on the laws and ritual of the Hebrews, expresses surprise at the silence of Moses on the immortality of the soul, but he explained this silence on the ground that the great lawgiver avoided mentioning the subject, in order to put his people on their guard against the idolatrous worship which the Egyptians paid to the dead. It was not until historical theology became more or less emancipated from theological tradition, and acquired a certain amount of independence, that it was possible to entertain the idea that the ancient Hebrew writers were not only less explicit than the literature of primitive Christianity as to the state of the dead, but that they were possessed of entirely different beliefs. Biblical critics began to point out that there are practically no traces of a belief in a future life, either in the form of the resurrection of the body or of the immortality of the soul, in Jewish literature till about the second century B.C. Some critics held that these beliefs were of Persian origin, others thought that they proceeded from

Greece, and Renan admitted the possibility of their being derived from Egypt. But all were unanimous in the view that the early Israelites believed that death was followed by what was practically annihilation. Texts were produced to show that the departed forget everything (Ps. lxxxviii. 13); that they know nothing even of their own children (Job xiv. 21); and that existence in *scheol* is similar to the condition which precedes the advent of life. Renan, in his *Histoire du Peuple d'Israel*, comes forward as a pronounced advocate of this view. "The primitive Aryan," he says, "separates the soul from the body in man; he admits that the soul can exist without the body. The Semite had in early days a healthier theory. For him whatever does not breathe has no life. Life is the breath of God present everywhere. As long as this breath is in the nostrils of man he lives. But when it ascends again to God all that remains of humanity is but a little dust."

It is true that the voices of certain isolated Hebrew scholars were raised against the opinion which finds such vivid expression in the pages of Renan. It was pointed out, for instance, that the existence of practices, such as necromancy and the consulting of the dead, in ancient Israel tended to show that the Israelite did not believe in the complete extinction of the departed; but the predominant school replied that these were isolated and exceptional incidents which had no real roots in Semitic religion, and were probably borrowed from non-Semitic peoples.

The rise and spread of the anthropological school of inquirers into the primitive beliefs and customs of mankind compelled Hebrew scholars to approach the question of a future life from a new point of view. It is pointed out by this school that animism, although it may not be the earliest and most simple form of the religious consciousness, is nevertheless one of the earliest and most universal expressions of primitive belief as to the nature of what we should now call the soul. From the point of view of animism, all objects, including man, have a double, that of man being able to leave the body at will. This soul or breath or double leaves a man in sleep, in catalepsy, at

death, and is seen in dreams and visions, in shadows and reflections. The occurrence of death does not interfere with the continued existence of this second self. It remains intact, and continues in existence in the world of spirits with all the characteristics which marked it when it dwelt in the human form. Confronted with these results of anthropological study, the text of the Old Testament had to be examined afresh to ascertain whether it contained any traces of animistic conceptions. In the examination of these texts it had to be borne in mind that the Israelitish religion underwent a transformation in the age of the prophets, and that the literature of the Old Testament in its ultimate form was the work of a monotheistic school, whose object was to destroy the popular religion which the Hebrews had in common with the neighbouring nations. Professor Stade was the first modern historian to utilise the results of the study of comparative religion in his investigations into the pre-prophetic period; and he pointed out in his *History of the People of Israel* that the Hebrew religion at this early period contained many distinct traces of animism. Since then, other writers, especially F. Schwally, have followed in his steps; and the only powerful voice now raised against the view that animism was a belief of the ancient Israelites is Carl Grueneisen's in his recent work, *Der Ahnenkultus und die Urreligion Israels*. It seems to me that Professor Lods attributes too much importance to Grueneisen's book. Grueneisen is often arbitrary in his exegesis; and his imperfect acquaintance with comparative religion is a serious drawback to the validity of his conclusions. It is possible that the subject may be more complicated than Professor Stade supposes, but it is along the main lines marked out by Stade that the inquiry must be pursued. M. Lods admits this, and his own book follows those lines.

He points out in the first place that the Hebrew tribes, who ultimately constituted the Israelitish people, shared in a considerable degree the animistic beliefs of primitive humanity. He then proceeds to show that the spirits of the dead had a real life, and that the Hebrews of the heroic

age believed them to be in continuous relations with the living. Hence arose the funeral rites which we find in early Hebrew story. It was the duty and the interest of the living to perform those rites, either in order to avoid the intervention of the spirits of the dead or to make sure of their protection or simply to assist them in the unseen world. Among the Hebrews there were the elements of a real worship of the dead. The dead became gods—gods, it is true, of an inferior rank, but yet *elohim*. They were gifted with superhuman power and superhuman knowledge. Sacrifices were offered to them. They had their holy places, their sacred seasons; they were consulted as oracles. The dead were not on a footing of equality in the unseen regions. In the second volume M. Lods shows that there were differences among the dead in *scheol*, and that the worship offered to them differed according to the character which the living considered them to possess. The religion of the dead in Semitic antiquity had its valuable side in maintaining, for example, the solidarity of the family; but it was a form of belief which was incapable of much development, and it was in the nature of things that it should disappear before the Jahvism of the prophets. It is to be remembered that the belief in departed spirits among the ancestors of Israel had no moral character: it was neither a reward for goodness nor a punishment for evil. As far as reward or punishment is concerned, the primitive Israelite looked upon it as taking place in this world. The life after death contained nothing desirable for him. He could say with the ancient Greeks, "I had rather be a day labourer in the light of the sun than a king among the shades." The personalities of the dead are forms without substance; their voices are thin and feeble, like the chirping of birds. The idea of immortality to the ancient Hebrew was not a perpetuation of existence in the kingdom of the dead; it was the desire to live in his descendants; to leave a memorial behind him.

It would not be fair to Professor Lods' excellent book to criticise it on small points of detail, or to set up hypotheses of an alternative character to his. He would be the first to

admit that where the sources are so scanty and often so obscure, we must abandon the hope of arriving at historic certainty, and be content with acceptable conjecture. M. Lods' volume is written on the lines adopted by the students of comparative religion. This method of approaching the sources of Hebrew religion is still regarded in some quarters with considerable suspicion; and no doubt the application of it is perverted when it is utilised to eliminate all that is distinctive and characteristic in Hebrew religious life. But when the comparative method is not distorted in this way; when it is applied to discover what is unique as well as what is common in all forms of religion, it is the one method best calculated to shed new light upon individual religions, as well as upon religious phenomena as a whole. Professor Lods' book is exemplary in this respect, and it is to be hoped that it will secure many readers in the English-speaking world.

London.

W. D. MORRISON.

**ALTORIENTALISCHER UND ISRAELITISCHER
MONOTHEISMUS:** Ein Wort zur Revision der
entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Auffassung der israel-
itischen Religionsgeschichte, *by B. Baentsch. Tübingen:* J. C. B. Mohr (*Edinburgh: Otto Schulze & Co.*),
1906. Pp. xii., 120. M. 2.40.

IT is not to be inferred from the sub-title of this work that its author fails to recognise evolution in the religious history of Israel. His purpose is to throw light on the development of Hebrew monotheism, and his "revision" merely applies to the particular modern view that this monotheism dates from the eighth century B.C. The works of such writers as H. Winckler and A. Jeremias seem to establish that in the second millennium B.C. Babylonia, Syria, Arabia, and Egypt were permeated by one and the same "altorientalische" or proto-oriental civilisation, and further, that this civilisation has left unmistakable traces on Hebrew life and thought as they are expressed in the literature of the Old Testament. Admitting this to be the case, an inquiry into

the origin of Hebrew monotheism must reckon with the theological speculations current in this civilisation as possible antecedents of the Old Testament doctrine. Baentsch challenges the prevailing modern view of the origin of Hebrew monotheism on the ground that it unduly neglects the influence of this important factor in the case.

His work commences with a summary proof of the existence of what he maintains may be called a proto-oriental "monotheism" (pp. 1-42). It differs from Hebrew monotheism in being (1) esoteric, priestly knowledge not communicated to the mass of the people, (2) consistent with practical polytheism, the individual gods being partial manifestations of the one divine Being, and (3) interwoven with astral speculations which make the *summus deus* a nature power rather than a truly ethical personality (pp. 42-48). After observing that these differences exclude the view that Hebrew monotheism was borrowed from the older esoteric doctrine, Baentsch proceeds to establish his conclusion that this latter may still be conceived of as a contributing factor in the origin and development of the former. His method is to illustrate the prevalence of proto-oriental "monotheism" in Canaan and Midian prior to and in the time of Moses, and to show the correspondence between some (astral) features in the Hebrew conception of Jehovah and those of the speculation in question. The testimony of Hebrew tradition, and the necessity for a personal founder in the case of such a religion as that of the Hebrews, justify the conclusion that the definite step to monotheism was taken in the time of Moses and by Moses himself. The actual starting-point of his prophetic career was a divine revelation.

The view that monotheism in Israel was a product, on the human side, of "proto-oriental" beliefs, esoteric and exoteric, seems to the present writer to follow necessarily from the establishment of the view that Hebrew civilisation as a whole was an offshoot of a civilisation in which these beliefs flourished. But Baentsch's special thesis that this definitive monotheism dates from the time of Moses requires much more proof than he supplies. Supporters of the

current view that it originated in the eighth century B.C. will certainly feel that the strength of their position is simply ignored. It is grounded chiefly (1) on the account of the character of Hebrew religion prior to the eighth century B.C., which may be drawn from the Books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, and (2) on the non-existence of prophetic literature earlier than Amos and Hosea in the eighth century. Unless it be shown that these facts easily harmonise with the supposed existence of Hebrew monotheism from the time of Moses, Baentsch's argument carries the investigation not a step further. Personally, the present writer supposes that they do so harmonise if the following considerations are taken account of: (1) the historical books are not of a character to inform us regarding the best religious thought of the time to which they refer. Perhaps this may be granted when an answer is given to the question—What account could we give of the religion of the eighth century B.C., the century of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, if we were dependent only on the Book of Kings for our information? (2) The loss of older prophetic utterances than those of Amos and Hosea is not a matter to cause any surprise. Why should we expect the preservation of such utterances? Is it not rather the survival of the fragmentary remains of Amos and Hosea and their contemporaries that demands an explanation? And may that not be found in the remarkably speedy and dramatic fulfilment of their predictions of disaster, a fulfilment which came just in time to save their utterances from perishing like those of their predecessors?¹

On the assumption that the positive arguments for the eighth-century origin of Hebrew monotheism are not decisive, Baentsch's work is of high importance. It illuminates the Mosaic period, and shows that the prevailing conditions were favourable to the birth of Hebrew monotheism. It presents a plausible alternative to the eighth-century date, and one to which, other things being equal, a preference may be given on the ground that it coincides with the direct evidence of the Old Testament itself. The manner

¹ The *next* group of prophets whose utterances have been (partially) preserved also prophesied not long before the fulfilment of *their* predictions!

in which Baentsch works out his account of Mosaic doctrine is suggestive, and doubtless on the right lines if his fundamental positions be admitted. His book should be read by every student of the origin of Old Testament religion. Along with D. Nielsen's *Altarabische Mondreligion und die Mosaische Ueberlieferung* (1904), it champions a new conception, for which growing influence may confidently be anticipated.

Bala.

WM. B. STEVENSON.

**THE TEACHING OF OUR LORD CONTAINED
IN THE GOSPELS**, brought together under its
Principal Heads, *by John Boyd Kinnear.* London:
Smith, Elder & Co., 1906. Pp. xii., 258. 2s. 6d. nett.

IN this book Mr Kinnear has made a topical arrangement of all the Sayings of our Lord under ten main heads with subdivisions, with a view of facilitating the study of our Lord's Teaching. The idea of the book is not new. A few years ago Elliot Stock published a somewhat similar arrangement of our Lord's words under the title, *The Master's Guide for His Disciples*, and Blackwood also published *The Teaching of Jesus in His own Words*, compiled by the Rev. J. C. Walker. Mr Kinnear, however, gives not only the Sayings of Jesus, but their context as well, and in an appendix he has set the purely narrative portions of the four Gospels, so that all the matter of the Gospels is here under the various headings. His main divisions are, I. Our Lord's Nature; II. The Purpose of His Coming; III. The Good Message of God, or Gospel; IV. The Commandments of God; V. Miracles; VI. Rejection of the Jewish Nation; VII. The Day of Judgment; VIII. Call and Mission of Disciples; IX. The Crucifixion; X. After the Resurrection; Appendix of Narrative Matter. Mr Kinnear's task has been simply that of compilation and arrangement. He gives no exposition of the Sayings, so that the only question for a reviewer is whether the compiler has made a serviceable division of topics, and whether, having made his framework,

he has rightly grasped the purport of each of the Sayings, so as to set it under its proper heading. With regard to the principle of division, it seems to me that this is not quite uniform, being partly topical, as in Parts I., II., III., IV., and partly temporal, as in IX. and X. The Sayings during the Agony and those during the Trial, *e.g.*, are simply classed under the heading "The Crucifixion," irrespective of their doctrinal or ethical import, with the exception only of the declarations to the High Priest and to Pilate, which are set under Part I. It is convenient no doubt to have a conspectus of all the miracles, but to arrange them under the three heads of (1) Beneficence; (2) in Answer to Prayer; (3) of Warning, seems not sufficiently distinctive; and why are the miracles "of Beneficence" confined to the three particulars of (a) Turning Water into Wine; (b) Feeding the Multitudes, and (c) Calming Storms? It would have been more in keeping with what appears to be the object of the book, had the miracles been distributed among the other divisions according to the lesson contained in each, as is done in the case of the parables. The one miracle "of Warning" (The Barren Fig Tree) would have been more appropriately set in Part IV., "The Rejection of the Jewish Nation," where we find the parable of the Vineyard (Mark xii. 1-12 and parallels), and where too a reference might have been given to the parable of the Barren Fig Tree. To place the story of Dives and Lazarus in Part III., "The Gospel: (f) Punishment of the Impenitent," is surely to obscure its main lesson; and one does not readily see why the Beatitudes should be set under the heading "Call to Repentance." However, as Mr Kinnear himself is aware, in arrangement and selection of titles difference of opinion is inevitable, and from the same passage or saying more than one lesson can sometimes be drawn. At the end a dozen brief notes are given, by way of explaining some of the words in the Authorised Version which are liable to misunderstanding by the reader unacquainted with the Greek original, such as "offend," "publican," "comforter," etc. The list might with advantage have been extended

to include, *e.g.*, the term "hell," and perhaps also "worship," and one or two more. There is a very full "Index of Principal Words," which should be useful, as it is practically a Concordance to the Sayings of our Lord. On the whole this Diatessaron of our Lord's words may be expected to serve a useful purpose as giving a convenient synopsis of what the Master said on certain great subjects; and it is good to see one who leads a busy public life like Mr Kinnear taking an active part in the study of the Gospels.

Dumfries.

WILLIAM EDIE.

CYPRIAN: THE CHURCHMAN, *by John Alfred Faulkner, Professor of Historical Theology in Drew Theological Seminary, Cincinnati. Jennings & Graham. (No date.)*

THIS little volume, consisting of two hundred and twenty-four pages, forms one of a series of books published in the United States, entitled "Men of the Kingdom." The series, we are informed by the publishers, is to consist of "short biographical, anecdotal, luminous character sketches of some of the greatest leaders, thinkers, and saints of the Church in all ages. These sketches are intended to describe what these leaders "felt and thought, what they did, what their place is in history, and the message they have for the men of to-day." We are further told in truly American style that "there will not be a dull page in the series. These works are not built on such lines." An announcement of a series of works involving a considerable amount of scholarship and historical competence couched in these terms is not calculated to produce too favourable an impression on the reviewer on this side of the Atlantic. But on looking at the contents of the volume before us it is a satisfaction to be able to say that the prospectus is not to be taken as an index of the quality of the series. At the same time it would be well for the sale of the series, in this country at least, if the publishers could see their way to a revision of the rather flamboyant terms of their prospectus.

Professor Faulkner adheres to the purpose of the series, and presents us with a popular sketch of the life and times of Cyprian. He has a sufficient amount of scholarship for the task, and is well acquainted with the best and most recent literature on the subject by Protestant writers. And yet he makes some rather remarkable statements, which are hardly calculated to clarify the ideas of the average lay reader. At the close of the first chapter on Carthage and the Church, he writes as if the whole of ancient Christendom were, as he describes it, under the Roman sphere of influence. This is an inadequate statement. It is also misleading to say in the chapter on the Decian persecution that "Judaism was a national faith which did not try to make proselytes." Loose statements of this kind impair the value of the book. On the other hand it would not be fair to form an estimate of Professor Faulkner's volume by slips of this kind. He has evidently devoted much pains and labour to the preparation of this biography, and it may be of service to those who do not wish for more than a popular knowledge of the subject. The following quotation will give the reader an idea of Mr Faulkner's style and ecclesiastical attitude:—"Cyprian was the first pope, that is the first bishop repeatedly called papa, papas, or pope, and that, too, on the part of the Roman Church. I do not lay stress on this, but call attention to it as showing that the exclusive use of the word by Rome since the decree of Hildebrand, 1073, and the generally exclusive use since the eighth century, is on a par with most of her usurpations. Apparently the first bishop to be so called was Heracles of Alexandria, who died about 246, the first Roman bishop, Marcellinus, 249-304, and in the fourth century bishops of various sees, large and small, are called popes. If we import the later thought into the word, that is, if we think of the pope as the ruling spirit in the Church, the Roman presbyters are entirely justified in giving the title to him of Carthage, because he and no other was pope in the short but troubled time of his episcopate."

London.

W. D. MORRISON.

HIERONYMUS: eine biographische Studie zur alten Kirchengeschichte, von Lic. Dr. Georg Grützmacher, a.O. Professor der Theologie. *Erster Band: Sein Leben und seine Schriften bis zum Jahre 385.* Berlin, 1901. Pp. viii., 298. 6 M. *Zweiter Band: Sein Leben und seine Schriften von 385 bis 400.* Berlin (Edinburgh: Otto Schulze & Co.), 1906. Pp. viii., 270. 7 M.

SAINT JÉRÔME, par J. Turmel. *Deuxième Edition.* Paris: Bloud [1906]. *La Pensée chrétienne: Textes et Etudes.* Pp. 276. 3 fr.

ONE of the best methods in which to study the history of the Church in the West during the closing decades of the fourth and the early decades of the fifth century would be to study the lives of her three greatest sons at that period—Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine. The three were men of very different calibre and temperament, but each played a very important part in his own day, and stamped his personality on institutions and ideas which are with us to this day. Of the three, Augustine was unquestionably the greatest, and Ambrose, perhaps as unquestionably, the least. The third, known to his own age as Eusebius Sofronius Hieronymus, to ours as St Jerome, a man with more human failings than the others, ambitious, vain, insinuating, jealous, lustful, hot-tempered, and foul-mouthed, can nevertheless not be denied the title of true greatness. This he has earned by his industry, his beautiful Latin style, his powerful advocacy of the monastic life, and, above all, by his overmastering enthusiasm for biblical learning and his achievements in it. His surviving works are exceeded in bulk by those of Augustine alone among Latin Fathers, and owe their value partly to his own personal researches, partly to his extensive borrowings from earlier writers, pre-eminently from Origen.

His self-revelation, and his close connection with some of the most important figures in the Church, at Rome and elsewhere, make his works an equally valuable storehouse of information on his own life and that of the Church. The eighteenth century Italian editor of his works, Vallarsi, whose

edition has not yet been superseded, devoted much time and industry to the study of the chronology of his works, especially his letters, and by his researches all succeeding biographers have profited. The best of these, till the appearance of the present book, was perhaps Zöckler, long Professor of Theology at Greifswald. In 1901 the first volume of Grützmacher's biography appeared as a volume of a series entitled "*Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche*," edited by Bonwetsch and R. Seeberg, and published by Dieterich at Leipzig. At that time the author expected to issue the remainder of the work in a second volume within two years from that date. Several unexpected things have happened. The second volume has taken five years to appear, it does not complete the work, which will require a third volume, and it no longer appears as part of the Bonwetsch and Seeberg series. The stock of the first volume has been taken over by Trowitzsch of Berlin, and provided with a new cover bearing the name of that firm. There has apparently been some difficulty about the paper and printing of the second volume in consequence of this change; its paper is glazed and heavier, its type is also more leaded than that of the first. Both volumes, however, are well got up, and worthy of the newer German style.

Dr Grützmacher's method is as good as his style is pleasant and easy to follow. He devotes at first a hundred pages to the sources and the chronology, and then takes us gradually up to the year 400, dividing his subject very properly by the localities in which Jerome successively lived, and by the literary works which he successively produced. The work is based on an independent study of the sources, and full references have been given at the foot of the page. One of the most satisfactory features is the considerable account given of the contents of each work of Jerome with which he deals. It may be hoped that these epitomes will tempt some readers to go on to breathe the bracing atmosphere of the originals. (The texts of these may be pronounced to be on the whole in a satisfactory state. There is much to be done, and much will be done by Dr Reiter of Prag,

Dr Hilberg of Czernowitz, and the other scholars who are preparing editions for the Vienna Academy. It may also be hoped that the gaps in the Vienna programme will be filled up in Great Britain or America. But considerable experience of Jerome's manuscripts has convinced the present reviewer that Vallarsi's text of his works can on the whole be safely used for historical and even exegetical purposes.) Dr Grützmacher's book may in a word be safely recommended as a trustworthy presentation of his subject, which will probably for long be unsuperseded. If it has any defect, it is perhaps the want of minuter knowledge of one or two of Jerome's contemporaries, which would make the picture here and there a little more distinct. But enough. The absence of corrigenda to the first volume in the second has prompted the devotion of the remainder of the space to some notes, which may prove helpful to the reader.

Let us first dispose of the misprints. From these the text is comparatively free, but the notes have not been revised with sufficient care, either in regard to spelling or punctuation. Page 10, note 1, "quid"; p. 11, n. 1, "operam"; p. 16, l. 24; p. 42, n. 3, "Nazanzenum" (so p. 179, n. 1; 180, n. 2); p. 44, l. 1, for "Constant" read "Coustant"; p. 51, l. 12, "Constantinope"; p. 62, l. 19, "fats"; p. 72, l. 20, "sanctorum"; l. 24, "monstarentur"; p. 77, n. 6, "græcæ"; p. 85, n. 7; p. 91, l. 6; p. 93, l. 20; p. 95, n. 2, "gusti"; n. 7; p. 125, n. 4; p. 129, n. 1; p. 130, n. 2; p. 144, n. 2, for "substituerit" read "substituterit"; p. 150, n. 2 (two errors); p. 159, n. 1; p. 164, n. 5 (two errors); p. 172, l. 2; on p. 180, note 3 is omitted; p. 185, n. 2; p. 207, place where note 1 belongs to is not given; p. 207, n. 1; on p. 214 the references to the notes are inverted; p. 220, n. 1; p. 235, n. 1, "perquiret" should be "perquireret"; p. 248, n. 4, for "Philipps" read "Phillipps"; p. 252, n. 1; p. 256, n. 3; p. 261, n. 4; n. 5; p. 262, n. 2; p. 265, n. 3; p. 273, n. 1; p. 277, n. 3; p. 281, l. 21, for "3" read "2"; p. 284, n. 3; p. 294, n. 4 (two errors). Volume ii, p. 71, n. 5; p. 105, l. 9; p. 128, l. 6. For some of the errors Vallarsi is no doubt ultimately responsible, but Dr Grützmacher ought to have removed them.

Included in the following remarks are some references to literature which was not accessible at the time the first volume was written. On pages 29 twice, and 60, n. 2, correct "H. S. White" to "H. J. White"; p. 31, l. 2, the volume referred to was published in 1903; p. 18, n. 5, p. 31. J. K. Fotheringham's photographic facsimile of the Bodleian MS. of Jerome's Chronicle with introductions and appendixes was published in 1905, and forms an indispensable supplement to Schoene's edition (*cf.* p. 192). At this point it may not be out of place to mention that the best MSS. of Jerome on Jeremiah, as Dr Siegfried Reiter of Prag, the future editor, tells me, are a seventh-century uncial, one part of which is at Lyons and the other at Paris, and a Laudian tenth-century MS. in the Bodleian. The manuscripts, also, of Jerome's letters which are in England are, with one or two exceptions, of no value for the constitution of the text.¹ On page 35, insert *ἀπὸ* before *Δαλματίας*; in n. 5 the numbers should be altered to those in Dom Butler's edition (Cambridge, 1904), as also on p. 36, nn. 1 and 2,—thus c. 36 (p. 108, Butler), and c. 41 (p. 128, Butler), the only passages which are genuine; compare also Dom Butler's notes and prologue, § 14; all references to the *Lausiac History* in any book prior to 1904 must be revised in the light of his edition; p. 37, n. 2, the reference is undoubtedly to biblical study; p. 12, to call Paucker "der beste Kenner der Latinität des Hieronymus" looks like a challenge to the French: the title undoubtedly belongs to Henri Goelzer, though Paucker did good service before Goelzer's work appeared; p. 17, n. 2, for "91" read "98": part 6 has since (1904) come out, containing *Acts* (*cf.* also p. 29); p. 20, it has been suggested by more than one writer, including the present reviewer, that the *Collatio Legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum* is by the writer known as Ambrosiaster; p. 28, n. 1, the Migne reprint of Ambrose is much worse than that of Jerome; p. 44, l. 11, for "dritten" read "vierten"; p. 63, n. 7, Schenkl's edition of the Luke Homilies of Ambrose should be referred to; on

¹ This I infer from an examination of them which I made on behalf of the Vienna editor, Dr Hilberg.

pp. 77, 220, nothing is said of the Pseudo-Jerome prologues to the Pauline Epistles: Dom Donatien de Bruyne of Maredsous has, rightly as it seems, attributed them to Marcion or his school (*Revue Bénédictine* for January 1907); p. 107, n. 3, there can be little doubt that the three names are all genuine; Dr Grützmacher surely does not imagine that Jerome had only one name, in an age when multiplication of names was a feature. The three names occur in the heading to one letter, and the use of all three there may be regarded as formal; p. 111, n. 3, Quintilian called his work *Institutio*, not *Institutiones*; to whom does p. 115, n. 1, refer? Can it be to Isaac, the ex-Jew? Is he also the "Iberian serpent" of vol. ii., p. 113, n. 6? p. 117, the assumption underlying is that Augustine has one style only: but he has three or four, one in sermons, one in epistles, one in commentaries, and one in controversial works: pp. 127, ii. 246, l. 5, J. B. Morel was of opinion (Morin in *Revue d'Histoire ecclésiastique*, vi. (1905), pp. 329 f.) that Pseudo-Jerome on the four Gospels, printed in Vallarsi xi., Migne xxx., is the commentary of Fortunatian: the employment of the Vulgate text as the basis of the comments appears to be against this view; p. 130, n. 2, why refer readers to an obscure book for the "testamentum Grunnii Corocottæ," when it is readily accessible in the Appendix to Buecheler's smaller Petronius? pp. 142 f., the confusion between Nicetas of Aquileia and Niceta of Remesiana occurs, for which see *Niceta of Remesiana, his Life and Works*, by Rev. A. E. Burn (Cambridge, 1905), especially pp. x. ff.; pp. 209 f., it was shown (*Study of Ambrosiaster*, pp. 173 f.) that the five questions addressed by Damasus to Jerome are in the *Quæstiones* of Ambrosiaster; p. 216, Von Soden's view (1906) is interesting, that A and B are representatives of the recension made by Hesychius; p. 268, n. 2, the genuine Palladius does not refer to Marcella, and does not make Asella her sister. The weighty authority of Dom Butler must be added to those who think she was. Volume ii., p. 5, n. 5, why omit P. Geyer's *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, a more accessible book than those mentioned, and why is the contemporary

Peregrinatio Eucheriae (formerly *Silviae*) not mentioned or used? p. 19, we should have been glad of a statement whether Ambrosiaster is used in Jerome's commentary on Philemon or not; p. 25, the author says nothing about Jerome's silence concerning Ambrosiaster, though Marold expressed the opinion that Jerome on *Galatians* had borrowed from Ambrosiaster: in this connection Dr Grützmacher ought to have collected the names of authors known to us, who do not appear in the *De Viris Illustribus*, and suggested reasons for their omission (compare also p. 139); p. 38, n. 1, Gregg's edition of Origen on *Ephesians* (in the *Journal of Theological Studies*) ought to have been mentioned; p. 45, n. 3, after "Jülicher," add "Auf. 1-2"; p. 50, l. 20, it ought to have been mentioned that Zahn (and since Turner) identify this Jewish Christian as Isaac and "Ambrosiaster"; p. 118, is it possible that Pseudo-Rufinus was one of the authorities used by Jerome for his commentary on the Minor Prophets? p. 180, n. 5, Seeck's conjecture that the name was "Hilarius," not "Laetus," should have been mentioned; p. 203, l. 2, on this the verse of Job which played a part in these controversies might have been mentioned; p. 234, n. 1, the "Question" on Melchisedeck is by the same author as the others; p. 270, Ambrosiaster also repeatedly, citing the case of Caiaphas, declares that the moral character of a bishop does not matter.

The book of M. Turmel, which is a second edition, deserves to be recommended. It is provided with a good bibliography, and is embellished by many appropriate translated extracts from the works of St Jerome. It deals successively with the various aspects of his activity.

Oxford.

ALEXANDER SOUTER.

THE CHURCH OF CHRIST: Its Life and Work,
by A. H. Charteris, D.D., LL.D. London: Macmillan
& Co., 1905. Pp. xi., 250., 6s.

THIS volume consists of the Baird Lectures delivered in 1887. Dr Charteris treats of the Organisation of the Church,

of Preaching or the Ministry of the Word, of Care for the Poor, of Women's Work, the Church and the Young, the Church as a Society. He has attempted to present the Church as a social institution, showing how its ministry developed and how its practical work was organised. In these days, when we hear too much about the ecclesiastical aspects of the Church, this other view of it is wholesome and necessary. It must never be forgotten that the early Churches appealed to men socially. Under the Empire the Christian Society came to them in the form of clubs or associations, attracting the workers and the poor; preaching liberty, equality, fraternity. These little societies were self-governed, and out of their democratic officials was developed the hierarchy of the later Church. The bishops of Rome may, or may not, have been successors of Peter, but their predecessors certainly were the presidents of some obscure Roman burial or social club. It is not without reason that the Popes have venerated the catacombs, and held their relics to be the treasures of the Church.

The chapter on the Development of Preaching is more interesting than many sermons. Dr Charteris speaks of a time before there were formal sermons, derived from the professional oratory; or, more properly, rhetoric, of the decadent Empire, empty, soulless. Perhaps his readers may be tempted to wish that the custom of those primitive times might return. It is only too evident that our present sermons are often a formality, a matter of routine and custom, which there is not courage to violate; in which the preacher has evidently nothing to say, and the audience no eagerness to hear. Such preaching would be more honoured in the breach than the observance. A little more freedom, and a good deal of conviction, would be wholesome, and would lead, possibly, to a higher standard and more genuine preaching.

As we read the chapter on the Diaconate, we must wish, many of us, that the diaconate had not been merged so completely in the presbytery. The old position in the Acts is sound, where the ministers of the Word protested against "serving tables." A link between clergy and laity would

be most useful, and at present it is missing. If the diaconate could be revived and extended for all kinds of semi-ministerial work, especially in finance and organisation, it would be most acceptable. Perhaps nothing would do more to raise the standard of preaching, and also to raise the standard of scholarship, which leaves so much to be desired, especially among the busy town clergy and the bustling country vicars in the Church of England.

Perhaps Dr Charteris takes monks and friars too much at the valuation of their own chroniclers. They all began well. They all ended badly. The deterioration was always rapid. In every "Life," every chronicle, we read perpetually of "reform." The Orders were always being reformed, and were never purified. The whole system was vicious, and remains vicious. In our times it is also sterile. The greatest tragedy in Church history is the exploiting of St Francis by the Papacy, and the utilising of his friars for political ends. The Order was corrupt even in the founder's lifetime, and its quarrels broke his heart. Within a few years the friars were a source of corruption, and the by-word of satirists. Perhaps no body of men did more to corrupt society than the friars of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

There is also another, and a shameful side, to the whole question of education as connected with the Church. When we think of what the Church preserved, we must lament what it destroyed. When we praise it for teaching the young, we must resent its opposition to men of thought.

There are many sides to this large question, especially in reference to the past. As to the future, it looks as though every organised Church were declining, as though the full tide of life were passing from them to flow in other channels. This is no doubt alarming to ecclesiastics. To Christians it brings no disquietude. They realise that the Master and his immediate followers gave us no details, no fixed constitution, no rigid organisation. They left us broad principles, which we have to apply for ourselves. They sent out a living Word into a world of living and

progressive men. The past is invaluable. The present is necessary. The future is now more important. If the Church had a little more prophetic fire, less antiquarianism, less conventionality, we might see the future more clearly, and look into it with more confidence.

Edenham.

ARTHUR GALTON.

THE APPEAL OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND,
by Arthur Galton. London: Dover Street Book Store.
Pp. ix., 158.

THIS book professes to be an attempt to defend the principles and positions of the Church of England in the light of history, and has its origin and title in the appeal made in February 1905 by the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury to "the general practice of the Catholic Church in the first six centuries." The appeal was initiated by Dr Wace, and was signed by 3800 clergymen. The Dean, in a brief Preface, acts as sponsor to the book. He feels that its thesis cannot be maintained without such qualifications as the authority of Scripture and the requirements of the present, but defends it because it affords "scope for the various tendencies, Catholic as well as Protestant, which must always have their place in a National and Established Church." He quite properly commends Mr Galton for having done his work "with so much learning and with such experienced judgment." The book is thus a modern defence of the *via media*, and in spite of its many merits its conclusions are eminently arbitrary and unsatisfactory. One wonders why the line should be drawn at the first six centuries. It could not, according to Dean Wace, be safely extended to a later date. Why not? Did development in theology and institutions stop at that period? The only answer is that it would not suit the ideas of Evangelical Churchmen to accept in its entirety the principle of evolution, and such a position is manifestly neither scientific nor historical. The contention of the Romanist is that his Church is in its doctrine and practice a legitimate development from the past.

It is of course only partly true, for it does not embrace all the ideas of the past, but proceeds mainly along sacramentarian and sacerdotal lines. There is thus less fault to be found with its methods than with its sympathies. The Papacy is the inevitable outcome of ecclesiastical authority. The Church of England, like most of our Churches, has striven to reconcile the contradictory principles of Romanism and Protestantism. They can no more amalgamate than oil and water, until by a process of development they have eliminated their crudities and prepared themselves for a union in a higher system, recognising in due proportion the vital elements of both. The strength of Protestantism consists in its appeal to reason as against external authority, and in its exaltation of morality over actual observances, but it becomes weak as it tends to individualism and ignores the community both of the past and present, while it is positively repulsive when it appears as mere intellectualism, divorced from social service and artistic expression. One cannot fail to admire the thirteenth century with its beautiful architecture and municipal enterprise. The Church was then the soul of the State and did much to promote the welfare of the people, but Mr Galton would have us draw a hard distinction between what is primitive and what is mediæval. The one is Goshen, the other Egypt, and yet he admits that there is the greatest difference among Protestants as to what is considered primitive. It ranges from the first to the fifth century, but these limitations are all arbitrary except his own. The book is in reality a polemic against the Ritualists, who are essentially Romanists in everything except in admitting the supremacy of the Pope. They could scarcely remain in the Church of England and do so, but it is all the same the inevitable result of their dogmatic position. Mr Galton has of course no difficulty in proving that many of the doctrines and practices of the Romish Church were not recognised in the sixth century, but they were nevertheless implicit if not manifest, and are a legitimate development from certain errors countenanced by many Evangelicals in our own time. The Church existed before the Canon of

Scripture and determined its contents, but the teaching of Jesus preceded the Church, and the choice of the Church, so far from being wanton or arbitrary, was undoubtedly determined by the character of the documents, though if we are to believe modern critics there are perversions for which the Church is responsible even in our earliest records. It will not, therefore, do with the Evangelicals and the Romanists, to play off Scripture against the Church or the Church against Scripture. We have to sift the gospel out of the Gospels, and, after using it for our own edification, to apply its principles, unbiassed by tradition and untrammelled by authority, to the requirements of our time. Much emphasis is laid on the distinction between the real presence and transubstantiation. The author is also troubled about innovations in vestments. He knows they were originally derived from civil dress, but they have now taken on mystical meanings, and are for this reason a proper subject of ecclesiastical controversy. This conclusion would be frankly endorsed by the Ritualists. He admits the Eucharist was reserved in the early Church, but not for purposes of worship. "If we confine ourselves," Mr Galton writes, "to the belief and practices of the sixth century and earlier, we exclude necessarily the Papacy and the Roman claims as they were developed after Gregory I. We exclude also, and of necessity, those material notions of the Eucharist which began to circulate only in the ninth century, which were defined in the thirteenth, which developed so luxuriously, and as we may insist so logically, between the thirteenth century and the sixteenth. . . . No tenable and tangible proof which can satisfy sound scholarship is forthcoming for the professional or sacerdotal theory of an apostolical succession." He agrees with Leo XIII. in condemning English orders as invalid. They give no power to work a miracle or perform a Mass. Clergymen who thus treat the Communion Service are deceiving the people. "These practices," he maintains, "are abhorrent to loyal Anglicans, who know our history and theology. They must be even more abhorrent to serious and pious Romanists, for obvious reasons."

Mr Galton dwells on the difference between the older school of High Churchmen and the new. The former were in essential agreement with the Evangelicals, and were good Protestants, but the Ritualist repudiates the title and calls himself a Catholic. He attributes the change to Hurrell Froude, who openly admired the Church of Rome and detested the Reformers. These opinions found expression in the Oxford Movement, and are common to-day, but they cannot be reconciled with the Anglican position. He quotes Newman's volume, *Certain Difficulties felt by Anglicans in Catholic Teaching*," with great effect against the Ritualists.

'Who,' he asks, "makes the concessions to Catholics that you do, and yet remain separate from them? Who among Anglican authorities would speak of penance as a sacrament as you do? Who of them encourages, much less insists upon, auricular confession, as you do? Or makes fasting an obligation? Or uses the crucifix and the rosary? Or reserves the consecrated bread? Or believes in miracles as existing in your communion? Or administers, as I believe you do, extreme unction? In some points you prefer Rome, in others Greece, in others England, in others Scotland; and of that preference your own private judgment is the ultimate sanction."

Mr Galton is evidently very much impressed with the dangers threatening his Church. Newman confessed to a Catholic correspondent how dear it was to the English people, and reminded him that only through it would they ever be drawn back to Rome. Our author is firmly convinced that this perversion is going on, and is naturally indignant at such treachery on the part of her clergy. There are many in sympathy with him, and if ever such conduct is brought to light it will happily destroy the influence for evil in the community of those identified with it. There is a very apposite quotation from Mr W. S. Lilly in defence of the Newman party seceding from the Church of England: "To introduce stealthily," he writes, "the dogmas and the ritual of Rome into a great national institution, whose history, whose formularies, whose Articles of Religion are a standing protest against Rome; to con-

vulse and bring to the verge of destruction the Anglican spiritual edifice while bearing its name and eating its bread—such would have been in truth the conduct of traitors." One feels that a crisis is approaching, and this book will help to precipitate it. One is prejudiced against it by its arbitrary appeal to the authority of the first six centuries. In this respect it is thoroughly illogical and unhistorical, but the author puts his position with much intelligence and moderation—walks, in fact, with the greatest courtesy and dignity along the *via media*, so dear to the placid laity and Conservative clergy of the Anglican Church.

Edinburgh.

JOHN GLASSE.

**GLAUBE, LIEBE, UND GUTE WERKE, von Dr
*Phil. Oskar Bensow.***

Together with:

**DAS PROBLEM DER WILLENSFREIHEIT IN
DER VORCHRISTLICHEN SYNAGOGUE, von
*Professor D. W. Lütgert. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann,
1906. M. 1.80.***

DR BENSOW is dissatisfied with modern phases of Lutheran ethics, and writes the first article in the second volume of the *Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie* from the orthodox point of view in defence of the principles of the Council of Augsburg. The root-principle of the Christian life is still faith, which secures the satisfaction of the central craving of the human soul, the desire for peace with God, which Jesus Christ can alone give. It must be apprehended first on the authority of others, and then proved in one's own experience. Love is based on this faith, and is a personal thing, the surrender of a person to a person—first, to the supreme Person, and then to others, who are in His likeness, or may grow into His likeness. Good works are the manifestation of this love based on faith, the pulsing of the new life, its natural and necessary result.

It is wrong to say that Roman ethics base on love, while Lutheran ethics base on faith, for true Lutherans would not acknowledge a love which had not faith for its foundation.

The argument is clear, but the treatise seems to contain nothing that is strikingly new.

Professor Lütgert's contribution is a fairly exhaustive account of pre-Christian ideas in the Jewish synagogue on the problem of Free-will. It is shown that the Old Testament never attempted, or even craved, to unify the antitheses of the divine sovereignty and human freedom. The writings of Jesus, son of Sirach, 4 Ezra, the Book of Enoch, Josephus, Philo, and the rabbinical writings are drawn upon to prove the lively and growing interest the problem had for the Jewish mind. We see it was no mere question of the schools, but one of the people, and those who uphold free-will uphold it in such a way as to show the strength of their opponents. Professor Lütgert suspects a "schematism" in the well-known passage of Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 1, 3), in which the possible views are apportioned to the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes, though the tendency of the Pharisees and Sadducees to a mediating and indeterministic position respectively seems to be justified.

The great use of such studies is the light they throw upon the soil in which Christianity grew up. Above all we recognise St Paul as the inheritor of a long tradition in holding without apparent difficulty views that seem to be logically opposed.

W. J. FERRAR.

Bethnal Green.

ADVENTUS REGNI: Being sermons, chiefly on the Parables of the Kingdom, preached at St Mary's, Paddington Green, by A. L. Lilley. London: Francis Griffiths, 1907. Pp. ix., 146. 3s. 6d.

MR LILLEY works from a group of great central ideas. As we read his sermons we feel more and more that these ideas are the very life of the writer. They are not called in as mere guides or general notions, but they are the very root out of which the whole plant grows. The point of view is here essentially the man.

"Religion is not a scheme imposed upon life from without. It is life itself continuously seeking development according

to a divine scheme eternally given in its constitution—from within." So says Mr Lilley—and the life so developing in humanity, revealed in perfection in Christ, and transmitted by Him to men, is the kingdom of God itself. With Father Tyrrell he goes down below creeds and rites, below intellectual and æsthetic expression alike to the life itself, of which the intellect and the senses can only represent an imperfect image. The coming of the kingdom is the birth of a *great hope* that reaches beyond the actual—the internal evidence of things unseen; and the story of religion is nothing else but the story of this hope growing and spreading, flowering and fruiting in character and society.

Convinced that this hope is already perfected in Christ, Mr Lilley turns to the parables to learn in what intellectual form the life expressed itself, and from them he draws no mere superficial lesson for to-day, no mere mystic meanings, but the eternal truths of all time, and all cognate with the ideas of the life and the kingdom. Just as in *Lex Credendi* Tyrrell luminously shows that the Lord's Prayer is one flowering of the central life and the Creed another, so here in the parables the broad ideals of the Spirit clearly unfold themselves. It need hardly be said that on this view only deep, broad meanings can be sought, and all the rest shades into mere detail.

There are certain characteristics which seem to make the writer peculiarly fit for the task he undertook. The moral meaning of things is never absent from his mind. The ethical side is for him the whole, and fills him with the intense earnestness of the prophet. Thus, on the parable of the Guests, he says: "Every most trivial phase of human action, when isolated so that we can see it clearly, provokes and elicits our moral judgment." It follows that a great zeal for social and national reform fills him, and that he is shocked at the "intolerable blasphemy of *Te Deums* chanted in Christian churches for victories which have been bought at the cost of oceans of human blood and tears." About such things he is very outspoken, and an equal boldness is his in exposing with a keen analysis the workings of the lower levels of the human mind—its Pharisaism, its mis-

taken tendencies to turn God more and more out of His world. Indeed, there evidently lies behind what the writer shows a masterly philosophic power, and a deep knowledge of psychology. He gives, for instance, a very fine analysis of forgiveness, the groundwork for a whole system in his treatment of "the wicked servant."

Mr Lilley writes, too, from the point of view of a wider culture than the pulpiteer. He is in touch with the liberal movement in the Roman Church, and is in the keenest sympathy with it. Unlike Dr Gwatkin, he seems to look for a great reform in Rome, and this from a very intimate knowledge of the conditions of thought abroad. The new unity in Christendom "is coming faster than men think. Already from the heart of the Roman Church a whole host of scholars in France, in Italy, in Germany, in England, in America, are finding the inspiration for their work of Christian interpretation in the zeal for truth, in the new conception of faith, which mark the theology of modern Protestant Germany." It is a real living faith in the Church as the expression of the inner spirit that inspires the certainty of the coming of the "communion of men with one another, which, because it is the mutual recognition of one another at their best when they are seeking their best, is also the recognition of God, just because it is the supreme work of God in us."

I have given in this short space but a very imperfect idea of the novelty, the force, the breadth and depth—above all, the *luminous* of Mr Lilley's sermons. It is comforting to think that such scholarly, careful, and forceful utterances are being made in a London pulpit. They will delight the reader, and show very clearly how some of the best minds in the English Church have adapted themselves to the new conditions of thought.

W. J. FERRAR.

Bethnal Green.

RELIGION IN THE SCHOOLS: Addresses on Fundamental Christianity, delivered in St Margaret's, Westminster, during Lent 1906, by E. H. Hensley Henson, B.D., Hon. D.D (Glasgow), Canon of Westminster, Rector of St Margaret's, Westminster. London: Macmillan & Co. Pp. xviii., 137. 2s. 6d. nett.

THIS is a timely contribution to the question of religious instruction in schools, and should be read by all who are interested in this question. The author holds that denominationalism is not of the essence of Christianity. Being pre-eminently a social religion, Christianity must express itself in a religious society, but it is patient of many forms of such a society. No Christian sect, save Roman Catholics and Anglican sacerdotalists, would dispute this. "They are denominationalists of an extreme type to whom association with other denominations is impossible, for the sufficient reason that to them the denomination is one of the essentials of Christianity." Being but a minority, however, the wishes of the many cannot be thwarted by them. Let their conscientious demands be fairly met, but do not let them be allowed to wreck the national settlement.

It being the wish of by far the preponderating majority of parents to have religious instruction given in schools, it should be given; and, by equal consent, the manual of such instruction can only be the Bible.

The use of the Bible in schools is touched upon. It must be to a very great extent historical, not theological, if for no other reason because this is what is best suited to the mind of a child. "The children are to be taught the famous stories of the Old Testament, the main lines of the sacred narrative, the psalms and prophecies which are the classics of universal religion, as well as the preparatory teachings which led the way to the gospel."

Dr Henson holds, as surely we all must, that it is for the interest of the State to undertake religious instruction, to have the rising generation imbued with the religion of Christ. For, "it is not excessive to say that the best elements in the mingled tradition of civilisation are precisely

the most evidently Christian." "The strong sense of the rights of the individual, the restless spirit of reform and progress, the widely diffused spirit of humanity which softens manners and laws, and even mitigates the cruelty of economic strife, the universal veneration paid to unselfish service, the exalted standard of female chastity, and the respect for the weakness and innocence of children, which must be allowed, in spite of much that is incongruous and deplorable, to distinguish Christianity, are all clearly so congruous with the New Testament as to appear almost like a summary of its ethical doctrine." Some object to the State teaching religion, but this is because they confuse ecclesiasticism with religion. "Persecution in its worst form, superstition the most abject, tyranny the most cruel, arrogance the most exasperating, have been the familiars of the Christian hierarchies. But all these have their counterpart and parallel outside the Christian sphere; and if, within that sphere, they have all taken an aggravated form, it is because there they have always been patently violations of the sacred interest with which they were associated. When, however, we trace the influence of the record of Jesus Christ's character and example, we find that it is, as the Gulf Stream in the ocean, a salutary and beneficent power, bringing warmth and fertility wherever it comes." In other words, to teach Christianity is to spread a knowledge of the life and character of Christ, and to foster in other minds the mind that was found in Him, and this surely should be the noblest effort of every State.

Dr Henson believes that if religious instruction is to be given in schools, it must be given by the regular teachers employed by the State. "No other teachers could have access to the large mass of poor and neglected children which exists outside the membership of the Churches." "There are very few amateurs who could be admitted as teachers into the State schools without an intolerable derangement of the discipline by their didactic incompetence." "It is agreed that the morally effective teaching is the least direct, and that to isolate the instruction from the general procedure of the school would go far to destroy its value."

The only applicable tests for teachers could be a guarantee of religious knowledge and credentials of character. Let those who decline to teach religion, and they would be a minority, be relieved of the duty. Much must depend upon the personal influence of the teachers and the whole moral atmosphere of the school. "All the State has it in its power to do is to make such dispositions as shall enable the Christianity of the teachers to express itself effectively in the process of education, not their prejudices and preferences, of which the less the better for their own sakes and the children's, but the graces of personal character which they have received in the school of the New Testament."

Ythan Wells.

ALEXANDER WILSON.

BEHA-ULLAH: Les Préceptes du Béhaïsme: Les Ornaments—Les Paroles du Paradis—Les Splendeurs—Les Révélations. Précédés d'une Lettre au Sultan de Constantinople. Traduit du Persan par Hippolyte Dreyfus et Mirsa Habib-Ullah Chirasi. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1906. Pp. x., 72. 2 fr. 50.

THIS little book came into my hands some time ago, and aroused the desire to know more regarding the religious movement, several of the documents of which it translates. On this point I have since received information through the kindness of Mr Charles Mason Remey of Washington, which I desire to reproduce briefly here in connection with some notice of the contents of the book itself. That the movement may have some root in Persian mysticism is, I should think, likely enough; but the translators are anxious to show that it is not to be identified with any of the existing sects, such as the Horoufis. That is a question for experts, upon which I am not competent to touch. The following is, however, furnished to me as the history of the movement. It began on May 23rd, 1844, in Shiraz, Persia, when a young man, Ali Mohammed, proclaimed himself as the Bab, literally Gate, or, as we should say, fore-

runner of "Him whom God would manifest" — a great teacher soon to appear with manifest signs of divine power and strength, through whose teachings the divine unity of mankind would be established. He encountered great opposition on the part of the Mussulman clergy, and was placed under military surveillance. In spite of this he continued to exhort to holiness of life, that people might be mirrors fit to reflect the spiritual perfection about to be revealed. After two years thus spent came four years of imprisonment, during which he taught through epistles; and then the execution of himself and one follower on the charge of heresy at Tabriz, Persia, 9th July 1851. He regarded his teaching as purely provisional. His epistles and exhortations form the holy book of the Bab, "The Bayan." The most noteworthy of the Bab's institutions was a college consisting of eighteen of his first followers, forming, with himself as "The Point," the so-called "Nineteen Letters of the Living," to whom was entrusted the further guidance of the movement. The appointed teacher was to appear in the near future. There followed a period of severe persecution of his followers, over twenty thousand of whom gave up property, family, and even life rather than recant their faith. How many actually endured martyrdom I am not informed, but I am assured that as recently as 1901 there were one hundred and seventy martyrs at one time in the city of Yazd. Baha' Ullah espoused the cause of the Bab without ever meeting him in person. He was of noble family, and defended his faith in Teheran, where he was on that account imprisoned in 1852, being subsequently exiled to Bagdad in Irak. Here his spiritual teaching and insight brought calmness and assurance to his followers, but occasioned local irritation which led to his being ordered along with them to Constantinople. In April 1862, on the eve of his departure from Irak, Baha' Ullah declared himself to a few chosen followers as the one whose coming the Bab had foretold, "He whom God would manifest." From Constantinople the exiles were sent to Adrianople, where they remained until 1868, when they were sent to the fortified town of Acca (Acre), a penal

colony on the Mediterranean, just north of Mount Carmel (Zion) in Syria.

And this brings us to the first of the writings translated in our little book. On his arrival at Acre in the autumn of 1868, Baha' Ullah wrote to the Sultan Abdul-Aziz, complaining with bitter dignity of the hardship and ill-usage to which he and his followers had been subjected. If the letter was ever read by the Sultan himself, it is a wonder he spared the writer, so outspoken is he in condemnation of the Sultan's whole life and conduct, so contemptuous of the kind of greatness the latter represents. At times his attitude and language remind one of the prophets, and his occasional real eloquence cannot fail to give one a glimpse of the power of exhortation he possessed.

Here at Acre he lived and taught by voice and pen. His writings are, it appears, numerous. They consist of explanations to inquirers regarding his mission and doctrine, together with exhortations, ordinances, and laws aiming at the best secular as well as spiritual welfare. From this time the movement inaugurated by the Bab became known as the Bahai movement, and its adherents as Bahais. Baha' Ullah died in 1892, commanding his followers to accept as their spiritual guide his eldest son, Abbas Effendi, born at Teheran on the 23rd of May 1844, the day on which the Bab began his teaching. He was the first to recognise Baha' Ullah as the Promised One, accompanied his father everywhere, and was specially trained to be his successor. The greatest importance is attached by the Bahais to the teaching of this man and to the example afforded by his personal character. He is known as "The Centre of the Covenant." The faith of which he is the head has spread not only in the East, but, what may come as a surprise to some, it has its adherents among Americans and Europeans. It is claimed to have fused the most diverse sects—Christian, Buddhist, Hindu, Mohammedan, Jew—with atheists and agnostics into harmonious co-operation. The Bahai movement claims that it is not a fresh, separate sect, but an open recognition of the universal elements in hitherto warring

sects, on the basis of which they may establish a lasting peace.

The foundation of this unity was laid in the teaching of Baha' Ullah, and it may be worth while to glance now at those of his writings here translated for us. The religious enthusiasm which was the core of his teaching is everywhere manifest. He speaks with scorn of the impossible attempt of injustice to shake the resolution of souls intoxicated with the waters of Salsabil (a river of Paradise), or even to divert them from the path of God. He speaks at times much in the language of early Christians: Humiliation in the cause of God is glory, martyrdom a thing in which to rejoice. Their body and their blood cry to God to be spilt and cast down on His path; their head to be fixed on a lance in the path of the Well-Beloved of the soul and of the spirit (p. 9). Contempt of the world is very strongly expressed (p. 13). The transitory nature of human life is touchingly referred to; the best use we can make of it is to catch a glimpse of God, and to seek by the favour of the King of Eternity to enter the immortal realm and to dwell beneath the shade of the tree of the Cause (p. 15). He insists upon the value of good actions and good customs, a noble troop led by the fear of God which contains and governs all the rest. Asceticism is, however, condemned; those who have insight and reason are turned towards that which causes joy and sympathy; whereas asceticism, complicated macerations, have been begotten of imagination and superstition (p. 49). He feels himself inspired to proclaim the message that divine religion was given solely to effect the union and harmony of the peoples of the world: the progress of the world, the tranquillity of man, the education of the nations, the peace of all the inhabitants of the earth are the supreme gift of religion (p. 60). The knowledge of God ought to be the object of human endeavour, but, even where it cannot be obtained, one can always guide his life by reason and justice. The supreme gift, the sublime benefaction, has been and is before all other things Reason. It is the protection, the help, the succour of man (p. 43). The faithful are urged to

become just by seeing things with their own eyes, judging by their own reason (p. 28). There is none of that indifference, or even hostility to science which has so often characterised the religiously minded; its acquirement is instead enjoined as a religious duty (p. 33). He preaches the unity of mankind, the doctrine of universal peace; our strip of earth is one home, one fatherland (p. 45). We must cast away pride, the cause of disunion, and turn towards what makes for harmony. Glory is to be acquired by knowledge, deeds, character, not by the country one inhabits or the position one occupies. The importance of education is insisted on, and, what is of interest at the present moment, the religious instruction of children, confined, however, to teaching them what the sacred books enjoin or forbid; they are not to be trained to fanaticism or to have an ignorant ardour aroused in them. Females are to be educated as well as males. The material civilisation and military violence of the West is condemned as a terror to humanity; the evil of it can only be overcome, if at all, by the union of all the peoples of the world in one common interest, Religion (p. 48). Enough has been quoted to show the emotional range and extremely practical scope of the new teaching. Baha' Ullah accepts modern life, and seeks to make the best of it. We are reminded how strikingly modern is this new founder of a faith, when he speaks of newspapers as the mirror of reality and of the enormous power of journalists for good or evil. When he conjures them to become personally pure from passions and desires, and to adorn themselves with the ornament of justice and equity, we might smile, if we were not touched by the tremendous optimism that does not doubt even of the salvation of journalists. As I understand the matter, wherever there are Bahais, Baha' Ullah commanded that there should be a council called the Beït-oul-Adl (literally, House of Justice), whose ruling should be accepted in matters not explicitly revealed, who should determine the language in which the teaching had best be published, who should see that no father fails to educate his children, taking the matter out of his hands if necessary, and

who should establish asylums for the poor and unfortunate.

One, like myself, unacquainted with any other documents of this new religious movement, can only say that perhaps never before has excellent, clear, good sense been hailed with such rather unaccountable fervour. There may be, I am inclined to think there must be, other things with which I am unacquainted to explain the extraordinary enthusiasm which leads to such exaltation of spirit, such readiness for martyrdom, in the cause of fairly obvious, if highly desirable, reforms. We have in the Bab and in Baha' Ullah a serene conviction of inspiration, in their followers a joyous acceptance of illumination, which, as yet, appear somewhat out of focus with the apparent absence of any supernatural element, and with convictions and aspirations which are, after all, fairly common, and perhaps just a little commonplace. I do not, of course, forget their relative novelty in Oriental sects, where they must act as a powerful ferment and appear as a dangerous heresy; but that does not explain their success, which, I am assured, is considerable, in Aryan communities. The grandiose idea of the harmonious union of all the peoples of the earth in the pursuit of spiritual activities meets general acceptance, but practical difficulties of the most tremendous kind. Here we have in the service of this ideal a faith to move mountains. The acknowledgment of God, the mystic intoxication with things divine, the adumbration—it appears to me no more—of immortality, assure it a measure of resonance in all creeds, and into each and all of them its practical energy may be safely infused. But what of more specific revelations there are—to say nothing about the difficulty of accepting the personal claims of the founders—in this new religion, which various sects might find it in various degrees hard to assimilate, time alone will make manifest. In the earlier stages of its historical development it is so like Christianity as almost to suggest imitation, but that impression might be corrected by further knowledge. That it is an eclectic system need not to us, inheritors of Pauline Christianity, mean that it is the less likely to achieve a

lasting combination of its elements. What is really important, however, is that here we have evidence of the setting-in of a process destined to go a long way and to have results incalculable, but certainly momentous—the reaction of the Eastern mind upon Western ideas, not in a spirit of hostility, but by way of unconscious assimilation or deliberate adaptation. Racially and politically, Persia is well suited to offer the first effective synthesis of East and West; and this, as well as the interest attaching to a fresh manifestation of the religious vitality of the land of Zoroaster and Mithra, may direct sympathetic attention to the Babai movement. Personally I should like to know more about the matter, and others may be of the same mind.

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DAVID MORRISON.

**HEGEL, HAECKEL, KOSSUTH UND DAS
ZWÖLFTE GEBOT:** Eine Kritische Studie,
von O. D. Chwolson, Prof. ord. an der kaiserlichen
Universität zu St Petersburg. Braunschweig: Friedrich
Vieweg und Sohn (Edinburgh: Otto Schulze & Co.), 1906
Pp. vi., 90. M. 1.60.

THE title of this work calls for a word of explanation, if its author's purpose is to be understood. Hegel and Kossuth occupy rather less than one-seventh of its space. The sole reason for mentioning them is that they have violated the twelfth commandment, which Professor Chwolson formulates in these words: "Thou shalt not write about anything that thou dost not understand." Hegel transgressed this commandment when, on philosophic grounds, he pronounced upon a question of astronomical science and asserted that "there cannot be more than seven planets." H. Kossuth is a contemporary contributor to German philosophic reviews, and to him Chwolson metes out a like condemnation, because he has revealed his ignorance of science in his criticisms of Haeckel's law of substance.

It is with Haeckel, as a scientist, that Chwolson, as a scientist, is chiefly concerned. Every statement on physics

in *Die Welträtsel* (*The Riddles of the Universe*) has been carefully examined. The result of the investigation is that the author of what Professor Ostwald describes as the best modern *Handbook of Physics* makes the following "hair-raising" (*haarsträubend*) statement:—"Everything, yea, verily, everything that Haeckel, in his treatment of questions of physics, says, declares, and maintains, is false, being based on misunderstandings, or testifying to a scarcely credible ignorance of the most elementary subjects." These plain words may be commended to the attention of those who are content to say that they have no quarrel with Haeckel as a scientist, but only as a would-be philosopher. After all, biology is only one of many sciences. It is Haeckel's special domain, and "his thoroughness and intense earnestness, in his own science, have," as Chwolson ungrudgingly recognises, "made him one of the great leaders." But physics is Chwolson's special domain, and his judgment on Haeckel's physical theories, concerning which none has a better right to speak, is that a biologist of repute is guilty of "contempt for the twelfth commandment," inasmuch as he has written "about things of which he has not the faintest conception (*keinen Schimmer einer Ahnung*)."

Chwolson points out that it is not a biological, but a physical theory, viz., the law of substance, which Haeckel follows as a "safe-guiding star . . . through the intricate labyrinth of the riddles of the universe to their solution." The criticism offered, it is, therefore, rightly maintained, has to do not with a mere side-issue, but with theories advanced as scientific and then used as foundation-stones upon which the edifice of the monistic philosophy is erected. Into the details of that criticism it is impossible here to enter, but a few examples may be given of the objections upon which Chwolson bases the adverse judgment already quoted.

Haeckel summarises (*Riddle*, p. 81) in eight theses the results of his "mature reflection" on the great question of *the nature of ether*. He says: "I postulate for ether a special structure . . . which may provisionally be called (without further determination) *etheric* or *dynamic* structure. The consistency of ether is also peculiar. . . . It is neither

gaseous, as some conceive, nor solid, as others suppose ; the best idea of it can be formed by comparison with an extremely attenuated, elastic, and light jelly." Obviously, no help is given by the non-scientific statement that the structure of ether is "etheric"; as to the alternative statement that ether has "a dynamic structure," Chwolson seeks in vain for any evidence to support it, and regards it as "a senseless phrase." Nor does he know the physicists who have described the ether as "gaseous"; in his view the absence of "longitudinal rays" differentiates ether from gases. A masterly sketch is given of attempts to solve the problem from Newton to modern times. The discoveries of Hertz confirmed the correctness of Clerk Maxwell's "equations," and gave the death-blow to the "elastic" theory of ether. By means of these equations the properties of such physical entities as electric and magnetic power were measured ; it was seen that the knowledge thus gained indicated the existence of certain properties in the ether, but great physicists acknowledge that their experiments have taught us little of the nature of ether itself. Even the new doctrine of electrons does not enable us to form a new theory of the relation of the atoms of electricity to the ether. There are scientists, however, who are hopefully pursuing their researches ; they have nobly earned their right to venture on a description of the inner structure of ether, as, *e.g.*, Sir Oliver Lodge, or to trace an analogy between certain properties of ether and those of foam, as, *e.g.*, Lord Kelvin. In such cases theorising has a legitimate scientific basis in careful and prolonged experiments, but Chwolson discovers no trace of Haeckel's having used such methods in physics as he has fruitfully employed in biology. His comparison of the ether to an "elastic and light jelly" has no value, because it is not based upon scientific data, such as might, for example, be furnished by observations of optical and electrical phenomena in the ether.

Haeckel enumerates (*Riddle*, p. 81) *the chief functions of the ether*; they are "light, radiant heat, electricity, and magnetism." To speak of light and radiant heat as *different* functions of ether is regarded by Chwolson as "the

climax of naïveté"—an 'error which would be fatal to a student in an examination. "Can it be that Haeckel confuses the physiological functions of the retina of the eye with the physical functions of the ether, that he represents the rays which, to our vision, happen to be visible and invisible, as two different functions of the ether? Instead of supposing that he has perpetrated such an enormity, let us assume that 'radiant heat' stands here for the dark rays below red. Even then it is difficult to understand why Haeckel mentions only these two groups of rays. Where are the ultra-violet rays and the electric rays of Hertz? It is not possible to include the latter under the other chief function, 'electricity'; that would be as naïve as the separation of light from radiant heat. If Haeckel had adhered closely to the old theory given up long since, he would have been obliged to write radiant energy, electricity, and magnetism. If he had based his statement on the theory propounded forty years ago, and confirmed twenty years ago, he would have distinguished only two chief functions, viz., electric and magnetic phenomena; or, with equal accuracy, electro-static and electro-dynamic phenomena. In any case, Haeckel's list of the chief functions of ether remains incomprehensible and unfounded."

No less than twenty-one of Haeckel's statements concerning *the law of substance* are subjected by Chwolson to the most thorough and damaging criticism. It is much to be desired that some English physicist would translate, with notes, the entire pamphlet. Here it must suffice to quote from the closing sentences of an investigation which extends over twenty pages. With the physical law which is the guiding star of the monistic philosophy, Haeckel is said not to have such a surface acquaintance as an elementary handbook of physics would supply; he has no idea of the meaning of "the law of energy," which is one-half of his law of substance; "every one of his numerous statements concerning the law of substance is false."

Non-experts can appreciate Chwolson's exposure of Haeckel's extraordinary method of dealing with the two theses in which are embodied *the mechanical theory of heat*.

The first thesis is : " The energy of the universe is constant " ; the second thesis is : " The entropy of the universe tends towards a maximum " ; Haeckel's comment (*Riddle*, p. 88) is : " The second thesis of the mechanical theory of heat contradicts the first, and so must be rejected." Chwolson asks : " How can this be ? " and proceeds to show that the two theses, though independent, are complementary. It is by means of the combined theses that thermo-dynamics has accomplished so much, and has been able to make so many forecasts which have afterwards been verified. " The first thesis states the purely quantitative law which governs the transformations of energy. The second thesis shows which transformations are positive and may take place ' solo ' ; and which transformations are negative, and must be accompanied by positive ones." Chwolson holds that the second thesis cannot contradict the first ; the two statements do not meet on the same plane. But the second thesis does conflict with Haeckel's monistic philosophy, and this is the true ground of its condemnation. It has not yet, however, been removed from scientific text-books, nor have Ostwald, Nernst, Duhem, and other professors of physical chemistry been obliged to resign because they hold it to be true.

Chwolson's verdict coincides with the conclusions of other specialists who have examined Haeckel's assertions in regard to the sciences which lie outside his own special domain of biology. It is misleading to say that only his philosophy is discredited. Adickes as a psychologist, Reinke as a botanist, Loofs as a historian, and now Chwolson as a physicist have exposed his fallacies. His latest critic has reason on his side when he maintains that the result of his inquiry " also decides the question of the significance and value of *The Riddles of the Universe*." Chwolson's contention is that the worthlessness of Haeckel's statements in regard to fundamental questions in physics may well " fix the value of all that he says concerning historical, social, religious, philosophical—in a word, concerning all but purely biological questions."

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J. G. TASKER.

L'ORGANISATION DE LA CONSCIENCE MORALE:
Esquisse d'un Art Moral Positif, par Jean Delvolve.
Paris: Alcan, 1907. Pp. 172. 2 fr. 50 c.

A SCIENCE of Ethics, according to M. Delvolve, no longer exists; the idea of a rational demonstration of moral principles is recognised to be illusory, and it has become clear that the so-called Systems of Rational Ethics are mere out-growths of religious dogma. On the other hand, the criticism to which, from the side of psychology and of history, these principles and dogmas have been subjected, is tending to undermine the *practice* as well as to destroy the *theory* of Ethics. Yet the two are essentially distinct; knowledge is a social product, its influence upon the life of the individual is at best indirect; while, in practice, each must form for himself a *conception d'ensemble* of life, which is in no sense a scientific knowledge (p. 19).

An art of morals, however, has always existed, having for its end the realisation, in the inner life of the individual, of habits conforming to the customs and ideals of his time or race. The aim of the author is to outline, on the basis of modern psychological and social sciences, a new art for the development of a moral consciousness in the individual. M. Delvolve builds upon the psychological theory of Janet and others, viz., that consciousness "represents," in a sense, the organisation of the nervous elements in a hierarchy of systems; there are higher and lower consciousnesses (within the individual), and the highest of these is the *moral consciousness*, which is thus the co-ordinating centre of all. Simple sensations and perceptions are "the echo, in the superior mentality of the individual, of the activity of the lower psychic centres." The function of the moral consciousness is to elaborate, modify, or perfect ideas or systems of ideas, and thereby to give cohesion or general direction to the activity of the individual.

It is argued that no amount of scientific knowledge, even knowledge of ethical systems, will give the driving-force required for the realisation of the moral life. What we need is a system of general ideas acting as centres of force,

regulating and directing the ideas of actions that arise spontaneously in the mind. The two conditions essential for such ideas are: (1) that they be closely bound up with the "automatic" activity of the lower centres, and, (2) that they at least do not conflict with the speculative knowledge of the mind. The "elements" with the organisation or direction of which the moral consciousness is concerned are instinctive activities, suggestions from without, and the experiences of the individual; but the chief weight is given to the first of these. Even in animal life there arise aberrations of instinct, some of which are due to the interference of consciousness. It is to this latter type of disharmony that the term "vice" applies; other disharmonies, *e.g.*, that between the self-regarding and the fraternal or social instincts, are natural and inevitable to man. Hence the need of a special discipline of the human consciousness, to maintain harmony in the development of the instinctive life, and to control its manifestations. This is the true art of morals.

In the *second part* of the volume the chief forms of practical activity are considered, the disharmonies between the higher and the lower (or more primitive) forms are pointed out, and their relative values determined by reference to the essential laws of life: "to these they are subject, and the knowledge of these forms the natural basis for the organisation of the moral consciousness." Finally, in the *conclusion*, the relations of this new art are considered,—its place among the arts of morals, among contemporary theories, and its immediate pressing importance because of the lapse of Christian principles above referred to.

Interesting as the work is, it fails after all to provide the all-important stimulus on which a moral art depends. It is still open to the doubter to ask why he should make the assumed end or goal of this art *his own*. Specialisation or complexity is no real criterion of a higher activity. We are still without such a criterion, and until the author's Positivism can supply it, his art of organisation will remain purely subjective.

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Review

of

Theology and Philosophy

SURVEY OF RECENT LITERATURE ON THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

- (1) *Die Schriften des neuen Testaments*, by *H. von Soden*.
Vol. II. Alexander Duncker, 1902-6.
- (2) *The Resultant Greek Testament*, by *R. F. Weymouth*.
J. Clarke & Co., 1905. Pp. xxv., 644. 2s. 6d.
- (3) *Novum Testamentum Græce*, by *F. H. A. Scrivener*
and *Eb. Nestle. Bell & Son, 1906.*
- (4) *Ἡ καὶνὴ διαθήκη*, by *Eb. Nestle. British and Foreign*
Bible Society, 1904.
- (5) *Der Text des neuen Testamentes*, by *K. F. Nösgen*.
E. Runge, 1905. Pp. 32. Pf. 40.
- (6) *Der Text des Neuen Testaments*, by *R. Knopf*.
A. Töpelmann, 1906. Pp. 48. 1 M.
- (7) *Le Codex Bezaë à Lyon au IX^e siècle*, by *H. Quentin*,
O.S.B. Revue Bénédictine, pp. xxiii. (1906). No. 1.
- (8) *Die Stelle vom δειπνοκλήτωρ, Matt. xx. 28*, by *Eb. Nestle*.
Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, 1906.
No. 4.
- (9) *The Order of the Gospels in the Parent of Codex*
Bezaë, by *J. Chapman, O.S.B. Zeitschrift für die neu-*
testamentliche Wissenschaft, 1905. No. 4.
- (10) *A Study of Ambrosiaster*, by *Alex. Souter. Texts and*
Studies, vii. 4. Cambridge University Press, 1905.
7s. 6d.

- (11) **The Lord's Command to Baptize**, by F. H. Chase.
Journal of Theological Studies, July 1905.
- (12) **Lukas der Arzt**, by A. Harnack. Pp. vi., 160. Hin-
richs, 1906. M. 3.50.
- (13) **Einleitung in die Drei Ersten Evangelien**, by J.
Wellhausen. Pp. 116. G. Reimer, 1906. 3 M.

THE first book on this list I must do no more than mention. It is the second part of the first volume of Prof. von Soden's great work; and it would be as wrong not to deal with it separately and fully (I hope to do so on another occasion) as it would be improper to begin a survey of recent textual criticism without congratulating Prof. von Soden on the completion of the first part of his book, and thanking Fräulein Elise Königs for the splendid generosity which endowed the necessary research work. It is, however, worth pointing out that the fact that the publication of this book was known to be imminent largely explains the extreme paucity of recent publications on Textual Criticism. No one likes to write with, as it were, a sword hanging over his head.

The three next books are manual texts of the New Testament; all three are well known, and have various merits. Dr Weymouth's *Resultant Greek Testament* gives a text based on the consensus of the chief editions since Lachmann, with the readings of the minority and the text of Stephanus in an *apparatus criticus*. One can only say that those who like this sort of thing will be pleased with it, for it is well and carefully done. That any one in this generation should ever wish to have a text in which the opinions of Tischendorf and Lachmann, Hort and Alford, Lightfoot and Ellicott, are all reckoned of equal value, is to me a mystery; but if for any purpose a convenient collation of these editions is needed, it can be found here.

Dr Nestle's edition of Scrivener's reprint of the text of Stephanus (1550 ed.), is beautifully printed and appears marvellously accurate. But I fail to understand the preface of Dr Nestle. He says that Scrivener's edition "has been acknowledged to be, for the general reader . . . the most comprehensive, compact, and convenient edition of the

Greek Testament." How can this be true when it consistently gives (as Dr Nestle would allow) the wrong reading in the text and the right one in the margin? Surely it is just for the general reader that Scrivener's edition is peculiarly harmful. On the other hand, there is no more useful edition than this for the use of collators. It is so nearly a reproduction of the worst type of text, that variants from it are almost always noteworthy; and it is so admirably equipped with the necessary apparatus of Ammonian sections, Eusebian canons, etc., that it renders easy the task of examining a Greek MS.

But if Dr Nestle's claim for his edition of Scrivener must be disallowed, it might well be put forward for the other text which he has published for the British and Foreign Bible Society. This is the same text as the well-known Würtemberg edition, which is based on an agreement between Tischendorf and Westcott and Hort, with B. Weiss' text used as a deciding vote in places where they differ. The only better manual text for general purposes is the corresponding German edition.¹ This is preferable, because it has an excellent selection of variant readings, which is omitted in the English, and three useful little maps. Perhaps the Bible Society will see their way in a future edition to take over these features.

The two next books are small brochures, meant for educated but non-specialist readers. That of Nösgen is apparently for a very conservative circle, and is too largely occupied with general considerations, and the justification of criticism from an ecclesiastical standpoint, to have much value outside the circle for which it was intended. The other, that of Knopf, is in quite a different class. Originally read at the Theological Congress at Giessen, it is one of those interesting and useful little publications which have become so characteristic of the German Universities. It gives an excellent short statement of the history of the textual question and its present position. The writer gives

¹ Since this was written, a new edition has been printed, in which the Greek text and the Vulgate are given on opposite pages. This makes a most charming book. The Vulgate is also issued separately.

great prominence to the work of Westcott and Hort, and discusses the importance of the Western text as the chief later development. I do not know any better statement of the case in untechnical language. The only point which I should venture to criticise is that it gives rather too much the impression that there really was a Western text which can be set over against other types. It seems to me that we ought to give up talking about a Western text, and recognise the existence of two texts, represented best by the Old Syriac and the Old Latin, which differ fundamentally from each other as well as from the text of the oldest Greek uncials. But I am not quite sure how far Dr Knopf would accept this, and of course the point is pre-eminently one which is still *sub judice*.

The three next publications are concerned with the history of that famous Codex Bezaë, which is to textual critics what King Charles's head was to Mr Dick, and is an apparently inexhaustible source of interesting studies. Dom Quentin has thrown some valuable light on one of the most difficult problems in its history—its connection with Lyons. To render plain an account of his work it is necessary to go back a little and state the point which he discusses. Of the later history of Codex Bezaë all that is known is as follows: Beza gave it to the University of Cambridge in 1581. He had obtained it some years previously from Lyons, as he has noted in the MS. itself: "Est hoc exemplar vetustatis ex Græcia, ut apparet ex barbaris Græcis quibusdam ad marginem adscriptis, olim exportatum et in S. Irenæi monasterio Lugduni, ita ut hic cernitur mutilatum postquam ibi in pulvere diu jacuisset, repertum oriente ibi civili bello anno Domini 1562." That is to say, Beza thought it was part of the loot of the monastery—a point on which his opinion was likely to be correct—and believed that it had always been in the library since it had been brought from Greece—which cannot be more than a guess on his part.

Starting from this statement of Beza, it has usually been thought that the MS. certainly came from Lyons, and in his earlier book on the subject Dr Rendel Harris thought that arguments could be found to show that it was never far from

that city from the time that it was written. But against this theory there are several awkward facts. Later in his life Beza refers to this MS. as *Codex Claromontanus*, not as *Codex Lugdunensis*. Is it merely a confusion with his famous MS. of the Pauline Epistles which came from Clermont, near Beauvais? One might have thought so were it not that at the Council of Trent in 1546, according to Marianus Victorius, William á Prato quoted an *antiquissimus quidam Græcus codex* for a reading in John xxi. 22, which is only known to exist in Codex Bezaë, and William á Prato was Bishop of Clermont in Auvergne. At this point comes in one of Dom Quentin's discoveries. He has pointed out that Marianus Victorius, whose commentary on Jerome was published in Rome in 1566 (though I notice that Dom Quentin uses the later Antwerp edition), quotes in the very next column to the passage just mentioned a *Codex Lugdunensis*, and again connects it with a reading found only in Codex Bezaë. Moreover, a little later he refers again to a Claremontane codex, and quotes from it a reading found in Codex Bezaë, though this time not peculiar to it. The form of the references is important. The first is *antiquissimus quidam Græcus Codex, quem Tridentum attulit Claremontanensis episcopus anno Domini 1549* (l. 1546); the second is *in antiquissimo codice Lugdunensi*; and the third is *apud . . . antiquissimum librum Græcum Claremontanensem*.

It is extraordinary that here we have exactly the same apparent jumble of Clermont, Lyons, and Codex Bezaë as is found twenty or thirty years later in the writings of Beza. It is at least plain that the jumble is only apparent, and has some historical explanation. Such an explanation is suggested by Dom Quentin. "Il est établi," says he, "par là, que si le célèbre manuscrit a été apporté au concile de Trente par Guillaume Duprat celui-ci ne l'a néanmoins pas présenté comme lui appartenant personnellement, ou comme appartenant à son église de Clermont, mais au contraire comme l'étant de Lyons." This may be so; but I submit that the facts do not do more than render it possible. What is certain is that Victorius, writing probably before the sack of Lyons, refers to Codex Bezaë (or to MSS. with identical

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texts) as connected both with Clermont and Lyons; the connection with Clermont he explains as its use by the Bishop of Clermont; the connection with Lyons may be, as Dom Quentin says, that á Prato borrowed it from Lyons; but it may also be that it was given to Lyons after the Council of Trent, in which case its history before 1546 remains as doubtful as before. Even the well-known fact that it was collated, according to Stephanus, in Italy, though it seems to establish an Italian origin, proves nothing, for 1546-47 is the most likely time for this collation, and it seems to be true that Trent was then regarded as in Italy.

But Dom Quentin has another and more elaborate argument. One of the most famous martyrologies of the early Middle Ages is that of Adon, who was Archbishop of Vienne *c.* 860, and had previously been at Lyons. It was probably at Lyons, so at least Dom Quentin thinks, that he wrote his martyrology, making use, among other things, of the work of Florus of Lyons. Naturally, in a martyrology, there are many references to the New Testament, and Dom Quentin has set himself the task of identifying the type of text used in them. The result is remarkable. The quotations have been compared with the Vulgate and a number of Old Latin MSS., and it seems clear that the text used by Adon was of the so-called European type, *i.e.* it agrees mostly with *b* in the Gospels and with *gig* in the Acts. But in certain places in the Acts the text suddenly alters and readings of another type are found, agreeing so closely with Codex Bezae that Dom Quentin thinks that the cumulative evidence is irresistible that Adon used Codex Bezae as a secondary source, and had probably noted its readings in the margin of the text which he generally used. The weight of the argument cannot be appreciated without reading Dom Quentin's concise article; personally I feel at present convinced that he is right, and that the martyrology of Adon is a valuable piece of evidence for the use of Codex Bezae in the ninth century. Only, I am not at all so sure that he is right when he maintains that this means that Codex Bezae was at Lyons. He gives a clue to an alternative himself.

Florus, the source for some of Adon's work, he says, is more likely to have made the necessary study of the text, and Florus had relations with Italy. I am sorry that I am quite ignorant of the life of Florus, and have not yet had an opportunity of finding out more about his history. It seems an important question whether he can be shown ever to have actually been in Italy, and especially in Calabria or Sicily. If it is at all probable that he was, I would suggest that he may have collated parts of Codex Bezae in South Italy, for I do not think that Dom Quentin can hope to prove the three annotators, M, O, and L, of Codex Bezae earlier than Florus. The annotators seem to show that the MS. was, until the ninth century, in a district where Greek liturgical uses did not obtain, and then from the ninth to the twelfth century in a district where they did. It is precisely in the ninth century that Greek monasteries began to flourish in South Italy, and after the twelfth century they began to decline. Thus I would suggest that perhaps Florus saw Codex Bezae in South Italy or Sicily in the ninth century, and made notes from it in a copy of the Old Latin text of the type of *gigas*, which was afterwards used in Lyons by Adon. Codex Bezae itself remained in Italy and did not come to Lyons until later, perhaps after the Council of Trent. This suggestion is, of course, not made with any confidence that it is right. It is merely an alternative to Dom Quentin's theory. Whether the balance of probability is on his side of the argument or on mine, it is at least certain that his new facts are very interesting and important.

It is sad to have to mention yet another point which tends rather to make confusion worse confounded. This is Dr Nestle's note on Matt. xx. 28, where Codex Bezae has one of its most famous interpolations, found elsewhere, in Greek, only in Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae (Φ). He reminds us that Sabatier, writing in 1751, said that the reading existed in Greek in three MSS.; and the mistake, if it be a mistake, has never been satisfactorily cleared up. The point is rather important, for the whole argument connecting Codex Bezae with Adon, with the Council of Trent, and with the MS. collated for Stephanus in Italy is based on the supposed

uniqueness of Codex Bezae; and if there had once been a second MS. of the same type, the matter would assume a different complexion. I do not think that it is so, but it is not wise quite to forget the possibility.

Another learned Benedictine has succeeded in throwing some welcome light on the earlier history of the text of Codex Bezae, and incidentally in modifying a theory on which Prof. Blass¹ had put much emphasis. The fact has been much advertised that in Luke and Acts the name of St John is spelt *Ἰωάνης*, not *Ἰωάννης*. The theory has been that this pointed to the use of a very early archetype going back to the time when the Gospels were not yet a collection, and Luke and Acts preserved their original connection. Dom Chapman shows that there is a simpler explanation. In the first place, it appears that the use of *Ἰωάνης* does not begin with Luke. It is also characteristic of the second half of John. In the second place, the order of the Gospels in Codex Bezae is the usual Latin one—Matt., John, Luke, Mark, but what if the archetype had Matt., Mark, John, Luke—the order of Mommsen's Canon and Syr. Cur., and probably Western but not Latin? This would bring John, Luke, and Acts together, and the matter is seen to be simpler. The fact seems to be that the scribe of Codex Bezae altered the order of the books from the old Western order of the MS. which he was copying and adopted the Latin order, and that in this MS. there was a change of spelling from *Ἰωάννης* to *Ἰωάνης*, beginning with the middle of John and continuing to the end of the book. Moreover, Dom Chapman points out the very interesting fact that exactly the same thing is true of the use of dots which are supposed to represent the colometric system of the archetype. They are used in the portions when *Ἰωάννης* is used, and dropped when *Ἰωάνης* is adopted. Why did the scribe of Codex Bezae change his methods on these two points at the same places?

¹ While correcting this page for the Press, I have heard the sad news of Professor Blass's death. It is given to few men to be equally well known in theological and in classical circles, and we are much the poorer for his loss. Even those who have been least inclined to accept his theories will desire to express their indebtedness to a man whose acuteness and imagination were only equalled by his learning and scholarship.

Dom Chapman's theory is that the change had already been effected in the archetype, and that the reason is that the earlier part of this MS. was carefully written by a scribe who had had directions to change the spelling 'Ιωάνης to 'Ιωάννης and to note the *cola*. He worked carefully at first, but after a time relaxed his attention and reverted to the older method. Thus we have to suppose three generations of scribes. The first wrote colometrically and spelt 'Ιωάνης. The second introduced the spelling 'Ιωάννης, but abandoned it in the middle; he did not write colometrically, but noted the *cola* for some time until the fit of fatigue which induced him to abandon 'Ιωάννης simultaneously led him to give up marking the *cola*. Both these scribes used the non-Latin Western order; but the third, the writer of our Codex Bezae, though he followed the second scribe's method, introduced the Latin order. This is all admirably ingenious. I would, however, venture to suggest two possible alternatives. It is well known that more than one scribe was often employed on a single MS. Is it possible to reduce Dom Chapman's MSS. by supposing that the archetype was written by two scribes who had different opinions as to the spelling of 'Ιωάνης and the value of colometric studies? Even now not every one is quite sound on these points. In the second place, is it possible that the scribe of Codex Bezae used two MSS.? In this case one would have to suppose that both belonged to the Western, non-Latin type, but varied as to colometry and the spelling of 'Ιωάνης. It is curious that there are somewhat similar reasons for supposing that the scribe of Codex Laudianus used two archetypes (cf. *Theol. Tijdschrift*, 1906, p. 485 f.). In any case Dom Chapman may be congratulated on an exceedingly neat discovery. I am glad to note that Prof. Burkitt seems to have convinced him, as he has me, that Codex Bezae is probably earlier than is generally thought.

The European text, which, as Dom Quentin shows, was more or less generally used by Adon, is incidentally the subject of a very important chapter in Mr Souter's *Study of Ambrosiaster*, in which an attempt is successfully made to fix the type of text used by that writer. The value of

this work is independent of identifications of Ambrosiaster. Whether he was Isaac the Jew, or Decimus Hilarianus Hilarius, or some one else whose name is unknown, it is certain that he wrote in Rome just before the publication of the Vulgate. Therefore, there can be no better evidence as to the type of text which Jerome desired to replace. This evidence is now presented in the clearest manner in chap. vi. of the *Study*. The type of text is almost identical with that of *b* (Codex Veronensis) in the Gospels, and that of *gig* (Gigas Holmensis) in the Acts; that is to say, it is typically "European"; and it is remarkable that this type was so popular that, in spite of Jerome's work, it was still used in Lyons by Adon in the ninth century. Not without good reason was it originally called the *Vulgata*, a name, it will be remembered, which first meant the Old Latin, not Jerome's revision; it was not until the Middle Ages that the new creation, having obtained the position of the older family, took also its name. One of the most important side issues of this result is the perceptible support which it gives to the view that the whole division of the Old Latin into "African," "European," and "Italic" must be amended by omitting the last, the evidence for which becomes smaller the more it is examined. For the text of the Pauline Epistles the evidence we previously possessed was smaller. As Mr Souter says, no one except Ziegler and Corssen had done much work on the question, and the elaborate lists which he gives are consequently the most important addition to our knowledge for many years, and are certain to have an enduring fame among textual critics. We are given the quotations of Cyprian, Lucifer, Ambrosiaster, Codex Clarom. (D), and the Vulgate, so that these can be compared with one another from the point of view of rendering as well as reading. Mr Souter gives us his conclusions in a very few words, and as the result of a naturally much shorter investigation of his evidence, I have nothing to add. These conclusions are: (1) Cyprian's text is probably the earliest Latin version of the Epistles. (2) Lucifer's text is a revision of this. (3) Ambrosiaster used Lucifer's text polished. (4) Jerome's text can be well explained as a revision of Ambrosiaster's.

(5) The text of Codex Clarom. is fundamentally that of Lucifer, contaminated by the Vulgate in the longer Epistles.

The three last works on the list are only incidentally connected with Textual Criticism, but they are interesting as offering an illustration of the broad distinction between two types of thought. In the *Journal for Theological Studies* Dr Chase, the Bishop of Ely, in the course of an article on the Baptismal Formula in Matt. xxviii. 19, touches on Mr Conybeare's discovery of the Eusebian text, which reads "make disciples *in My name*," instead of the reference to baptism. Dr Chase argues first that Eusebius did not find this reading in a MS., but only adopted it under the influence of the *Disciplina arcana*, as Riggenbach had already suggested; secondly, that if this be not the case, the "Eusebian" text is only a "Western" reading, and has no good claim to be regarded as original, in the face of the consensus of MSS. and versions. Of these theories, the second is surely preferable. The objections to the former are that the Eusebian text is not peculiar to books intended for the heathen or for catechumens, and that no evidence has been brought forward to show that the *Disciplina arcana* would have led Eusebius not merely to be silent about the baptismal formula, but to replace it by something else. Moreover, Monsignor Batiffol has shown in his *Études* very good reason for minimising the importance of the *Disciplina arcana*. Turning to Dr Chase's alternative, one comes to the real core of the difficulty. He cannot admit the claims of a reading which has against it the consensus of manuscripts and versions. The theory is that these sources of evidence represent so many different localities so widely separated from one another that agreement in error is inconceivable. The internal evidence of historical probability and ecclesiastical tendency must give way to the so-called objective claims of the text. As a matter of fact, it is hard to see where the objectivity is to be found, and I suspect that it is only another example of the conversion of subject into object. It is really just as subjective to ascribe to the text an antiquity which it cannot be shown to possess as to amend it on the ground of

difficulties which it certainly presents, and in this respect the school of Dr Chase seems to be the intellectual descendants of Scrivener and Miller—it is only an accident that the object of their veneration is the consensus of early uncials and not of late cursives.¹

Over against this school of criticism stands another, represented in the present list by Wellhausen and Harnack, who think that all known texts are corrupt in places, and give us not the original text, but the canonical text. Thus Harnack, in *Lucas der Arzt*, on purely internal grounds regards Luke i. 34 f., i. 46, and iii. 23, as interpolations, and sees "ganz sicher" traces of corruption in the text of Acts i. 1-6 (see p. 79). In the same way Wellhausen, though unprepared to discuss Textual Criticism in detail, feels himself at liberty to treat the text with the utmost freedom. It would be impossible to give any full discussion of examples of this treatment. What is important to notice is, that this freedom of treatment of the text springs from no disparagement of the scientific value of the genealogical method of Westcott and Hort. It merely implies the judgment that the consensus of all the MSS. and versions takes us back, not to the primitive text, but to the canonical text. This is thought to have differed from the original in various places, though the latter lingered on and survived locally, just as the Old Latin Version lingered on and survived in sporadic readings long after the general acceptance of the Vulgate.

The textual controversy of the future is between this type of criticism and that represented in this survey by Dr Chase. Though I am personally inclined to believe that the future is not likely to be on the side of the Bishop of Ely, it would be foolish to pretend that the arguments are all on one side, or that those which seem to be indecisive are such as ought not to be put forward. Perhaps the decisive word will in

¹ In the same article, Dr Chase answers the suggestion made in my inaugural lecture at Leiden, that the reference to water in John iii. 5 is an interpolation which was unknown to Justin Martyr. I am sorry that it proved impossible for me to make the reply that I should have liked to have made in the pages of the *Journal*; I am not shaken in my opinion by Dr Chase's arguments, but one is naturally glad to have the criticisms of so distinguished a member of a different school of thought.

the end have to be spoken by the students of the history of the Canon, rather than by textual critics in the narrower sense of the word.

KIRSOPP LAKE.

Leiden.

Reviews

**A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY
ON THE BOOK OF PSALMS**, by *C. A. Briggs, D.D.,
D.Litt., and Émilie Grace Briggs, B.D. T. & T. Clark.
In 2 vols. Vol. I., 8vo. Pp. cx., 422. 10s. 6d.*

AFTER forty years of studies on the Psalter and on the many problems which it suggests, Dr Briggs has at last, with his daughter's help, given us his best book, and the best book on the Psalms which has hitherto been written in English. Biblical scholarship, and especially British biblical scholarship, is so deeply indebted to Canon Cheyne that one wishes it were possible to speak of his last Commentary on the same part of Scripture as a safe and helpful guide. Originality Cheyne shows, as he always does; and many of his textual emendations will, in my opinion, stand the test of time. But his conception of Jewish history is so revolutionary, and, as I think, so much in the air, and his methods of textual criticism are so utterly subjective and destructive, that the great work—for it is that—has not taken. Perhaps, of course, another generation of scholars will arise who will hail the work of the Oxford professor as path-breaking, and as pointing in the right direction. Dr Briggs changes the text often enough, especially when his ideas of metre seem to demand change; but one feels in reading his translations, based on the text he accepts, that one is reading the Psalms, and not something altogether different and indeed unique. Let me give an illustration by quoting Cheyne's and Briggs' rendering of Psalm ii. 1 f.

CHEYNE: "Why do the nations conspire,
The peoples meditate treason?
The Jerahmeelites take up their station,

The Misrites range themselves in order
Against Yahwè, against His loyal one."

BRIGGS: "Why do the nations consent together,
And peoples devise plans in vain?
Kings of earth take their stand,
And princes do consult together,
Against Yahweh and against His Anointed."

The author¹ tells us in the Preface that he has compiled a special Lexicon to the Psalter, in which he endeavours to indicate the history of each word. It is to be hoped that this Lexicon will be published at an early period. But Dr Briggs has also prepared himself for his great work on the Psalms by many years of patient toil upon other problems which closely concern the Psalter, as, *e.g.*, Hebrew poetry, on which he says he has worked for over thirty years, and on which he has previously published so much that he has now hardly anything new to say (see articles in American magazines, and especially his *Study of Holy Scriptures*, chaps. xiv. to xvii.). The main outline of his theory of the growth of the Psalter as developed in the present volume was given to the world as long ago as 1892, in the pages of the *New World*. Dr Briggs has a peculiar, and, I think untenable view as to the meaning of *Selah* in the Psalms; but that view has been put forth and defended by himself in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. xviii., and by Miss Briggs in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, vol. xvi. pp. 1 ff. Throughout his works on Messianic Prophecy, there are translations of Psalms, accompanied by notes. Those acquainted with what the Doctor has previously written may not find many surprises in the present volume; but, on the other hand, the fact that the author has been so long working at this important part of the Old Testament is evidence that he has come to the task well equipped; and it should be remembered that we have here the author's most mature thoughts, in most cases at least more fully and more clearly expressed than anywhere else.

Taking the volume as a whole it is a magnificent con-

¹ I must be allowed to speak of "author" and of "Dr Briggs," as representing "authors," and "Dr and Miss Briggs."

tribution to the series to which it belongs. Dr Briggs does not err, as the late eminent Principal W. Rainey Harper did, by over-loading his very valuable Commentary on Amos and Hosea with references to authorities ; and he more frequently gives his own opinions than Dr Harper did. The textual emendations are not bewilderingly numerous, and these are generally based on evidence which ordinary readers can judge. Moreover, there is an original translation of each Psalm which embodies the textual and exegetical notes ; and the translation is elegant and forceful. By the way, do the Americans speak of "*the* most of"? I have met with the expression in this volume frequently. This side of the Atlantic we omit the article and say "most (or the majority) of the commentators." I have noticed some other apparent Americanisms ; but perhaps Americans would criticise us in these matters as we do them.

The Introduction is full, scholarly, and, especially when dealing with the evolution of our present Psalter, original. The remarks on the versions and on the other means of reaching a correct text are very valuable. What the author has to say about the poetry of the Psalter is interesting, but there is little in it which has not been already published by the author himself or by others ; see especially the *Treatise on Hebrew Metre*, by W. H. Cobb, recently published (1905), for the history of opinion on the subject. Briggs is, in the main, a disciple of Ley, holding, as do most advocates of metre in the Old Testament now, that in scanning we must count accented syllables only. He arranges the Psalms with great confidence according to their metre. Among the eighty-nine trimetrical Psalms is Ps. xix. 2-7, which I select quite at random to show that advocates of the same metrical principles (as regards scanning) reach different results. Briggs is quite confident that the first part of the Psalm named, originally an independent Psalm, is trimetrical, *i.e.* it is made up of lines with three accented syllables. His master Ley is equally sure that it is tetrametrical (*octometrisch*), and so are Duhm, Cheyne, and Baethgen. The scanning of the Psalm gives the following :—

v. 2	3 (or 4 ?)	:	4
3	4	:	3 (or 4 ?)
4	3 (or 2 ? or 4 ?)	:	3
5	3 (or 4 ?)	:	3
6	{ 3 (or 4 ?)		
	4	:	4
7	{ 3		
	3	:	2

The results reached will depend upon the extent to which we join words, whether or not they are united by *maqgeph*, and giving to one, two, or more words one accent according to the requirements of the assumed metre. Theories of Hebrew metre which require such free and arbitrary handling of the text, and which, in different hands, lead to such divergent results, must be received with a good deal of caution. In much of Hebrew poetry, especially in the Psalter and in Job, there appear a constant succession of lines with three or four or more accented syllables, though departures occur often in the most symmetrical poem, unless we are to mangle the text, as metricists are fond of doing. But can it be seriously maintained that the authors of Old Testament poetry had before them, as they wrote, certain metrical principles which they consciously followed? Do not the sentences of a writer like Ruskin, and of a preacher under strong emotion, tend to assume what may be called metrical form? In discussions on Hebrew poetry, sufficient stress is not laid on the fact that man is, instinctively, a rhythmical being, a result, as Hupfeld sagaciously pointed out, of the regular movements involved in respiration and blood circulation. We walk and work, we sing and dance in iambics, spondees, etc., before we know anything of these terms or of metre. It is greatly to be doubted whether, in the bulk of Old Testament poetry, especially in that which is oldest and most spontaneous, we have anything more than the unconscious working out of human instincts. Poetry is an older form of literature than prose, just because it lies nearest to the primary instincts of human nature. Metrical poetry may be said to

consist of rhythmical sentences containing a regulation number of bits called "feet." But, strictly speaking, metre is the codifying of laws which are instinctively followed before they are codified; just as speech, reasoning, and thought exist before grammar, logic, and psychology. Briggs is a strong upholder of the strophic structure of Hebrew poetry which Köster was the first to point out. But the poetry of all languages and ages is strophic under certain conditions, *i.e.* unity of thought instinctively issues in unity of structure. But very much of the poetry of the Old Testament is not strophic, as much other poetry is not. And the same remark applies to D. H. Müller's theory of responsion, according to which strophes stand related to one another as parallel lines in a verse. The danger is to exalt accidental or rare cases into rules, and to put into the minds of Bible writers ideas which they never entertained. On the whole it is safe to say that it is the thought and feeling of the poets of the Old Testament which determined the form of their poetry, though even then there will be the phenomena which, upon reflection, men came to call metre; and the presence of such phenomena, however unconscious to the poet, can be of great service for purposes of textual criticism.

In treating of the dates of the Psalms, Dr Briggs has a way of his own, though it is a way he has explained in earlier writings, and it is not very different from the method adopted by Canon Cheyne in his *Origin of the Psalter*. Both these scholars endeavour to group certain Psalms which seem to them to be connected in such a way that if we know the age of some of the group we can argue the same date for the rest of the group. But Briggs and Cheyne part company in the way they go to work. The English author groups according to affinities of thought, phraseology, and apparent historical allusion. Briggs follows in a large measure the cue supplied by the titles. Psalms with the same titles belonged originally to the same collection, and by determining the age of the collection an important step has been made in the determining of the age of the component Psalms. We have, *e.g.*, David (D), Q'orahite (Q), Director

¹ I use "Q" for Briggs's "K."

(Dr), Asaph (A), etc., Psalms. Each of these groups belonged to a larger group with the same heading. The Psalms which have *Mismor* (M) ("A Song,"¹ not a song to be accompanied by a musical instrument) are taken to form another group, from a larger collection of *Mismorim*, belonging, as a collection, to the early Greek period. There are further Elohist (E), Hallelujah (H), etc., Psalms, and the date of the original compilation is in each case fixed with a certainty which reminds one very much of Cheyne's methods in his *Bampton Lectures*, and in his new work on the Psalms. Having thus arranged the Psalms in classes, Briggs sees in the classes common features which link them together. Cheyne's groups with common features differ much from those of Briggs. I confess the common features are not so obvious to me in either case, and in some instances the contrary is obvious.

What Briggs has to say as to the date of any particular Psalm depends almost entirely upon the castle which he has built in the Introduction. Let me illustrate by a reference to what the author says anent the date of Ps. xlix. (see p. 406). This was (we are told) taken up into M (the *Mismorim*), then into E (the Elohist Psalms), and into Dr (the Director or Precentor Psalms) from Q (the Qorahite Psalms). This Psalm differs from other Q Psalms, and is so like A (Asaph) Psalms that it must belong to the latter, as does the next Psalm (l.). From this and from some few marks of style it is argued that Ps. xlix. belongs to the late Persian period. The large number of symbols in the Introduction to the Psalms, reminding one greatly of Euclid symbols, will be found very bewildering to readers who have not mastered the Introduction. But Dr Briggs has laboured very hard, and shown much ingenuity and learning in working out his thesis, and it may be that the true solution lies along the lines which he lays down. I must confess that I am unconverted, and that on the whole I prefer Cheyne's method in the *Origin of the Psalter*, of grouping according to sense. Dr Briggs makes too much of the Titles in my opinion. Moreover, he is not consistent

¹ See "Psalms," vol. ii., *Century Bible*, p. 4.

in his explanation of the so-called *lamed auctoris*. In nearly every case it is taken to denote "Belonging to the Collection of." The "Psalms of (to) David" are excerpted from a David hymn-book. So there were Qorahite, Director, Asaph, Mizmor, etc., hymn-books, and the Psalms with these names in the titles are extracted from the larger collections with the same headings. This is the view which I adopted in my "Psalms," vol. ii., *Century Bible*, issued last year. But this explanation cannot apply to Pss. lxxii., lxxxviii., lxxxix., and xc., which stand severally alone in being connected with the names of persons unnamed in the titles of other Psalms, though in Greek there exist outside our Psalter eighteen "Psalms of Solomon." It appears to me now that the preposition *lamed* denotes "dedication," the name being mentioned out of respect. Of course "Asaph," "Heman," "Ethan" belong to a period when belief in the actual existence and importance for sacred song of the men thus designated was not questioned.

Briggs would have done well to put together, however briefly, the principles on which we judge of the origin and date of Psalms, in the manner of most recent books, such as style, historical allusions, dependence on other writings, and theological teaching. All these *criteria* are used, but I have not seen any connected statement or estimate of them. He attaches much importance to Aramaisms as evidence for later date; but such evidence is lessened in value by the fact that some early parts of the Old Testament abound in Aramaisms, as, *e.g.*, "The Song of Deborah," Judges v. Yet we find very few Aramaisms, if any, in Amos and Hosea, and a very large number in Qoheleth and other late books. But the real significance of Aramaisms in the Old Testament is still an unsolved problem.

It should be added that Briggs ascribes to the Psalms earlier dates than most recent scholars, and that he makes David the author of five Psalms and of parts of three others. In a very useful table he has arranged all the Psalms according to collection and date—all, of course, according to his own principles.

Throughout this volume it is assumed that the Psalms

were used in the synagogue, and that they were composed and compiled more for the synagogue than for the Temple: see pp. lxiv., lxx. *et passim*. I should like to know what grounds the author has for this view. At page xcv. he writes: "In the synagogue the ceremonies of religion were reduced to a minimum." This is exactly what Schürer says in his *Geschichte des jüd. Volkes* (3rd edition).¹ The Old Testament itself supplies no evidence on the matter, for there is no certain reference in it to the synagogue at all; and the same may be said of the Apocrypha. But there is not a syllable in Philo, Josephus, or in the New Testament that bears out Dr Briggs's assumption. If so many of the Psalms originated in the needs of the synagogue, it is remarkable that in Chronicles, where so much is said of sacred music, it is the Temple and not the synagogue that is connected with such music. Dr Briggs does prove, as it was easy to do, that our Lord and His disciples sang hymns and Psalms (the last is not certain if Bible Psalms are meant) in their gatherings, but this is no proof that singing of any kind formed part of the proceedings of the synagogue of the time. He sees in the singing at the Lord's Supper a mere survival of the Hallel sung by the Jews at the synagogue during the Passover. But it can, I think, be proved that no selection of Psalms called a "Hallel" existed as early as our Saviour's time. If, however, it did, and it formed a part of the Passover ritual, as in later Judaism, we have in this no proof of its being sung in the synagogue, for the Passover was at that time a domestic festival (as it is now); it is a ceremony of the sanctuary (*viz.*, of the Temple) in the D Code only. Hence if the Passover Hallel did exist in Christ's time, it would be sung in Jewish homes only. The authority of Tertullian and Jerome is cited for the statement that the Psalm-singing passed over from the synagogue to the Christian Church; but the passages referred to do not involve such a statement; and if they did these Church Fathers would be arguing from the synagogue of their own time. The testimony of the Mishnah would apply to the second and later centuries. What John Lightfoot and

¹ II. ii., pp. 428 ff.; Eng. Ed. II. ii., pp. 54 ff.

Vitringa say in their learned and valuable works rests on Jewish tradition alone. It seems to me exceedingly probable that until the destruction of the Temple in A.D. 70 the synagogue was a place of instruction only, but that after this event the worship of the Temple was transferred to it; so that the synagogue of subsequent times might be called, as years ago I called it, a "Temple-synagogue."¹ Even if the *Shemá* and the *Shemone-^h Esreh* (eighteen) were used in the synagogue of our Lord's time (as Schürer and Fr. Leitner are inclined to think), they would be rather in the nature of creeds to be recited; and, moreover, a part of the latter belongs to the second century. The sanctuary of Onias in Egypt stands on a different level, as it was a kind of rival to the Jerusalem Temple. It should be added that Schürer, Leitner, Bousset, and Oskar Holzmann agree with Briggs in this matter, but none of them advance proofs of the view they support.

Dr Briggs's analysis, translation, and exposition are admirable, and constitute, in my opinion, the most valuable, though the least original, part of the volume. The author has consulted the best authorities and made excellent use of them. It would have been an advantage to any one wishing to see his rendering of any particular verse or verses if in his translation he numbered the verses. Verses or parts of verses which he considers no true part of the text, he omits from the translation. The numbering of the verses would have made this obvious.

In the remarks about grammar, etc., printed small as is customary in this excellent series, one misses in Briggs's volume the constant references to well-known Hebrew grammars (Stade, J. Olshausen, Kautzsch, König, etc.), which other volumes in the series supply. Such references are very useful to the student in the way of proof (or the reverse) and of illustration. But the evidence of the versions is fully given.

In Ps. xix. the author sees two Psalms, as most recent authorities have done, and in vers. 6 f. (5 f.) he recognises an adaptation to Yahwism of an ancient sun-hymn, as Gunkel

¹ See *Old and New Testament Student*, xiii. pp. 134 f., and elsewhere.

had seen before ; but the text does not require that view. The words rendered by the revisers, "sons of the mighty," in Ps. xxix. 1, are translated by Briggs "sons of gods"—correctly, so far as the last word is concerned, since the Hebrew word in the plural means invariably "heathen deities"; but the words "sons of" are not needed in English. "Young yore ox" (xxix. 6), hardly intelligible this side of the Atlantic, should be rendered merely "wild ox," which the corresponding word in Assyrian denotes. In Ps. viii. 4, "son of mankind" should be rendered merely "man-kind"; it stands in parallelism to the word rendered "man"—the latter = the Latin *vir*, the former = the Latin *homo*. In Hebrew as in Arabic the word for "son" has constantly to be left out in translation. If in xxix. 4 "son of a wild ox" = "a young wild ox," then in the present verse "son of man" = "a young man," and "sons of Israel" ("Israelites") = the "young people belonging to Israel." Similarly, in Ps. xlix. 3, "sons of mankind" and "sons of men" should be rendered "low-born men" and "high-born men" respectively, though perhaps no real difference is intended, the two expressions arising out of the exigencies of parallelism. In the latter case "human beings" and "men" would be suitable English equivalents. I would render "mountains of God," in Ps. xxxvi. 7, by "great mountains," in conformity with Arabic¹ and Hebrew idiom; cp. Ps. lxxx. 11, "cedars of God" = "great cedars," and Ps. lxviii. 16; Job i. 16, iii. 3. The next clause ("Thy justice is a great deep") supports the view now taken.

A note on the anomalous accentuation of the Hebrew word in Ps. xxxvi. 13 (12), translated "they are thrust down," with references to authorities, would have been helpful to a Hebrew student. Indeed, I miss at many points explanations of grammatical and other difficulties which to careful students of the Hebrew text would have been a great boon. But the volume is full of valuable matter from cover to cover, and it is extremely likely that the learned and painstaking author has had to omit much of what he would with sufficient space have inserted. In my *Century Bible*

¹ See Lane, *Arabic Lexicon*, i. p. 83, etc.

volume on Psalms lxxiii. to cl. I had to omit three-fourths of the matter which I had prepared.

I have noticed other points of translation and exegesis which, however, I have not here the space to dilate upon or even to refer to.

I have not observed any explanation of the word rendered "peace" (*shalôm*). When the Oriental "salaams" you, he means a good deal more than "may you have peace." Nor is there, I think, any adequate treatment of the phrase "things" or "words of" in the sense of "instances of" (see Ps. xxii. 2 (1)).¹

The introduction does not touch upon several important questions of a general kind relating to the Psalter. No doubt the next volume, for which Bible students are eagerly waiting, will supply this lack.

What the author says about the history of the interpretation of the Psalms is full of interest, and his bibliography is probably the fullest that has appeared, though it is not complete: how could it be? I may name the following omissions (perhaps quite intentional): *Decapla in Psalmos*, by John Viccars (London, 1639 — excerpts in Latin from commentaries in ten languages); the *Commentaries* of Patrick, Bishop of Ely (London, 1700); of Dyserinck (Haarlem, 1877); of W. S. Plumer (Philadelphia, 1867); E. G. King (Cambridge, 1898-1905); W. F. Cobb (London, 1905). F. W. Mozley's *Psalter in the Church* (Cambridge, 1905) is a comparison of the MT. and the LXX. which students will find very useful, though it is not very profound nor very original. The list of metrical versions does not include that by John Keble, author of *The Christian Year*; but the principal ones actually used in public worship are given, though Dr Watts's version has had great vogue among the Free Churches, and might have been named. For the benefit of those who have the misfortune to be unacquainted with Welsh, I may add that some admirable metrical versions have been put into that language, the principal of which are

¹ At page lvi. a quotation is given from "Casaubon": most readers would think that "Isaac Casaubon" is intended, and it is evident that he *is* intended; but it is the son, "Meric" Casaubon, a man of very different calibre, that wrote the words quoted. (See Assembly's Annotations.)

by the following:—E. Prys (about 1620); M. Williams (Nicander, 1850); W. Rees (Hiræthog, 1875); and J. G. Jones (1905).

Assuming that vol. ii. of this work will be on the same high level as the present volume, one can fearlessly say that *Briggs on the Psalms* will be for many years the standard work in English-speaking countries on this important part of the Bible, ranking with the very best in any language. The work is marked throughout by fine scholarship, commendable independence, and a devoutness suited to the theme.

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DAS BUCH HABAKKUK: *Text, Uebersetzung und Erklärung von Bernh. Duhm. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Edinburgh: Otto Schulze & Co.), 1906. Pp. i.-iii., 1-101. M. 2.80; in Lwd., M. 3.80.*

THE masterly commentaries already published by Bernhard Duhm are a guarantee of the value of the present work. His well-known characteristics are again apparent in this latest and fullest exposition of the text of Habakkuk. Independence and insight and fertility of emendation, combined with a certain freedom of expression, give his commentaries a quality which is best described as stimulating. Cautious-minded readers may reject most of his novelties, but they will certainly acknowledge that he has illuminated the situation and given them welcome assistance in defining their own position.

A brief preface explains the chief motive of the publication. Recent commentators, inheriting the view that Habakkuk lived in the "Chaldean period" (*cf.* i. 6), have gradually stripped from him all but a few verses of the two and a half pages which are his in the Jewish canon. K. Marti (1904) allows him only i. 5-9a, 10, 14, 15a. The psalm in chap. iii., because it is a psalm, has long been regarded as a late addition, and other portions have been rejected as being inconsistent with a date in the Chaldean period, or

with the contents of i. 5 ff. Duhm now asks the pertinent question, Why keep i. 5 ff. in the Chaldean period when all the rest is later? He strikes out the reference to the Chaldeans in i. 6 as a gloss, and dates the *whole book* in the time of Alexander the Great. In thus maintaining that chap. iii. is an integral part of the prophecy, he associates himself with M. Lauterburg (1896), O. Happel (1900), and F. E. Peiser (1903), and in his rejection of the evidence of i. 6 he has been anticipated by Lauterburg and Happel.

The chief steps in Duhm's argument against the evidence of i. 6 are: (1) the greater part of the book has been proved to be of late date, (2) the presumption is against so brief a document containing the work of more than one author, (3) i. 9 contains a clear reference to the campaigns of Alexander the Great. Every one of these assertions is seriously open to challenge. It is argued that the enemy in i. 9 marches eastward, *i.e.* comes from the west, and must therefore be the Greeks. But the text is admittedly corrupt, and Duhm's restoration is by no means convincing. Instead of such a statement as "[from Gomer] their faces are eastwards," where the words in brackets are conjectural, should there not be a comparison descriptive of the invaders and parallel to the last words of verse 8? At the best it is hazardous to depend greatly on such a doubtful verse. The obvious verdict on the second argument is that it is not decisive. Composite authorship, such as Nowack and Marti allege, is certainly conceivable, and a close parallel to it may be found in the case of the Book of Baruch.

Even the initial assumption that most of the book is of late date is not universally admitted. After all, the clearest evidence is contained in i. 6, and the resemblance between chaps. i. and ii. and the prophecies of Jeremiah strongly supports a date in the Chaldean period for these chapters as a whole. The cardinal consideration here is that we may have "remains" from the activity of a prophet's lifetime, and that every prophecy in the "book," which is really a collection of utterances, need not reflect exactly the same situation (cf. *Expositor*, May 1902).

It may be noted that, whilst Duhm's conclusions are by

no means identical with those of O. Happel, they tend in the same direction and rest on similar arguments. Happel finds a reference to the Greeks in i. 9, but regards it as a modification of the original text, in which there was no such reference.

WM. B. STEVENSON.

Bala.

**DIE KOMPOSITION DES ÄTHIOPISCHEN
HENOCHBUCHES, von. Lic. Theol. Heinrich Appel.
*Beiträge zur Förderung Christlicher Theologie. Verlag
von C. Bertelsmann. Pp. 101. Gütersloh, 1906. M. 1.80.***

THIS treatise of 100 pages is full of contentious matter. If the reviewer were to take account of a tithe of its dogmatic statements the review would rival the treatise in extent. Notwithstanding, as a first-hand piece of work it contains many valuable observations, and occasionally shows real insight. One such instance is worth bringing forward. Chapter lxxi. has always been a great difficulty to students of the Book of Enoch, for there Enoch is addressed as "the Son of Man." Since such a use of this phrase conflicts with the usage throughout the preceding chapters, the present writer, in his edition of the Book of Enoch in 1893, branded this chapter as an interpolation, and this view has been adopted by Dalman, Beer, Bousset, Volz, and others. These writers regard this interpolation as attesting the elevation of Enoch to the Messianic dignity. But the study of Appel's treatise has convinced me that I have been wrong in marking this chapter as a later addition to the Similitudes. Appel shows that there are two independent visions in this chapter, *i.e.* lxxi. 1-4 and lxxi. 5-17. The first he relegates to the Noachic fragments. The latter represents a translation of Enoch into the highest heaven, where he enjoys a vision of God (9-13). God is here (10, 12, 13) designated as "the Head of Days," as in chap. xlvi. 1, and He is attended by the four archangels mentioned in chap. xl. Now in verse 14 come the difficult words, "And he came to me and greeted me with his voice, and said unto me: Thou art the Son of Man who art born unto righteousness, and righteousness

abides over thee, and the righteousness of the Head of Days forsakes thee not. 15. And he said unto me : He proclaims unto thee peace in the name of the world to come." Here, as I pointed out, and as Appel urges, the speaker cannot be God, but must be an angel. But since in the preceding verses there is no mention of a special angel, Appel assumes, and I hold rightly, that before verse 14 a passage¹ has fallen out which spoke of the Son of Man as in attendance on the Head of Days, exactly as in xlvi. 1, and likewise of an angel to whom Enoch applied for information about the Son of Man, exactly as in xlvi. 2. Verse 14, then, contains this angel's answer, but the persons have been changed. The angel replied to Enoch, not "Thou art the Son of Man," etc., but, "This is the Son of Man who is born unto righteousness, . . . and the righteousness of the Head of Days forsakes him not." Verse 15 contains the message of the Son of Man to Enoch. In verse 16 we must again change the second persons into the third, for, as verse 17, this verse undoubtedly refers to the Son of Man. Thus lxxi. 5-17 would, when restored, prove to be an original fragment of the Similitudes, containing a second vision of the Head of Days and the Son of Man, and forming, in fact, a sort of double of chap. xlvi.

But to return. Appel's chief conclusions are as follows : The whole work is based on i.-xxxvi. in its original form (that is, i.-xvi., xx.-xxxvi.). This groundwork was adopted as a model in the remaining sections, both as a whole and in its individual parts. Of these sections, three were bound together as a Book of Methuselah. Next came a final editor, who added parallel statements to many of the accounts already in the text. He interpolated the groundwork, and revised the Methuselah sections, making extensive additions to the first and third, and adding the Similitudes from his own pen, and published the entire work shortly after the death of Herod. At the close of each fresh hypothesis our author generally adds that the validity of his

¹ Appel holds that the redactor omitted this passage intentionally, and changed the third persons into the second in order to transform the document before him into an account of Enoch's assumption into heaven.

conclusions can admit of no doubt. So we all thought when we were young.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HEBRAICA AND JUDAICA
(Autumn 1905-Autumn 1906), by I. Abrahams, M.A.,
Reader in Talmudic Literature, University of Cambridge.
Oxford: Hart, 1906. Pp. 46.

THIS valuable list is reprinted from the pages of the *Jewish Quarterly Review*. It contains some five hundred works which appeared within the period specified, bearing upon all things Hebrew or Jewish, or even some books on general subjects of which the authors happen to be Jews. Two or three periodicals are likewise included, and the contents of the current numbers notified. The list of independent works appears to be fairly exhaustive. One or two titles are repeated by accident in more than one instance, and the initials of the authors are not always given complete. The expression "much of interest" recurs more than once. For all interested, especially in subjects connected with the Old Testament, the re-issue of this bibliography in a separate form will be a matter of considerable convenience.

Glasgow.

T. H. WEIR.

SAUL, DAVID, SALOMO, von Professor Georg Beer,
Strassburg. Tübingen: Mohr, 1906. Pp. 80. Pf. 75.

THIS little book belongs to one of those popular series which are a feature of contemporary authorship in Germany, called "Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher für die deutsche christliche Gegenwart," and edited by F. M. Schiele, Tübingen. The story of the first three kings is told in modern fashion and from the present-day historical point of view. The events related in the biblical narratives are shown to be connected with one another not merely in sequence of time, but as cause and effect as well. The probable motive is pointed out where in the original it is left to be inferred; for example, for the choice of Jerusalem as the capital, for

the *entente cordiale* with Phœnicia, or for the hostility of Ahithophel towards David. Dr Beer takes the view that the sacred tent held among the northern tribes the position occupied by the ark in Judah, and that, by covering the ark with a tent, David united the two cults; and he thinks that the execution of Saul's sons was brought about by Abiathar in retaliation for the murder of the priests at Nob. Even if the reader cannot always accept the explanations offered, they illuminate the narrative in a remarkable degree. The author throws much light upon several of the *dramatis personæ* also, by references to the cuneiform inscriptions and to the classics. David's cruelty to his prisoners is slight beside that of the Assyrian kings. His treatment of Ishbosheth (2 Sam. ix. 10) is likened to that of Themistocles at the hands of Artaxerxes, and Saul's attempts on the life of David are placed in the same category with the murder of Clitus by Alexander. Absalom is the Hebrew Alcibiades, Rizpah the Antigone. Although Dr Beer subjects the narratives to very keen criticism, it is remarkable how little has to be sacrificed. Except in the case of Solomon, the facts are very much those with which we are familiar, and the resulting characterisation is identical with that of the books of Samuel and Kings. The sketches are drawn *con amore*; the author does not seek to depreciate his subjects, but writes in full sympathy with them. The result is a very instructive and pleasant little book. There is one misprint on page 49, line 36.

T. H. WEIR.

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THE MESSIANIC HOPE IN THE NEW TESTAMENT, by Shailer Mathews, of the Department of Systematic Theology. Chicago: the University of Chicago Press; London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1906. Pp. xx., 338. \$2.50 (10s.).

THIS is volume twelve of the second series of the Decennial Publications issued in memory of the founding of Chicago University. It is a piece of work that would do credit to a University that reckoned its history by hundreds and not by tens of years. The book is learned, comprehensive, and

candid ; always suggestive, sometimes brilliant, emphatically modern, but as emphatically constructive. To these adjectives a British reviewer may add one to the effect that the book is *American*, not simply in modes of spelling and phrasing, to which our insular prejudice cannot reconcile itself, but in its amazingly confident, rapid traversing of vast continents of theological learning. One who sat on the seat of the scornful might call this "globe-trotting." But the sneer would be unjust as well as unkind. Professor Mathews is a "systematic" theologian (title-page), and he sets himself with such equipment as he has—and it is one most of us would be glad to possess—to travel through a certain region of history—that, viz., which precedes and coincides with what is represented by the books of the New Testament, with the view, *first*, of tracing the growth of what he calls "Messianism," or (not so happily) the "Messianic Apperception," and, *secondly*, of discovering how far this element of which we never get entirely rid in the New Testament, may or may not be separable from the eternal substance of the Christian faith. Such a voyage of exploration needed to be made, and no one even in Germany has taken quite the same route. The plan of Titius' *Seligkeitslehre* is indeed broadly similar, and the execution much ampler in detail than Professor Mathews has attempted ; but Titius does not formally include in his survey the entire development of Jewish Messianism, either before or within the period of the New Testament literature. It may in fact be claimed for Professor Mathews that he has accomplished with much skill and success, if also here and there with somewhat dubious daring, a highly valuable piece of pioneer work, for which the credit due to him is not less from the fact, known probably better to himself than to any one else, that much of the ground covered will have to be gone over again at a pace that will permit of more leisurely observation, both general and particular. Professor Mathews is doubtless still young enough to dislike finality and to remember that pioneer work may often be better appraised by being corrected than by being accepted in the form in which it is offered.

Professor Mathews gives a good account of the uncanonical apocalyptic literature, justly warning us of the difficulty, amounting to impossibility, of presenting the various elements of the hope of the future (p. 38) that are reflected in it in a systematic form. Perhaps, at times, the warning he gives against the exegesis of Professor Charles (p. 49 n.) may be available against his own. Does he not, *e.g.*, lean too much on Josephus and too little on canonical apocalypses (in particular, Dan. xii. 2, compared with Rev. xx. 13), where he speaks of the limitation of the resurrection to the righteous as in "keeping with the entire pharisaic literature," and as "reappearing in the silence of Paul and the other New Testament writers concerning the resurrection of the wicked"?

No doubt the testimony of Josephus is important as to the Pharisaic teaching of his own day, but it is certain that there is no dogmatic limitation of the resurrection to the righteous in the Daniel apocalypse, and it is, to say the least, probable that the conception of all the New Testament writers in this matter accorded, as that of one of them certainly did, with that of the canonical Apocalypse. It is no doubt true that the New Testament writers are "silent" on the matter, and that the transformation of *Sheol*, the abode of the dead, into *Gehenna*, the place of punishment, which Professor Mathews ascribes "to the imagination of the apocalyptists" (*sic*) (p. 50), made the conception of a resurrection of the wicked unnecessary. But, as Professor Mathews knows, the apocalyptic conceptions grew somewhat wildly. They were not planted in a garden of logic. The most crucial portions of Professor Mathews' book will be felt by many to be those in which he deals with the eschatology of Jesus, and especially with "the essential elements of the Messianism of Jesus." Professor Mathews criticises adversely the tendency to treat the "social and religious rather than the eschatological elements" in the consciousness of Jesus, not only as an "exegetical point of departure, but also as a critical and exegetical norm" (p. 74). The footnote (No. 2, p. 74) to this passage makes me aware that my own position comes under this

condemnation. The majority of the experts are probably on the side of Professor Mathews. Yet I remain unconvinced. I do not think that the evidence warrants us in saying more than that Jesus used words which were, not unnaturally if not inevitably, understood by His followers to mean that He would return to the world within the lifetime of some of them in visible glory, and that this construction of His words, while not delusive, was illusive. We may reasonably forbear to determine the extent to which Jesus shared in the illusion, or even to say that He shared in it at all. Professor Mathews justly reminds us that acceptance of the "Little Apocalypse" theory does not get rid of the eschatological element in the consciousness of Jesus, or of the difficulty of rightly estimating it. But it is a fair question whether it is not more scientific to estimate that element in the light of such a sequence of the career of Jesus as, say, the Johannine Christology, than by crystallising the interpretation of sayings that are pictorial in form, and may be held to illustrate a power that was surely characteristic of Jesus (as, in their measure, of other prophets), of combining definiteness with a certain fluidity of meaning.

I rejoice greatly to follow Professor Mathews in the main, in his singularly fine chapter on the "Essential Elements in the Messianism of Jesus" (pp. 120 ff.), the more that the ground taken in this chapter seems to me not consistent with his view of the matter just referred to. Professor Mathews deals with the question as to how far the Messianic concepts which He inherited were modified by Jesus, and his general answer is that the modifications "appear wherever the inherited concept would be affected by His self-consciousness" (p. 119). Why did Jesus "forecast His future as involving such expectations" as that the "judgment throne would be set," and the sun, moon, and stars shaken in their places? "It was because He saw Himself so supreme that He was forced to use the extremest valuations of His day and people to express His own self-consciousness" (p. 129). I quite agree. But surely this implies that the main matter with Him was

not the literal fulfilment of these expectations, but His own supremacy in the kingdom of God. As Prof. Mathews puts it, "The glories of the eschatological kingdom were [in His belief] to be secondary to His own position in it as its king" (p. 128). But if these two things were separable in our Lord's mind in reference to His present certainty of being the Messiah, how can Professor Mathews be so certain that they were not separable in reference to His certainty that the glories would be attained in the future through and after His death? Professor Mathews rightly holds that Jesus' conviction that He would attain the Messianic glories through death implied a very radical breach with the "inherited concepts." Is it not likely that this radical alteration touched more substantial points than a mere difference of time (*i.e.* the difference between the time *before* and the time *after* His death)? Must we not rather say that the whole difference between Christianity and traditional Judaism, not only as regards Jesus but as regards His followers, emerges just at this point? It lies in the new aspect that life and its attendant glories wear to those who have passed through the baptism of suffering. Doubtless, too, Professor Mathews would admit that the curriculum of Messianic suffering began at least as early as the time of Jesus' baptism. A man may believe in Jesus "as the Risen One who brought life and incorruption to light without necessarily committing himself to a formal acceptance of His strictly Messianic interpretation" (p. 133). It seems to me that the "*strictly* Messianic interpretation," so far as our Lord Himself, or even (to some extent) the New Testament writers are concerned, is largely a theory imagined by the modern commentator on the basis of a few sayings, whose literal meaning cannot be pressed without emasculating the ethics of the New Testament. Some things may still be credited to the consciousness of the historic Jesus that elude even the modern mind.

Of the remaining exegetical portions of the book, the most important is the chapter on the "Theological Aspects of Pauline Messianism" (pp. 177-205). Fresher or clearer statements of the Pauline positions cannot easily be

imagined. Yet here again I cannot but think that Professor Mathews exaggerates the influence of the contingent elements in the apostle's thinking. To experts in the history of the problem of the Atonement, the statement at p. 196 that, as Paul conceived it, it is a problem "characteristic only of minds filled with the survivals of Mosaism," will probably seem unwarrantable. To me it seems that the remark cannot instruct and may mislead those who are not experts. "No man can read the Pauline forecast of the future, as we find it in his letters to the Corinthians, without sharing in the enthusiasm with which he looks forward to the great change which is to come to all men, either by death or by miracle, and for the man whose apperception is controlled by evolutionary hypothesis, strangely enough, nothing seems more familiar" (pp. 200-1). I heartily agree, and just therefore should like to know what elements in the Apostle's conception of death are included in the "survivals of Mosaism," and whether these elements are so obsolete as Professor Mathews seems to imply. Surely, again, the statement that in Paul's view the law "had been given by God's grace in order to show to men what things were sinful, and thus make it easier for them to avoid the punishment of sin," is a somewhat faulty reproduction of the teaching of the passages quoted in support of it (p. 183 and n. 1).

It would be ungracious in a brief review even to mention such matters of detail, were not the doubts they awaken connected with one that touches the main position of the book, and which, in my own case, not even the warm appreciation with which I have read and re-read the singularly brilliant chapters of Part IV. ("Christian Messianism and the Christian Religion") has succeeded in removing. Let what is undeniable be granted. There were temporal elements in the apostolic "apperception," connected chiefly with the idea of the speedy return of the Messiah and the end of the world. Yet, *first*, it does not appear (Professor Mathews himself, on the whole, would say so) that this "eschatological" element takes to any appreciable degree from the incomparable worth of the apostolic

ethics. Paul, *e.g.*, wrote 1 Cor. vii., yet he also was capable of writing Eph. v. 22 ff. It appears to me, moreover, that it is just in his instancing of apostolic (especially Pauline) views that seem to point the opposite way that the statements of Professor Mathews are most open to a charge of unintentional misrepresentation. It is true, *e.g.*, that there is no evidence that Paul sought directly to influence the legislature of his day in regard either to slavery or the vice of fornication. In our own day most ecclesiastical persons touch the political aspects of these or kindred matters as gingerly as Paul perhaps did, but we do not commonly find in this circumstance "the clearest possible evidence" of their "failure to see the social bearing of Christianity" (p. 281), especially if we know that they hold with Paul that "in Christ there is neither bond nor free," and that "fornicators shall not inherit the kingdom of God." Is there an atom of evidence that Paul would have spoken or acted otherwise than he did, even if he had not believed that the Lord Jesus would return visibly to the world within his own generation?

Again, when Professor Mathews says, "It was because he believed in the cataclysm attending the return of the Christ that *he urged the Christians to hold aloof from the state*" (*italics mine*), one must in fairness to the Apostle ask, When or where did he urge any such thing?

Secondly, the brilliant exposition Professor Mathews has given of the "interpenetration" of the divine and human personalities mediated by "a supreme definition of Jesus" (p. 319), which suggestively summarises the abiding essence of the Christian spirit, leaves me confirmed in the impression that what he calls "Messianism" represents something that belongs not simply to the history but to the substance of our Christian faith. It may include "evolution," but you cannot substitute evolution for it. It is true that we are mostly not Jews, and that we live in the twentieth not in the first century. But we are still persons, and we are still waiting for the supreme Person. If Christ is still the Beginning, He is still also the End.

In fine, while there may be readers who will differ as

much as I do from Professor Mathews in their estimate of "Messianism," I do not think they will be any more impressed than I am with the learning, candour, insight, and eloquence which he has displayed in this remarkable book.

Broughty Ferry.

LEWIS A. MUIRHEAD.

**THE CRYPTOGRAM AND ITS KEY IN THE
EPISTLES TO THE SEVEN CHURCHES IN
ASIA, by Moira. London: Elliot Stock, 1906. Pp. 106.**

THE writer believes that the seven churches of Asia "form a cryptogram of the great spiritual Church whose builder and maker is God." The seven churches represent the seven graces of the regenerate life, and if they are taken backwards, beginning with Laodicea, they correspond with the progress of the Jewish priest from the brazen laver to the Holy of Holies. The writer finds a further correspondence between the titles of Christ in the seven epistles and the titles of Jehovah in the Old Testament, from "Jehovah who appeared to Abram (Gen. xii. 7) to Jehovah Shammah (Ezek. xlviii. 35)." Throughout 106 pages this "wonderful threefold chord of harmony" is exhibited. The ideas are worked out with ingenuity and fervour. The book is devotional, not critical, a circumstance which makes critical comment happily superfluous.

Broughty Ferry.

LEWIS A. MUIRHEAD.

**ORIGÈNE LE THÉOLOGIE ET L'EXÉGÈTE,
par F. Prat, S.J. Paris: Librairie Bloud et Cie., 1907.
12mo. Pp. lxiii., 221. Fr. 3.50.**

IT is significant of the spread of the historical spirit that a work such as this should be published with the Roman *imprimatur* by a member of the Society of Jesus. The writer's aim is to present Origen, the theologian and expositor, as he really appears in his own words, and not as seen through the mists of tradition or disfigured by hostile denunciation or the indiscriminate laudation of partisans. To this end, Father Prat discards the elaborate systems of Origenistic

theology familiar to students of Huet or Redepenning, and reverts to something like the plan adopted by the compilers of the *Philocalia*. This *Philocalia Nova*, however, is distinguished from its predecessor in offering not the finest, but the most typical passages from Origen's writings. In an introduction of some sixty pages, the author gives an outline of the peculiarities of Origen's thought, and an account of Origenism, mainly with the object of showing that while popular opinion associated Origen's name with the vagaries for which heretics claimed his authority, it forgot the great part which he played in formulating the creed which the orthodox cherished. Father Prat brings into clear relief the fact which is manifest on almost every page of Origen's writings, that he was first and foremost a Churchman, and a champion of the ecclesiastical tradition against schism and heresy. Unfortunately for his reputation he lived before the days of formal theology. As Father Prat says, he was a self-taught theologian. He stumbled where others walked smoothly on the road which he made for them. While still a student, he lost the guidance, such as it was, of Clement; and thenceforth his theology was evolved amid harassing occupations, and amid the din of controversy, which was the occasion of much of his study and not a few of his writings.

The selections in which Father Prat presents Origen are derived mainly from the *De Principiis*, of which the first three books are speculative, while the fourth sets forth his principles of interpretation. These are supplemented, where necessary, from his later writings. The book may be described as a sort of introduction and commentary on the *De Principiis*. Considerable space is assigned to a discussion of the Preface, so interesting for Origen's presentation of the creed of the Church. The author distinguishes clearly between Origen's statement of dogma and his adumbrations of opinions still open to discussion, *i.e.* the object of faith, revelation—*quia sint*, and the subject of theology, the philosophy of religion, *quomodo aut unde sint* (p. 17). He also draws attention to the omissions, in which Origen's creed corresponds to the ancient Oriental

and Roman symbols. The next three chapters (iii.-v.) expound Origen's views of God, Creation, and Eschatology.

The second book deals with Origen as an exegete—his work in this department (chap. i.); his exegetical principles, inspiration, the threefold sense of scripture, and allegorism (chap. ii.); while chap. iii. gives as specimens of his exegesis various expositions of Romans ix. In this connection there is a valuable comparison of Origen's teaching with the Augustinian doctrines of Grace and Free Will. A number of appendices enter into further particulars of Origen's theories and terminology, and his relations to Catholic tradition.

The translations, so far as I have compared them, seem faithful and intelligible. Here and there Origen's "boundless verbosity" has been skilfully condensed. There are several errors of the press, *e.g.*, on pages 154, 156, 157 n. The book, within the limits which the author has assigned, is a convenient handbook to Origen, and can be recommended as a good and fair introduction to the knowledge of the great Christian scholar, who has said much that bears on the problems of these days, and is, appropriately enough, at last being accorded the recognition due to his services to sacred learning and the Christian faith.

Aberdeen.

WILLIAM METCALFE.

INNOCENT III. : La Papauté et l'Empire, par Achille Luchaire. *Paris : Hachette et Cie., 1906. 8vo. Pp. 306. Fr. 3.50*

THE title Innocent III., apart from the partial explanation offered in the sub-title, is somewhat deceptive. Those who come to the book hoping to get a sketch of the life and times of the greatest of the Popes will meet with disappointment. But the disappointment will not be lasting. The book contains a vivid account of the history of the Empire from the election of Innocent's protégé, Otto IV., until his overthrow at the hands of the youthful Frederick II. With this history that of Innocent was inextricably intertwined.

For Europe at large the period constitutes a most important chapter in the history of papal diplomacy ; and inasmuch as for Germany at least it is Innocent, and not the struggling Emperors, who gives unity to the period, the title may be justified.

The book forms a welcome companion to the author's two earlier volumes dealing with Innocent's relations (1) with Italy, (2) with the Albigeois. M. Luchaire, like Dr Stubbs, is known chiefly for his work on the constitutional history of his country. But the limitation has obviously been self-imposed. The volume before us makes it abundantly clear that the author can move with ease in political history, and that other than that of France. He is deeply imbued with the mediæval spirit. His work is full of vivid touches. In a few lines he can make an Otto of Wittelsbach or a Philip of Suabia living characters. History, which in England is tending towards bald scientific statement, in France happily still finds itself capable of artistic presentment.

The volume before us is sure of an immediate welcome. In Oxford it will be found an invaluable aid to those who are specialising on the period for the schools.

W. W. LONGFORD.

Queen's College, Birmingham.

ETHICS AND ATONEMENT, by *W. F. Lofthouse, M.A.*
London: Methuen & Co., 1906. Pp. x., 302. 5s. nett.

THE ATONEMENT, by *the Rev. Leighton Pullan. (The Oxford Library of Practical Theology.)* *London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1906. Pp. viii., 262. 5s.*

IF Professor Lofthouse, following the custom of an older day, had given a sub-title to his very interesting volume, it would doubtless have run after this fashion : "A Vindication of the Reasonableness of the Principle of the Atonement ; its Universality as well in Morality as in Religion." This last is indeed the original "note" of his work, the reducing of religion and morality alike to personal relationship, and

the establishment of the necessity for mediation, reconciliation, atonement, in the very heart not only of the Christian religion (which all admit), but of all morality (which many absolutely deny). Let the "man in the street" who has his doubts about the sound morality of the doctrine of the Christian Atonement read this volume, or be henceforth for ever silent!

Ethics and Atonement. Begin with moral philosophy, and through it come to the gospel message of mediation through the Son. Don't start with the proof-texts to work out your theory of the Atonement, and then try to make the necessities of the moral and religious life square with it. But begin with life and morals; work out empirically the place of mediation in the rectifying of strained relationships, in the forgiving of offences; and then bring your results to see how they fit in with the New Testament. So, in effect, says our author: "In the following pages I have endeavoured to maintain that the doctrine of the Atonement is not an artificial theorem or an inexplicable or unethetical dogma, but that it has its roots in the foundations of all human life, and is really the highest expression of the law of all moral and social progress, and that ethics itself is of little use, as a practical science, unless completed by the Atonement."

This treatment was bound to come one of these days. Indeed, it had been already foreshadowed in Moberly. But though Moberly begins his work with discussions on forgiveness, punishment, and such like, one has always the conviction that the discussion can end only in one way—the way of High Church orthodoxy, with the usual great proof-texts as finger-posts along that way. But Mr Lofthouse is not hampered by any such restrictions; he strikes out boldly from mediation in human life as we know it every day, confident that by voyaging thus he will come at last to the mediation of the divine. And if the texts that set forth this divine mediation do not always exactly square with his conclusions thus reached, then so much the worse for the texts. It will be for the author in a subsequent voyage (or for those who follow in the course where he has shown the

way) to establish beyond question or dispute that the great beacon texts of Scripture stand where they have all along stood—whether you approach them from the West (as Mr Lofthouse has been the first to do) or from the “immemorial East.”

A historical survey of ethics, from Socrates to Sidgwick, reveals that its main business is with duty, and the vain attempt to settle the dispute between duty and pleasure or advantage. Religion, on the other hand, deals with personal relationships. A right relationship with God through Christ, and thereby a right relationship with our brethren in the same family of mankind—that is the sum and substance of religion—the sum and substance of morality too, when you come to think of it. Morality is a matter of personal relationship too. “When from duties we are driven back upon persons, when we recognise that wrong is really an outrage upon persons, making a breach which must be healed before right can be done once more, reconciliation can no longer be left out of account. Unless the system of ethics is to be a castle in the air, a mere summary of ideals, wrong-doing and the broken relationships between man and man must be facts for its consideration.”

All this is excellent, setting the ministry of reconciliation, as it does, right in the heart of morality, establishing the principle of the Atonement in the very citadel of our common experience. That Atonement which the Philistines in every age have delighted to describe as an “outrage upon all morality” becomes thus, *a priori*, the congruous climax of a process which runs through all morality. Right-doing is morality; right-being is religion; but right-doing ultimately depends on right-being, *i.e.* on right personal relationship; and that means for us here, in an imperfect world, that mediation, atonement, lies at the very root both of religion and morality. Thus, “there is no baseness, no legal fiction in the Atonement; all the noblest instincts of mankind, all the unselfish struggling to raise a fallen brother . . . are ‘writ large’ in the mediating work of Christ.”

And so, this all-important thesis being established, the

book runs along on familiar lines with an exposition of the Atonement that must commend itself to most. Sometimes you feel that this exposition falls a little short, as when the most is not made of Christ's acknowledgment of our sin ; His adequate recognition of its sinfulness in His death ; His sorrow over human sin that in the height of its sincerity reached up to the very throne of God, and, so to speak, compelled the divine pardon—all, in short, that M'Leod Campbell first opened our eyes to in the Atonement. Sometimes, again, he is on the very edge of the precipice, as when he tells us that Christ was "not our substitute in the popular sense of the term," . . . "it is far nearer the truth to call Him our representative." Well, perhaps ; but is it not just here or nowhere that we find the touchstone of our faith ? This, namely—that He did for us what we could not do for ourselves ? Is *that* better described as the work of substitute or of representative ? So again his treatment of the ransom passage leaves something to be desired ; the all-important point in the ransom is the deliverance, by Christ's death, of those whose lives were forfeited, and not the question, "To whom was this ransom paid ?"

But these, after all, are errors of emphasis more than anything else. The book is one of enduring value, marking as it does the beginning of that new treatment of the Atonement from the side which is the only one acceptable to modern ways of thought—the ethical. It remains only to be added that there is such a delightful spring and freshness in the writing that there is not a dull page in the book.

The Atonement, by Mr Leighton Pullan, in the Oxford Library of Practical Theology Series, is a careful and painstaking study on the old lines. Much information has gone to the making of the book, but it is informative rather than illuminative. *Ex uno disce omnes*. "Physical death is a symbol of God's condemnation of sin, and it corresponds with the nature of sin." Little ruth is shown to the Presbyterian Westminster Confession, and "Baptism is our regeneration."

Glasgow.

ADAM W. FERGUSON.

THE SPIRITUAL TEACHING OF CHRIST'S LIFE,

by the Rev. Professor G. Henslow, M.A., F.L.S., etc.
London : Williams & Norgate, 1906. Pp. 253.

IN the Preface to this volume the writer says, "I am fully convinced, not only that religion must be *spiritual* before everything, but that most of our ecclesiastical doctrines require in the main to be restated, in order to bring them into harmony with present-day scientific thought and revised interpretation of Scripture." "Our Church doctrines often fail to meet the necessary conditions which the modern scientific spirit demands."

We are afraid, however, that after all that is said in this able volume the scientific spirit will still rest unsatisfied. Until theologians have the courage to bring the life of Christ within the scope of evolution, we doubt if that spirit will ever be satisfied. Our author would object to this. He holds Christ is no "Product of Evolution." But why any Christian should feel compelled to take up this attitude it is difficult to see. The central ideas in the book are these—"Christ's ethics are the actual outcome of His divine life." "A special feature which renders Him unique among men is His self-consciousness of the fact that He had a divine nature, or that God the Father was in Him." "So conscious was Jesus of the divine spirit within Him that He never hesitated to identify Himself with the Father." Precisely so, we say. But all this might be true though He were the product of evolution. Christians must be taught to see God's own hand in evolution. To see it there is no nightmare. It is fact.

Professor Henslow passes in review the Temptation, the Sermon on the Mount, the miracles, etc., and educes their spiritual teaching.

As regards the Temptation, he holds that "the central facts therein revealed are first the *consciousness* for the first time of a superhuman power within Himself; second, the *mental contest* involved in the Temptation to use that power for His own advantage. These two things issued in the determination never to exercise that power for His own use,

but to hold it in reserve and employ it solely for the benefit of mankind at large."

We would venture to differ somewhat from the learned author, and to put the case thus. He was becoming conscious that God was with Him, that He was being guided by a higher hand to see life differently from His contemporaries; and the real temptation lay in the suggestion to gauge the truth of His new ideas by inapplicable tests, to test His inward evidence of the truth by outward standards, to bring His growing sense of divinity to the proof in His ability to work outward miracles. He was asked to solve the spiritual problem of His Sonship by means of a material calculus. It is the same temptation that yet besets many theologians. Jesus stood at the parting of the ways. Life's mission was becoming more clear. But with this there is yet mingled the tradition of men, the ideas of parents, the ideas of teachers, and all that common inheritance of a boy reared on Jewish soil. On the one side stood this, the past with its heavy weight of inherited ideas; on the other, what seemed the call of God in the shape of nobler, tenderer, more holy thoughts, but thoughts which had not yet received men's approval—thoughts new and startling. The temptation is a temptation to doubt: "If Thou be the Son of God."

There is a sermon on "The Meaning of Blood." "The clue," it is said, "to the proper understanding of all kinds of vicarious sacrifice of animals when some victim was offered to the Deity, instead of the guilty person, turns upon the old conception of the nature of blood." "The blood was supposed to contain *the life* or *soul* of the creature." But this idea, we think, in itself is quite insufficient to explain ancient sacrifice. We require another old conception, namely, the idea of kinship existing between the victim, the offerer of the sacrifice, and his God. Professor Henslow says, "Although to eat the flesh was a harmless act, to partake of the blood was to incorporate into the eater the nature of the life of the creature." Originally, however, it seems that both flesh and blood were partaken of by the worshipper—then only the flesh—then neither. Professor Henslow with

his one key will not unlock all the mysterious doors that need to be opened to unfold the meaning of vicarious sacrifice.

The first sermon is on "The Preparation for Christ." The writer rightly realises the progressiveness of thought in the Old Testament. The true preparation for Christ consisted in the higher ideas of God that came gradually to be entertained by men, and also in the higher conception men gradually formed of the duty God required of them.

Other interesting points might be dwelt upon, but space forbids.

Ythan Wells.

ALEXANDER WILSON.

CHRISTIAN THOUGHT ON PRESENT-DAY QUESTIONS: Sermons on Special Occasions, by William Allen Whitworth, M.A., Vicar of All Saints', Margaret Street; sometime Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge. With a Preface by the Bishop of London. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1906. Pp. x., 214. 4s. 6d. nett.

THE problems touched upon in this volume are such as naturally arise in the mind of the thoughtful student of our age. The facts and theories of present-day science raise questionings in the Christian mind which must be faced, while no less are Christians made to think by the social sores in the life of the people which call for healing; and whether the writer gives permanent solutions to the questions so forced upon us or not, we are grateful at least that he had courage to tackle them.

Evolution forces upon us the question whether there is anything in man that will survive death. Two sermons deal with this, "The Supernatural in Man," and "The Optimism of Philosophy." The latter, not very happy, we think, in its title, is a criticism of *The Nature of Man*, by Elie Metchinkoff. The conclusion come to is that "if we are not convinced of the existence of a personal God who is

immortal, it is vain to argue that the human personality is immortal."

A difficulty that presents itself to some minds is how to find room for the action of a personal God amidst a universal reign of law. This is dealt with in a sermon entitled "The Place of Will among the Cosmic Forces."

The question is raised of the possibility of communion with God and the communion of saints. How can this be in the world such as we now know it to be? It is suggested that it may be in some way similar to telepathy. "Telepathy means that the mind of one person is affected by the mind of another person without any outward connection between them." Telepathy perhaps plays a more important part in life than is as yet generally admitted.

Then there is the whole question of the Unseen World, the world to which Christ ascended. Where is it? "It is here, it is everywhere," the writer answers. Our inability to conceive the unseen is likened to our inability to conceive a fourth dimension in space, which mathematicians nevertheless deal with in their formulæ.

Modern Biblical Criticism also presents its problems. Amongst others is discussed the Virgin birth of Christ.

The importance of political questions brings before us our political responsibilities, and we are all urged to exercise our right to vote. "Be patriots; seek that justice be done between nation and nation, and righteousness between man and man." "I suppose there never has been a general election in England in which the unrecorded votes were not sufficient, had they been so cast, to reverse the whole policy of the country."

In a sermon dealing with "The State and its Children," the writer says: "The income-tax returns may indicate a large increase in the wealth of the nation, but what boots it that Dives can be clothed in purple and fine linen, and can fare sumptuously every day, if Lazarus is still compelled to lie at his gate untended and unfed?" "The vital question is this—Does our social system give every man, not the best, or the wisest, or the most active, but every man an opportunity to obtain the necessities of life?"

The question of old-age pensions is alluded to. One sermon deals with gambling.

The whole volume is interesting and suggestive.

Ythan Wells.

ALEXANDER WILSON.

NEW LIGHTS ON THE OLD FAITH: Sermons for the Times, by N. E. Egerton Swann, B.A. London: Francis Griffiths, 1906. 3s. nett.

"THE chief object of these Sermons," we are told in the Preface, "is to present the great doctrines of the Trinity, Incarnation, Atonement, and Resurrection in a light calculated to appeal to the modern mind. Some of them also deal with some of the chief difficulties felt at the present day with regard to such matters as prayer, Providence, and the personality of God."

They are the product of a thoughtful mind, and evince considerable acquaintance with the trend of modern thought. The author's view is simply put. There is nothing very new or startling in the volume, but for the audience for whom it was originally intended, and doubtless for many others, it will put many old truths in a fresh light.

Ythan Wells.

ALEXANDER WILSON.

LES PRINCIPES, ou Essai sur le Problème des Destinées de l'Homme, par l'Abbé Georges Frémont Paris: Librairie Bloud et Cie. Pp. viii., 445. 5 fr.

THIS is the seventh volume of a work which will require two or three volumes more to complete it, and which aims at nothing less than an apologetic exposition of the whole body of Catholic doctrine. It is impossible to withhold a tribute of admiration from the writer who has attempted this mighty task single handed, and who has thus far carried it through with conspicuous thoroughness and ability.

The present instalment of the work contains the concluding part of the section on the Divinity of Christ. It

also commences the exposition of the doctrine of the Church. This doctrine in its various aspects will occupy the remaining volumes of the series, and is here introduced by a critical argument intended to prove that the Church was instituted by Christ Himself.

M. Frémont writes from the point of view of orthodox Catholicism, although his attitude is liberal in the sense that he endeavours to understand the modern movement and to criticise it with a certain measure of sympathy. His purpose is to stem the advancing tide of "free-thought," a comprehensive name under which he includes every form of dissent from the accepted doctrine. He is especially severe on the progressive school of theology within his own Church, and on M. Loisy, its chief representative. The condemnation of Loisy by the Roman authorities meets with his whole-hearted approval.

The book is addressed not merely to theologians but to the educated public in general, and is therefore written in a clear and popular style, with a wealth of literary and historical allusion. Occasionally the endeavour to simplify theological ideas leads to diffuseness, but the argument on the whole is well sustained, and loses none of its force, because it is always lucid and easy to follow. Those who accept the premises on which it rests will no doubt find it convincing, although we should be surprised if it carries much weight with the heretical reader for whose good it is specially intended.

From a Protestant point of view the book is hopelessly weakened by its failure to discriminate between the anti-Catholic position and infidelity. It is true that M. Frémont is always courteous, and discusses the arguments of his opponents fairly and frankly. But he leaves the impression on one's mind that he has never appreciated the nature or the grounds of the modern conclusions. The traditional dogma of the Person of Christ has been assailed in consequence of "a boundless pride, which has gone to sophistry for its arguments and rendered them plausible by literary artifice" (p. 194). The authenticity of the Pastoral Epistles has been called in question, because the Protestant mind is

opposed to their ecclesiastical teaching (p. 279). It is evident from statements of this kind, which are always recurring, that the writer has wholly misunderstood the aims of criticism. With all his apparent frankness and courtesy, he cannot rid himself of the idea that it is a dishonest movement, actuated solely by hostility to the Church.

We are inclined to doubt whether M. Frémont has much first-hand acquaintance with the critical views which he is bent on overthrowing. Now and then he runs over a list of German authorities with the air of one who knows all about them, but his direct quotations are all taken from Renan, Loisy, and Reuss. These are his three representative critics, and his method is to play off Reuss against the other two. Renan and Loisy are allowed to state their case at length, and then their accomplice Reuss is called in as a sort of king's evidence, and the trial closes. The reader comes to expect as a matter of course that the treacherous Reuss will presently make his appearance, whenever the two arch-heretics are brought upon the stage. It may be that M. Frémont confines himself to French authorities since he is writing for a French public, but we have a suspicion that he has other reasons. Perhaps if he had drawn his knowledge of the critical movement from a wider variety of sources he would have estimated it more justly. His estimate in any case would have commanded more respect.

The reply to critical theories is the weakest part of the book, and we follow the author with more interest when he expounds his own position as a Catholic. Much that he says in the chapters on the Divinity of Christ will appeal to evangelical Protestants as well as to members of his own communion. The arguments, for the most part familiar in themselves, are presented forcibly, and sometimes with a true religious feeling.

In the second and larger section, which deals with the foundation of the Church, the writer works throughout on pre-suppositions which invalidate his whole thinking. He maintains that the Church was the immediate creation of Jesus, and attempts to prove this strange thesis from the

evidence of the Synoptic Gospels. "Jesus founded the Church in the same sense as Peter the Great founded St Petersburg" (p. 295). "The deliberate intention of Jesus was to institute a religious society, based on an authoritative doctrine, endowed with infallibility, and working through an organised hierarchy" (p. 364). These statements are elaborated through many eloquent chapters, and are supported with much ingenious exegesis and acute logic. One feels, however, that the labour is simply thrown away. Between such a view of the origins of Christianity and the modern critical views there is no common meeting-ground.

The book is interesting as an able and typical example of Catholic Apologetic; but otherwise it can hardly be regarded seriously. We lay it down with the feeling that the Church in France has more to hope from men like Loisy, who are seeking to revise the ancient beliefs in the light of scholarship, than from orthodox defenders like M. Frémont. He will be read with pleasure by those who already share his convictions, but will not, we fear, make a single convert from "free-thought."

Prestwick.

E. F. SCOTT.

DER KRITISCHE IDEALISMUS UND DIE PHILOSOPHIE DES "GESUNDEN MENSCHENVERSTANDES," von Ernst Cassirer, Ph.D., Vol. I., Part I., *der Philosophischen Arbeiten herausgegeben von Hermann Cohen und Paul Natorp.* Gießen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1906. Pp. 35. 80 Pf.

THIS is the first instalment of a series of publications intended to be the mouthpiece for the philosophical views of the well-known Marburg professors, Hermann Cohen and Paul Natorp, and of the large and promising circle of pupils and friends whom, in the course of years, they have trained and inspired. They are the leaders of what is commonly called "Neo-Kantianism." Kant's transcendental method furnishes the common basis of their world-view, and with Kant they find the root of philosophy in *ethical* conviction.

I quote from the Introduction the leading ideas, one might almost say ideals, to which the series is to be devoted: "Philosophy is for us logically inseparable from the fact of science in all the phases of its development. Hence we regard philosophy as the examination of the principles of the sciences, and that means of the whole of our culture. And this central spirit which animates culture we call with Plato and Kant, Idealism and Apriorism. . . . One pre-supposition, however, there is which cannot be emphasised too strongly: the unity, clearness, and certainty of *ethical principles*. In them is rooted the independence of philosophical conviction."

The philosophical programme, it will be seen, is ambitious, and promises much. It remains to be seen whether the actual performances come up to the very high standard which the editors have set before themselves and their followers.

The first instalment of the series, which we have now before us, comes from the pen of one of the ablest younger members of the school. If its importance is not very great, that is mainly the fault of its subject. For it is mostly polemical in character, being a defence of the Kantian standpoint against an attempt recently made by Mr Leonard Nelson of Göttingen to revive the criticism which Jakob Friedrich Fries once levelled against Kant. The main points of that criticism were that the fundamental principles of philosophy can be discovered only by immediate, self-evident intuition, and that this intuition, being obtained by an analysis of our inner experience, is the business of introspective *psychology*. In reply, Dr Cassirer examines first the various historical attempts to find in some immediate apprehension of self-evident truth a basis for philosophy (Descartes; and the Scotch "common-sense school, Reid, Beattie, etc.). And next he proceeds to show that the criticism entirely mistakes the problem of knowledge as it appeared to Kant. He quotes with great effect a passage from Kant (*Kritik d. r. Vernunft*, B., p. 167), setting forth how the problem is not whether the law of causality and other principles inhere in our psychological

organisation (which would leave them wholly subjective, and open the door to scepticism), but what right we have to say that one *object* is *necessarily* connected with another as cause with effect. No reference to Psychology can supply an answer to Kant's critical question: how are synthetic judgments *a priori* possible? For the question is not whether we, by virtue of our organisation, are compelled to think in certain ways, but how and why our thinking is objectively valid.

R. F. ALFRED HOERNLÉ.

St Andrews.

KANT UND SEINE VORGÄNGER: Was wir von ihnen lernen können, von Goswin Uphues. Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn, 1906. Pp. 336. M. 6.50.

KANTS GOTTESBEGRIFF IN SEINER POSITIVEN ENTWICKLUNG, von Julius Guttman. Berlin: Reuther & Reichard (Edinburgh: Otto Schulze & Co.), 1906. Pp. 104. M. 2.80.

THE title of the first of these two books is distinctly misleading, for Kant and his predecessors are treated merely as pegs on which Professor Uphues hangs his own philosophy. That philosophy centres round the problem of knowledge. It is a right instinct which leads Professor Uphues to say that we have inherited from English empiricism a false conception of knowledge which issues inevitably in subjectivism, in a world consisting of mere ideas that reveal no substantial, self-existing reality beyond themselves. Professor Uphues' whole endeavour, therefore, is to vindicate the reality of the object of knowledge. This, of course, is exactly the same aim which Kant himself pursued when he set out to defend the objectivity of knowledge against Hume's "Scepticism." And, up to a point, Professor Uphues travels on Kantian lines. With Kant he holds that the clue to objectivity is found in *judgment* (p. 76); but, whereas Kant was led by an analysis of the judgment to his doctrine of the categories and of the *phenomenal* character of the objects of knowledge, Professor Uphues labours to show that the object of knowledge is the very

thing which Kant had distinguished from the phenomena and called the "Thing-in-itself." No doubt, the doctrine of the Thing-in-itself is one of the most difficult and obscure in Kant's philosophy, and the question whether Kant (1) ascribed to the Thing-in-itself a metaphysical existence beyond the realm of experience ; or (2) introduced it merely as a critical "Grenzbegriff," a sort of fiction serving by contrast-effect to define the true character of the object of knowledge ; or (3) conceived it as the far-off ideal to which our knowledge strives to approximate (Cohen's interpretation) can hardly be settled to everybody's satisfaction. But we may doubt whether Professor Uphues has done justice to Kant's "Phenomenalism." Kant certainly thought that he had secured a *real* object of knowledge as against the mere ideas, the bare psychological events to which Hume had reduced experience. If, all the same, he called these objects phenomena ("appearances," be it noted, not "illusions"), he had reasons the strength of which Professor Uphues hardly appreciates. At any rate, we must hold fast to this, that Phenomenalism is not Subjectivism, for the simple reason that phenomena are *objects*, and not mere ideas, though they are objects of experience, and, as such, determined by the general conditions of experience. Having broken away from Kant by denying the distinction of phenomena and Things-in-themselves, Professor Uphues soon arrives at conclusions which Kant would have utterly repudiated. He explains the possibility of knowledge by reference to God. The Things-in-themselves (the objects of knowledge) are thoughts of God. Since they are *thoughts*, they are thinkable by us ; since they are thoughts *of God*, they are objective for us and independent of us. By an act of will God has renounced His "proprietary rights" in His own thoughts, which thus have become self-existing things (p. 208). One hardly knows whether this is philosophy or mythology. But to find in a book on Kant arguments which read as if the *Kritik of Pure Reason* had never been written is certainly surprising. The discussion of the practical reason and of the freedom of the will suffers

from a similar perversion of Kantian doctrine. Hence, even though it must be admitted that the author's discussion of space, time, causality is not without interest, his habit of twisting Kantian terms into a non-Kantian meaning only serves to spoil Kant, without gaining the authority of a great name for the author's own views. It would have been better if Professor Uphues had not thrown the exposition of his own philosophy into the form of a running criticism of Kant, with illustrations drawn from a variety of thinkers from Plato onwards.

The second of our two books is published as a supplement to the well-known *Kantstudien*. It is a careful and exhaustive, if somewhat laboured, piece of work. Like all monographs dealing with special points, it tends to make too much of minutiae, and, in consequence, to obscure the main doctrine, or at any rate to represent Kant's conception of God as more vacillating than it really was. It is, of course, very interesting psychologically to find that traces of Kant's earlier views survive in isolated passages, even in his critical works. But, when all is said, the importance of such passages depends not so much on the fact that they are found in the text as on the value which we assign to them by our *constructive interpretation* of what Kant meant to say on the whole. Our interpretation must be based on fundamental passages, and only if these conflict have we a right to speak of contradictions in Kant's thought. Moreover, we must bear in mind a point for which Mr Guttman hardly makes sufficient allowance, viz., the essentially *dialectical* quality of Kant's mind. Every problem appeared to him complex, a thing of many sides and of different aspects. Hence, what he says of it from one point of view may not agree with what he says from another point of view. It is easy here to lift up the finger of reproach, and to cry out: Contradiction! But the truth is that Kant is not necessarily contradicting himself. He would be if any or all the statements in question claimed to be absolutely true; but in fact they are only *conditionally* true, and it behoves us to discover their conditions, the point of view, the basis from

which Kant in each case is arguing. Such a change of basis is, for instance, involved in passing from the *Kritik of Pure Reason* to the *Kritik of Practical Reason*. On this principle we must deal, *e.g.*, with the various statements about freedom. Sometimes it is asserted by Kant as an absolute fact; again, as a postulate of the moral consciousness, a fact for faith but not for knowledge; and again, as a purely problematical idea of reason, at best of only regulative use. Man *is* free; man must be judged *as if he were* free; man can *make himself* free by living according to the moral law—all these statements are found in Kant, and all are explicable in their context from the point of view from which they are made. Of course these points of view must be related to each other, and it may be questioned whether Kant has always succeeded in doing so. But we have no right simply to play them off one against the other, as if Kant had never known his own mind. The same is true of the contradictions that have been found in his conception of God. Thus in the *Kritik of Pure Reason* it is shown on the one hand that neither the existence nor the non-existence of God can be theoretically proved; but, on the other hand, the idea of an all-inclusive whole is maintained as a necessary ideal of reason. In the *Kritik of Practical Reason*, God is spoken of both as a postulate and as a fact. He is a fact when we base ourselves *purely* on the moral consciousness, but the fact is seen to be only a postulate of faith when we apply the standard of fact which holds good in science. Where is here the contradiction? The real weakness of Kant's conception of God arises out of the fact that at bottom Kant lacked the religious temperament, and that his belief in God was not based on living experience but on inference.

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tions. Thus, in spite of an emphatic denial of subjective idealism, the distinction is made to fall entirely within the subjective "order." Throughout there is an unacknowledged appropriation of support from idealistic presuppositions. This is involved in the initial conception of philosophy as an "analysis" of "experience"—a conception which aims at the heart of the author's pretended realism. For the "subjective" and the "objective" on this view are not merely two "orders" of reality; they are two "orders" which "analysis" reveals within "experience." The subjective implications are further disclosed in the fact that, in his endeavour to escape a solipsism ruled out with contempt, the author is forced upon the argument from analogy—an argument which, on his own showing, rests merely upon degree of evidence.

It may be observed that in his treatment of the problem of an external world, Professor Fullerton again draws upon idealism to an extent that he would be most unwilling to acknowledge. For the external world is made to rest upon judgments of touch as distinct from the judgments of the other senses. The former are invested with a peculiar priority. Apart from the author's interpretation of Berkeley at this point, it is questionable whether the judgments of touch are on any grounds entitled to such a priority. Do we ever, as is asserted, measure "real" as distinct from "apparent" magnitude by touch? If so, it should be possible for us, by repeatedly "feeling" an object, exactly to determine its real magnitude on each occasion. Why, then, the need for a standard which is no more based on judgments of touch alone than on judgments of any other individual sense, but is the joint product of various senses, and is actually applied visually rather than tactually in judgments of comparison? The fact is, Professor Fullerton never really gets beyond idealism, except in the sense of lending his authority to the popular tradition which has, quite without grounds, come to identify one particular form of sensation with that which gives us knowledge of an external world. The weakness of Professor Fullerton's argument is most apparent when he

attempts to apply the abstract tactual criterion to external reality as formulated by science. The molecule is beyond the reach of touch; and the situation can only be saved by the assertion that we are able to "represent" the molecule to ourselves just as we do matter which is accessible to tactual sensation. In other words, we are able to magnify it in imagination, and so to fit it for the application (again in imagination) of the tactual criterion. But what is this "representation" but an appeal for help to the visual judgments which have been discredited?

In his discussion of the "relation" between mind and matter, Professor Fullerton ranges himself with the parallelists; but his statement of parallelism is guarded in the extreme, so much so that one questions whether anything is gained by the designation. Parallelism thus vaguely formulated would appear to be almost compatible with an equally guarded statement of interactionism, such as that which Mr M'Dougall gives in the Introduction to his *Physiological Psychology*. Are we justified in hoping that this caution displayed by both parties in the formulation of their watchwords, indicates that they have realized that neither parallelism nor interactionism as hitherto conceived is sufficiently concrete for the purpose in hand, and that new categories must be sought for the relationship which subsists between mind and matter?

Glasgow.

ARCHIBALD A. BOWMAN.

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Review

of

Theology and Philosophy

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY AND LITERATURE

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IF it be asked to-day, "What is the best history of the Ancient Church," the answer cannot be a direct and simple one. There is no single book which stands out as indisputably the best, in such a sense as to include and

supersede its fellows. To one we have still to go for a lucid summary of the growth of the ancient Church, as embodying under bygone forms the abiding principles of concrete Christianity, regarded as the resultant of the forces latent in the Gospel and in human nature. Such a treatment will be found, for instance, in Rainy's *Ancient Catholic Church*, with its fairness and sanity of judgment—its instinct for the real vital issues in their bearing on average human nature and its needs. But such a book is necessarily allusive in style, and does not give the reader all the data needful for conceiving each situation or for verifying an author's reading of it. For this we have to resort to another style of book, written on the text-book plan of massing the relevant material under more or less self-contained sections, and so sacrificing organic quality in the total effect. Books of both classes are needful, for they serve different uses. But, beyond this, the extraordinary growth of research in the large field in question makes it difficult for the best possible book of either sort to be produced—still less a book of a yet higher order, which, like Gibbon's great work, should combine the fulness and detailed accuracy of the text-book with the organic or constructive method of exposition.

This being understood, one may safely say that the best *text-book* on an adequate scale is von Schubert's, based on Moeller's manual (English Edition, 1892), but largely a fresh work, especially from the emergence of the Old Catholic Church, about A.D. 200, onwards. The improvement due to the Kiel professor, whose outline *History of the Church* is very shortly to appear in the Theological Translation Library, lies not only in the way of fresh materials (the new Hauck-Herzog being in part used, as well as von Schubert's own special studies), but also in the manner of their presentation. The text-book method proper is skilfully combined with the more continuous and organic, so that the artificial element is reduced to a minimum. It is only right, however, to remark that the work in both respects improves as it gets further from the period of Primitive Christianity, and that most of the Ante-

Nicene period was issued in 1897, the rest in 1902. Yet, taken all in all, this massive manual is the most complete connected account of the Ancient Church to the end of the sixth century which we at present possess, and marks a great advance on Kurtz, the corresponding book some twenty years ago.

To the other class of history, of which Rainy's work has been taken as the type, belongs the *Histoire ancienne de l'Église* by the learned and large-minded Roman Catholic scholar, Louis Duchesne, the first part of which appeared last year. Beginning, like von Schubert's, at the first beginnings, with a study of the Roman Empire as *la patrie du Christianisme*, the environment of the new seed of the Gospel, it carries the story down to the end of the third century, being so far a re-writing of its author's earlier volume of lectures, published nearly thirty years ago under the title *Les Origines Chrétiennes*. The work is fully abreast of Continental science in its field, a field in some parts of which Duchesne has himself been a pioneer, notably in Christian archæology in several of its branches. Behind its French ease and lucidity of narrative lies a Benedictine learning, while it exhibits as little confessional bias as is compatible with its author's special form of Christian belief, which must always exercise some *a priori* influence on the reading of facts relating to the Papacy. The careers of Victor and Callistus, late in the second and early in the third centuries, are delicate subjects to handle from this point of view; and Duchesne has here hardly gone to the roots of the matter.¹ But, generally speaking, the picture drawn is wonderfully objective, as well as clear and instructive. The claim made in the Preface to represent a *media via* between viewiness and the tyranny of systems on the one hand, and easy-going traditionalism on the other, is not without justification. It is full of ripe knowledge, of balanced judgment, and habitual fairness in attitude; and these are great merits, especially when com-

¹ One may compare also the difficulties involved in the case of Callistus as they emerge in the learned and useful monograph on *La Théologie de S. Hippolyte* (1906) by another Roman Catholic, Adhémar d'Ales.

bined with a marked synthetic or artistic faculty, such as can unify the complex and varied data afforded by the mutual relations of the Roman Empire and the Church.

In dealing with a book on the Sub-Apostolic Age—a period on which a fresh monograph was fully due—the first and determinative questions are those touching the Sources, their probable dates and places of origin. To this Knopf is alive, devoting a special chapter to the subject. In general he confesses the open nature of not a few of the literary problems involved; yet when he comes to details he speaks with no little confidence on some touching which scholars of equal authority are ranged on different sides. Thus he is sure that the Pastorals are, in anything like their present form, as late as *c.* 90-110; and among his chief reasons for this judgment he specifies their concern touching nascent heresy and the maintenance of a certain ordering of Church life, especially in the matter of organisation. The assumption that these cannot have occupied Paul's thought in his later years, is easy to make but hard to prove. It depends largely on a special exegesis of the epistles themselves, as is shown, *e.g.* by Knopf's contention that these imply the ideal of a monarchical head—while yet (p. 205) he admits that this view is "doubtless not quite certain." The fact is that the whole question, how soon the need of a normative *παράδοσις* in doctrine and practice—and "wholesome" moral practice is specially in view in the Pastorals—would naturally arise in certain Pauline Churches, is by no means as settled as Knopf assumes. Indeed, due attention to the analogies afforded by the modern mission-field would probably lead to a rather different answer than his own. Similar matters of principle are involved in the cases of Hebrews and the Catholic Epistles. Most of these are placed under Domitian, though Hebrews, if not addressed to Rome, may fall even *c.* 70-80; while 2 Peter belongs to 150-180, and falls outside the Sub-Apostolic age altogether, which is rightly taken as ending about 140 A.D. On the other hand, it is pleasing to find so typical a representative of average "advanced" German opinion recognising the strength of the case for placing the Epistle of Barnabas

under Vespasian, and ruling the reference to the rebuilding of the (spiritual) Temple in xvi. 4 out of court altogether. Such a view allows of a date for the *Didaché*, c. 90-140, even supposing it is dependent on *Barnabas*. The date fixed for 2 Clement is that also reached by Lightfoot, viz. 120-140; but Knopf does not notice the strong internal evidence pointing to Alexandria, rather than Rome or Corinth, as the place where this early Christian homily was originally preached.

Differences of opinion on the foregoing Sources of course involve qualification in the reader's acceptance of a good deal of Knopf's positive exposition. But, this being allowed for, the solid merits of the work are manifest, particularly on the more concrete side of the Church's life, as seen in organisation, church meetings and worship, and active piety. One feature which inspires confidence is the fact that Knopf has kept his head amid certain current tendencies to exaggerate the application of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Methode* to primitive Christianity proper, i.e. the period during which the Jewish element was relatively stronger than the non-Jewish or pagan, in the environment of sentiment and tradition amid which the Gospel germs expanded. This attitude of reserve might well have been extended to the consideration of the birth-narratives in Matthew and Luke, in so far as the highly Jewish form and texture of these is against the probability of any but the most remote action of pagan ideas (see G. H. Box in *The Interpreter* for 1906, 195 ff.).

The Shepherd, while one of the most valuable, is also one of the most perplexing of early Christian writings. But Dr C. Taylor has the sympathy with its author's highly allusive style and method, and the wide and varied learning, needful to penetrate the secrets of his meaning and the unacknowledged sources of his ideas and imagery. Hence, though the scale of the *Early Christian Classics*, of which this translation, with introduction and occasional notes, forms part, does not give its editor full scope; yet real help and suggestion are here afforded both to the general reader and to the patristic scholar. In respect to the sources of

Hermas' thought, Dr Taylor has given special attention to the points of contact with the *Tablet of Kebes*, an allegory of the soul's journey in life and its dangers and aids. He is pretty sure that Hermas has been influenced by it; but it seems to the present writer that his dependence on 2 Clement is equally clear, though Dr Taylor does not draw this inference from the parallels he adduces—and from others which might be added *Apropos* of 2 Clement, there is no evidence that the games to which it alludes were the Isthmian, as stated in i. p. 161.

The subject of Hermas' biblical allusions is ably handled, especially by aid of an analogy from Shakespeare's habits in the matter. But the supposed allusions to Mark xvi. 15 f., and to the four Gospels under the figure of the four-legged bench, seem open to grave doubt. In the latter case the absence of any such secondary meaning in the corresponding case of the chair on which the aged-looking Church was seated, tells heavily against the theory. These are perhaps instances of the dangers of Dr Taylor's very ingenuity of mind, which yet is of immense service in a commentator on a prophetic allegory like the *Shepherd*.

The chief discovery of a lost patristic writing in quite recent times is the Armenian version of Irenæus' *On the Apostolic Preaching*, found at Erivan, in Russian Armenia. To the careful German translation of it by two native scholars, Harnack adds a Postscript and Notes which serve to emphasise its affinities to the positive teaching underlying the polemic in Irenæus' great treatise *Against Heresies*. These affinities are such that the first impression is the disappointing one, that we here learn little that we did not know before. But further examination will probably qualify this feeling, as may be gathered already from the valuable preliminary study on it contributed to the *March Expositor* by Dr Rendel Harris. There he deals largely with biblical quotations, *i.e.* mainly quotations from the Old Testament, which constitute the staple of the evidence for Christianity put forward by Irenæus, as by so many early Christian writers. Harris here finds fresh traces of the *Book of Testimonies* (against the Jews, as he suggests, though the

limitation is not certain), to the probable existence of which as early as the second (if not first) century he called attention in the *Expositor* for November 1906. He also identifies the citation from the *Book of the Twelve Prophets* in c. 77, as Hosea x. 6 in the LXX., and traces its influence also in Justin, Tertullian, and others. How seriously Irenæus took the view that Jesus had attained the full age of a teacher, viz. between 40 and 50, is seen in the consequential statement here made that He was crucified under Pontius Pilate in the reign of *Claudius*.

Prof. Funk of Tübingen, who in scholarship and standpoint is a sort of German Duchesne, has for some twenty years been making special study of the Apostolic Constitutions and the connected documents—the most important group bearing on Church institutions in the third and fourth centuries. Now he has achieved his task of providing a complete *corpus* of texts, with *apparatus criticus*, brief notes and Prolegomena (in Latin), as well as patristic *Testimonia*,—such as places the student at once in an incomparably better position than heretofore for handling these valuable materials for historical purposes. The documents here collected are too varied, and their mutual relations too complex, to admit of anything like an adequate review in the present connection. But the main points may be indicated, and the special services of Funk's edition signalised. The centre of the situation is the *Didascalia*, which purports to embody the collective teaching of the Apostles, gathered a second time, as they were conceived to have gathered for conference in Acts xv., in order to draw up ordinances for the regulation of Church life and for the warding off of heresy. Its scope is very comprehensive, and the scale runs to six considerable books, which actually took shape somewhere in Syria in the third century, probably in its latter half (though Harnack thinks a first draft belonged to the first half). In their composition, as perhaps in their very idea, the *Didaché* played a part; and in turn the *Didascalia* was worked over, in the latter part of the fourth century, by an author somewhere in the region of Antioch—the same apparently who produced the Longer

Revision of the Ignatian Epistles. To these enlarged six books he added two others, also based on pre-existing materials, and so produced the *Apostolic Constitutions*, an extensive body of Church usages, including an elaborate Liturgy, which broadly speaking furnish a picture of Church life in N. Syria about the end of the fourth century. In the seventh book is embedded most of the *Didaché* in a revised shape; while in the eighth book use is made *inter alia* of the body of rules for the ordination of ecclesiastical persons, and for Church life generally, which is found both in the so-called *Canons of Hippolytus* and in the old Constitutions of the Egyptian Church (long known in Coptic, Ethiopic, and Arabic, but now also in fragments of an early Latin version). There are other related documents which Funk includes in his Vol. ii., entitled *Testimonia et Scripturæ propinquæ*; yet these will suffice to show the complexity of the data which the central theme involves.

But Funk has not been content with existing editions of the chief texts in question. He has himself constructed from the MSS., and from patristic citations, which are very extensive (particularly those in Anastasius of Sinai, of which Funk has made a fresh critical text), the first really adequate text of the *Apostolic Constitutions* themselves, printed opposite to a reconstruction of the *Didascalia* (by the combined aid of the Syriac and Latin versions, as already done in a sense in Achelis' edition). What in the later work is due to the earlier, is also made manifest to the eye by the device of underlining all that is due to the reviser's own hand. Thus one can now gather at a glance what before could be discovered only by considerable labour on three separate texts. No greater service to patristic scholarship, in a most important field, has been done for many a day; and Funk deserves the gratitude of his fellow historians for a monument of industry and wide learning such as few leave behind to posterity. If there is a flaw or a bias traceable in his critical judgment, it is in relation to his estimate of the *Canons of Hippolytus*, which, though comparatively late in its present recension, yet probably embodies (often in a form more original than the Egyptian

Constitutions) a genuine nucleus which goes back to Hippolytus, and most likely to the *περί χαρισμάτων ἀποστολική παράδοσις* mentioned among the works on his extant statue. But Funk's view on this point has no influence upon the present work, which should further this class of study more than it is easy to estimate. The edition is excellently printed, and is really cheap for the value of its contents, as it includes several documents otherwise only to be had apart and in costly forms.

To the "Clementine" Liturgy embedded in Apost. Const, Book viii., Dr P. Drews, of Giessen, devotes a special monograph in two parts, the former of which is already to hand and deals with the traces of this distinctive type of liturgy in Rome. The sequel will discuss its eventual extension elsewhere, along with its origin, age, fortunes, etc. Together they are to constitute the second and third of a series of "Studies on the history of Divine Service," the first instalment of which, on "The history of the rise of the Canon in the Roman Mass," appeared as a small pamphlet in 1902. The whole is a gratifying proof that Protestant scholarship is at length awaking to the high value of early liturgies as revelations of the inner spirit of the best popular piety of the Ancient Church, in its several great sections. In such liturgies we have both a large common element and marked local features; and the light shed from both sides upon the mutual relations of the leading churches, and upon the changes in feeling passing over Christian piety, is very considerable. The study has hitherto been too much in the hands of scholars with more feeling for the formal or antiquarian, than for the vital or experimental aspects of the phenomena. These are really most precious data for religious psychology; and a loving but discriminating study of them in this light should lead to an enrichment of the devotional experience of the student, as well as to his enlightenment touching the soul of essential Christianity.

Drews believes that we have in the Clementine liturgy one of the oldest types—if not the oldest—still within our reach, though, of course, not in its original form.

This was the contention of the Roman Catholic, Probst,¹ though he stated it in the untenable form that the liturgy in Apost. Const. viii. was essentially the "Apostolic" liturgy, and was therefore in use from the first both in East and West. That there is a large element of truth, however, in Probst's position Drews maintains; and he sets himself to place it in its true light. Whether he will succeed in giving the striking facts in question their real perspective, on the lines sketched in this study, may be doubted. But he certainly succeeds in re-opening the subject in a fresh and stimulating way; while incidentally he says many true and suggestive things as to the nature of early liturgies, especially at the stage when they existed as traditional types or norms guiding the practice of each local bishop in leading his Church's devotions, but had not yet attained stereotyped form or exclusive fixity. This they did probably only in the course of the fourth century (cf. the prayer-book of Sarapion for the personal factor as still potent). As Drews says, the fluid state of liturgies in the Ante-Nicene period adds greatly to the difficulty, if also to the interest, of the study. He holds, however, that "about the year 100, in communities which did not lie quite out of the way, the Eucharistic liturgy already bore a very advanced settled form." This form he proceeds to trace at Rome in I. Clement (with Iren. iii. 3), Justin, Hippolytus, Novatian, and the later Roman Mass. Here are his main results: (1) The Roman Church, at least by Justin's day, used a liturgy which belonged to the so-called "Clementine" type. (2) In Hippolytus there blend with possible traces of this type features common also to the Jerusalem type of liturgy—although Hippolytus was a man apt to use to the full the liturgical freedom of his time, and so to obscure the traditional basis on which he fashioned his public prayers. (3) In the recognisable Roman Mass affinities with the Clementine type have dwindled to very little, as the local type has attained a more independent and distinctive form, in which appears a new liturgic style, and

¹ *Die Liturgie der drei ersten christlichen Jahrhunderte* (1870), and *Die Lit. des vierten Jahrhunderts u. deren Reform* (1893).

that one largely rhythmic. The full meaning of his positions cannot be seen and judged before the appearance of his second study. But at present it appears as if all that can safely be deduced is a common Jewish type of liturgical prayer such as we know of in connection with synagogal worship, parallels with which Lightfoot has cited in his remarks on the Great Prayer at the end of 1 Clement.

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VERNON BARTLET.

Reviews

DAS GILGAMESCH-EPOS IN DER WELTLITERATUR, by P. Jensen, Professor at Marburg University. *Band I. Die Ursprünge der alttestam. Patriarchen-Propheten- und Befreier-Sage und der newest. Jesus-Sage.* Pp. xviii. 1030, 8vo. Strassburg: Trübner, 1906. 40 M.

THIS great book, of more than 1000 pages, supplies abundant evidence of the fascination of the epic of Gilgamesh. How far it has been influenced by Winckler we are not told and cannot venture to guess. Jensen's outlook on Biblical history is even wider than Winckler's, and his imagination still more evidently the sovereign faculty. Unfortunately there are few important references to Winckler (except in pp. 176, n. 1, 237, n. 2, 328, n. 2, 803, n. 2), but the preface contains a complacent self-justification for having "sometimes" preferred imagination to logic (p. ix.); in other words, he claims to possess a faculty of historical divination. Conscience, too, he possesses, though not so strict a one as could be wished. While allowing the probability that many mistakes have been committed in minor matters, he "does not believe that anything very essential in his views will have to be cancelled" (p. x.). How, therefore, could he help hurrying on the publication of these all-important results? His goal is in the land of the Greek heroes, and in the future no Hellenist will venture to speak without having mastered the truth revealed to Jensen. Even this volume indeed gives

hints enough for a keen-eyed specialist to develop, provided of course that he is not absolutely devoted to the higher criticism (cp. p. 976, note 1). One is of course pleased to find that the Old Testament becomes, in one sense, more important than ever through Jensen's researches; whether the New Testament retains much of its value, even from our author's point of view, is a question.

The book begins with the heading, "The Babylonian Epic of Gilgamesh and Eabani," and Jensen's account of the twelve tablets of this epic will be gladly received by all of us, even after the valuable notes to his edition of the epic in the *Keilschriftliche Bibliothek*. To this there are two appendices. The first relates to the seven plagues before the Deluge. This is doubtless a Babylonian representation. But as Gressmann has shown (*Eschatologie*, pp. 168-173; see also Jensen, pp. 137 ff.) virtually the same scheme occurs in the Old Testament, notably in the account of the events preceding the Exodus. The second brings Adapa into connection with Atrahasis, the hero of the Deluge. As Jensen affirms later on, the Adapa myth and the Deluge myth have the same original meaning.¹

The next chapter (like all the chapters, unnumbered) has to do with the cosmic significance of Gilgamesh and Eabani. Jensen agrees in the main with Sir H. Rawlinson.² Gilgamesh is in fact the sun, and the kernel of the epic represents the most remarkable events of the solar year and the solar day in heaven and on earth. Eabani is the Ram in the zodiac. Incidentally Jensen maintains that the original from which Nimrod comes is Namurd. The form is not indeed attested, but the Babylonian Anwusht or Enwusht might develop into this, and these names might have arisen out of Namurtu, which is probably the true name of the god commonly called Ninib. I should have thought myself that another solution of the problem lay much closer at hand.

Of the two appendices, the second is by far the more important. "I am happy," says Winckler, "to be able

¹ On p. 121 we are told that Adapa is only another name for Xisuthrus.

² See *Encyclopædia Biblica*, "Deluge," § 4.

to support the most essential part of Usener's, as well as of Zimmern's and Cheyne's theory (see *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 1063 f.) by new facts, and all the more because these scholars gave me the first impulse to the supplement which I here give to their views" (p. 120). Jensen's opinion is that the water-deluge of mythology arose out of a light-deluge. Both are called *abūbu*, "a storm-flood," at least this seems to be hinted by the fact that the weapon of Marduk is called *abūbu*. Both Marduk and Xisuthrus are solar deities, though doubtless in one form of the Babylonian flood-story Xisuthrus has to *become* a deity.

The Deluge story is, we all know, only a portion of the great Gilgamesh epic. It is the Gilgamesh legend, and not merely the Deluge story, that Jensen's keen eyes disclose to us almost everywhere in the Old and New Testament narratives. And first of all in the legend of Moses. The inhabitants of Erech are compelled by their despotic King Gilgamesh to build the walls of Erech; so the Israelites in Egypt (?) are made to build Pithom and Rameses for their Pharaoh. To put an end to the oppression in Erech the shepherd Eabani is made; a sacred prostitute goes to meet him in the desert. He gives way to her persuasions, and afterwards goes with her to Erech, to Gilgamesh. Here the two men make a covenant of friendship. So the shepherd Moses goes with his wife from the desert to Egypt, meets his brother Aaron, who is his destined companion and helper, and then arrives in Egypt (p. 126). Incidentally Jensen deals a fairly heavy blow (I suppose that I have myself dealt a heavier one) to the "universally accepted" belief in the Egyptian origin of the name Mōsheh. It may also be mentioned here in passing that the "Egypt" in which, according to the printed Hebrew text, both Hadad and Jeroboam found refuge in the time of Solomon, was to the south of Palestine (p. 568), though it does not appear that Jensen admits that the Exodus did not take place from any *part* of the true Egypt. A number of the most extraordinary parallels are offered in this chapter; divination has reached almost its highest triumph. In passing we

learn that the curious "red cow" of Num. xix. is connected with the celestial bull slain by Gilgamesh¹ (p. 128).

Perhaps the most striking part of the chapter is that which relates to the plagues which are traditionally said to have preceded the Exodus. In particular a most interesting parallel is found for the last of the "plagues of Egypt" (according to J and E), the death of the first-born, viz., the passage of the destructive deity Ira, attended by his counsellor and messenger Ishum, through the lands (cp. Exod. xi. 4, 5). Jensen makes this striking comment—

"The last Egyptian plague, as well as all the other Egyptian plagues, is mythic, and not the historical cause of the exodus of the Israelites, which indeed is itself un-historical" (p. 143).

That the legend of the *Yam Suph* is genetically connected with the Deluge story, and the ark of Moses with the ark of Noah, I too (with Winckler) am inclined to think. But it is carrying the theory too far when Jensen asserts that the mountain of revelation (Sinai) is parallel to the mountain on which the ark is said to have rested. It may also be remarked that there is no tradition of the birth of Gilgamesh similar to that of the birth of Moses. It is the Sargon story which claims to be recognised as the closest extant parallel to the story of Moses. Jensen indeed conjectures that there may be a parallel Gilgamesh story which has been lost, but we have no means of verifying this conjecture.

Another reflection of the Deluge story is the dividing of the waters of the Jordan, and the passing over of the Israelites. That was known before Jensen's book. May we go further, and compare the destruction of Jericho with that of sinful mankind, or at least of the guilty city of Xisuthrus? This seems more doubtful. Jensen, however, ventures on this step; he has indeed already done the like in dealing with the story of the drowned Egyptians (?). Joshua, as well as Moses, is a form of Gilgamesh. We need not therefore imagine that the twelve stones pitched by Joshua in Gilgal (Josh. iv. 20) have any direct connection with the twelve *masséboth* set up by Moses beside the altar at Sinai (Exod.

¹ See, however, Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 486.

xxiv. 4). The twelve stones of Joshua originally stood on or by the mountain where the ark rested ; so did the twelve *masséboth*. Both stories have the same origin. So, then, none of this can be historical. The figures of Moses and Joshua draw their contents from the story of Gilgamesh, to which we may add that Aaron is the Israelitish Eabani ; and—more important still—that the sacred ark in the story of Joshua corresponds to the ark or chest of Noah.

It is impossible to give an account of all Jensen's ingenious theories. He seems to be so convinced of the improbability of the biblical narratives, and of the deeply implanted mythological tendency of the ancients, that he looks everywhere in primitive history for traces of the greatest of the Babylonian myths—that of Gilgamesh. He follows in the footsteps of Winckler, but, though much less methodical (or, shall I say ? being much less methodical) than Hugo Winckler, comes to even more revolutionary and destructive results. Of course a philological critic cannot possibly follow either Jensen or Winckler, because neither scholar (Jensen is the weaker of the two) has been adequately trained in what used to be called Semitic philology. But a critic of wide range, who is something more than a Semitic philologist, is bound to study Winckler's, and Jensen's point of view, and adopt it so far as he can. We may, of course, differ in details ; subjectivity cannot be excluded, but may at least be controlled. Take a few points. That the original guests of Abraham (Gen. xviii.) were divine, no one who has the least comprehension of mythology can doubt. Jensen suggests that the story of the visit of the heavenly ones to Abraham is a late offshoot of some form of the Deluge-story in the Gilgamesh epic. The leader of the divine triad (if I may borrow a phrase from my own forthcoming book) will then, if Jensen may be followed, be Ea, the divine friend and patron of poor humanity, but also Bel, who raises a complaint against mankind in the divine assembly, and two messengers, while Abraham represents Xisuthrus. Those who (like myself) are dissatisfied with the current explanations of Gen. xiv. may, possibly, be attracted by the bold but novel theory of Jensen, who makes Kedorlaomer parallel

to Humbaba, and incidentally finds the latter name corrupted in Hebrew into Hobab. Certainly it is trying to find Isaac identified with Eabani, and Rebecca with the hierodule or sacred prostitute, but, granting Jensen's presuppositions, can we be surprised? Samson, of course, has to be a Gilgamesh, though as described he may be the result of a fusion between the Israelite Gilgamesh (or sun-god) and the Israelite Eabani (see the early history and note the Nazariteship). One may, however, be startled at hearing that both Saul and David are Gilgamesh.

It should be remembered that, according to Jensen, the Gilgamesh-story has taken different forms in different parts of Palestine. Thus Elisha, Ahab, and Elijah represent the Manassite form. Elijah is Eabani, and the widow of Zarephath is perhaps Gilgamesh's mother. Similarly (I suspect that Winckler will not approve of this), Jesus, Johannes, and Lazarus represent the Gilgamesh-story in Zebulun. Johannes, like Elijah, is Eabani; Jesus is sometimes Gilgamesh, sometimes Xisuthrus (note, *e.g.*, the Ascension); Lazarus is Eabani (who, in the Babylonian myth, is raised from death)—his place is sometimes taken by the historical Johannes.

I notice with interest that on two occasions (pp. 831, 892 f.) Buddhist parallels are referred to in connection with the Gospels. On the whole, it appears to me that Jensen's mythological range is rather restricted: let him have due credit for these references. It is possible that the effect of Jensen's argument would have been much increased if he had given a fuller proof of his mythological knowledge. Of course, the second volume will very possibly go some way to exonerate him. I should also have liked a more regular discussion of many points, especially when we get to the delicate question of the Gospel story. It is certainly hasty to say, as Jensen does expressly say, that the whole gospel narrative is unhistorical, being of mythical origin. By all means let the existence of the question answered by Jensen in this way be fully recognised. But let not this extremely dogmatic treatment of the subject be imitated by following writers.

Very unsatisfactory, in my opinion, is the statement about the name Jesus (p. 820). Jesus, Jensen says, "corresponds to a Hebrew Joshua, and this goes back to an older Jehoshua = Joshua." "This," he adds, "is extremely significant. For we have already pointed out twice, if not thrice, an Israelitish Gilgamesh named Joshua or Jeshua, beside an Israelite named Elisha, which seems to be synonymous with Joshua." The origin of the Old Testament personal names has, I fear, not been adequately studied by our eminent Assyriologist.

Nor indeed has the text of the Old Testament (let alone that of the New) been at all adequately studied by our author. He says in one place that he does not there investigate the Hebrew text because we can get along very well with the received text. We can get along, no doubt! See the older commentaries.

But here I must pause. I am not opposed to investigations like those of Winckler and Jensen, but I must say that Jensen has done much less for the thesis of this volume than Winckler has done for his. I think it an enormous pity that this great Assyriologist should have made such extravagant claims on behalf of the Gilgamesh-epic, and regret that, by his injurious language towards two of the chief workers in his own field, he should have made it more difficult for them to estimate his suggestions fairly. Comparing Jensen with Winckler, I am altogether of the same opinion as Otto Weber in the brochure *Theologie und Assyriologie im Streite um Babel und Bibel* (1904), written (I admit) before the present volume was published. That I am no follower, though an admiring student, of Winckler, all who will may know. Let me add that three maps illustrative of the Gilgamesh-myth and its wanderings are appended.

• *Oxford.*

T. K. CHEYNE.

CHOIX DE TEXTES RELIGIEUX ASSYRO-BABYLONIENS. Transcription, Traduction, Commentaire, par Le P. Paul Dhorme des Frères Prêcheurs. Paris: Libraire Victor Le Coffr, J. Gabalda et Cie., 1907. 8vo. Pp. xxxvii., 406. Fr. 12.

THIS volume of the *Études Bibliques* is well fitted to stand beside Lagrange's *Études sur les Religions sémitiques* in the same series. It aims at introducing to French readers the Babylonian religious literature without advocating any view as to its bearing on the Old Testament. This is decidedly the proper attitude for the Assyriologist to take. The work may also serve to inform English readers who have neither time nor patience to extract what they desire to know from the erudite German treatises on the subject. We have nothing in English that covers the same extent of ground or shows the same strict attention to business.

An excellent Introduction describes the sources and sketches their contents. The religion is dealt with under the headings, *Les dieux, L'homme, Rapports de l'homme et les dieux*. It is all very clear, exact, sufficient, and objective. Each statement made is supported by a reference to the passage from which it is deduced. Scarcely a trace of opinion is obtruded: the facts are collected and marshalled in a masterly fashion.

The texts are presented in a transcription, following the scheme now usual in Assyriological works (explained on page v.), which occupies the left-hand page, and in translation on the right-hand page. It is thus easy to see exactly how the sense is obtained. Usually half of each page is occupied by the notes, often on each line, justifying the view taken of difficult words or expressions or giving the source of the text and its restorations. This part is excellently done, and though opinions may differ as to the exact meaning of many passages, a very marked advance has been made on all previous work.

First we have the *Poème de la Creation*, embracing the whole of Mr L. W. King's *The Seven Tablets of Creation*. Here the work done by Zimmern, Delitzsch, Jensen,

Winckler, not to mention Ball and George Smith, is thoroughly digested, and a very readable and consistent whole is constructed. Father Dhorme possesses a good critical faculty and uses it fearlessly. The Creation of the World, however, is an episode in a poem which has for its theme the exploits which won for Marduk, god of Babylon, his supremacy in the Babylonian pantheon. It would be absurd to suppose that the cultured Babylonian believed that the sea actually was a dragon monster, that the sky was formed of one-half of her (the poem omits to say what became of the other half), and a thousand other poetical statements which lent themselves to mythical scenes or sculptures for the adornment of temples. The cosmogony must be abstracted from these artificial presentations, and Father Dhorme does well to give us next the *Cosmogonie Chaldéenne* which ascribes the creation of the Cosmos to Marduk and Aruru. It is very simple and unadorned by mythical elements, yet even this account was primarily intended to describe the origins of the earliest sanctuaries of Babylonia. The *Cosmogonie d'Assour* follows, a very fragmentary piece, which ascribed creation to Ansar, whom the Assyrians identified with their national god Asshur. Another fragment, *Creation des êtres animés*, and a fragment quoted in the Introduction (p. xii.), show that there were other poems and other views on the subject of creation.

The story of the wonder-tree in Eridu with its superficial likeness to the Tree of Life in the Garden of Eden well deserves its place next to the stories of Creation. Then comes *Le Déluge*, already well known to all biblical students, followed by a fragment of a different recension of the story, dating from the time of Ammizaduga, fourth successor to Hammurabi on the throne of Babylon. A dialogue follows between the god Ea and Atrahasis, the Babylonian Noah, whom Ea saved from the Flood, which puts a new complexion on many passages hitherto misunderstood.

Of deep interest is the *Institution du Sacerdoce*, with its stipulations as to the requirements of a priest, his qualifications, duties, and share in sacrifices. The *Mythe d'Adapa*,

part of which was found among the Tell-el-Amarna tablets in Egypt, is important for its view of man's loss of immortality, if Adapa was really a type of man. The *Mythe d'Étana* deals with the origin of kingship among men. It came down from heaven.

Then comes the Epic of Gilgamesh, the Nimrod Epos as it used to be called, with its wonderful parallels to classical mythology and its deeply interesting picture of the world beyond the grave. This subject is strongly illuminated by the descent of Istar to Hades which follows. The word of Bel, which forms the subject of the next piece, is quasi-deified, and much that is said of it deserves the attention of students of the Logos idea. A hymn to Marduk, a hymn to Istar, a prayer to Gibil serve to show what the temple worship was like, if indeed all the preceding pieces were not recited there. *Le juste souffrant* has been compared with the story of Job. The prescriptions for the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th of the month are presented under the title *Le prétendu Sabbat Babylonien*. If the observance of a Sabbath among the Babylonians was to be deduced from these prescriptions alone, the title might be justified; but the question is too wide to open here. Suffice it to say that there is other evidence to be considered.

Nabû-apliddina, King of Babylon, renewed some ancient endowments of Samas, the sun-god of Sippara, and added others, drawing up a deed of gift, a copy of which was deposited in a coffer in the temple. It is published as the *Tablette Culturelle de Sippar*, on account of its minute provisions for the worship. A few proverbs close the collection.

It may come as a surprise to some that there is so much that can be claimed as literature for Babylonia, but this is only a small part. It is no less surprising that fragments of literature occur embodied in incantations, omen-tablets, letters, and other unexpected places. It seems probable that many of these pieces were so old, that extracts from them could be used, like verses of Holy Scripture, as amulets or charms. The enormous, and because of its childish futility, usually sterile mass of what may be

summed up as magical texts needs to be ransacked before we have anything like a complete knowledge of what is preserved in our museums.

Continually we are faced by the fact that the texts are compilations, edited with a special purpose, but often allowing us to discern an original purpose different from the later. The application of critical methods to Babylonian literature will reveal many interesting facts and show different schools of thought. It will, however, be difficult to revise dates of documents by an estimate of what is early or primitive. Very primitive stuff is carefully preserved in late editions.

An attentive reader will find much to remind him of Old Testament beside the stock examples. It may be worth while to point out that these less prominent things give many Assyriologists a deeper sense of the indebtedness of Hebrew literature to Babylonian classics than can be gained by a bare parallel-columned presentation of Deluge or Creation stories. So far as general ideas are concerned, the hypothesis of common Semitic tradition is sufficient to account for these likenesses; but then it needs to be recalled, as, Father Dhorme observes, that *le pays de Canaan pouvait donc connaître, avec l'écriture cunéiforme, les récits transmis par cette écriture et constituant le fonds commun de la tradition sémitique*. In other words "common Semitic tradition" may be a euphemism for "Babylonian literature."

Any literary dependence that can be proved will be proved by the transfer, not of general ideas—these may be accounted for otherwise—but by the adoption of words, phrases, ideas, which can only be natural and original in the older literature. A careful study of this preliminary selection of texts will open the eyes of many to a wide field of possibilities. A long period of study and discussion is needed before a definite result can be expected or desired. This work will not prejudice such result.

Cambridge.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

DAS ENDZIEL DER VÖLKER- UND WELTGESCHICHTE, auf Grund der heiligen Schrift, von L. Prager. Leipzig: Georg Böhme, 1906. Pp. 1-140. 2 M.

WHAT is to be the future of the earth and its family of nations? It has a future, because in all the works of the Creator a purpose can be discerned. The cleverness of man is not equal to deciphering the chief end of human history, and any process of development must remain mysterious till the evolution is concluded. But the revelation of God, contained in Holy Scripture, enables man to learn the true relation of creation to the Creator, and to appreciate the part man has to play in the drama of the Kosmos. The author proceeds to interpret the Scripture teaching on the problem of the world-end. After vindicating the inspiration of the Bible, he pronounces it to be the sole source from which man may learn the method of attaining his chief end—salvation and a blessed communion with God. Prophecies, fulfilled and yet unfulfilled, are then reviewed. Till the Gospel is preached to all nations, the Jews will not, as a nation, be brought into the Church. The Millennium will not be marked by the *visible* return of Christ, but by His invisible presence with His Church in a new and more potent manner.

The substance of this book might be put into sermons for Advent in Britain. The form of the argument would hardly be presented in this country. The critical study of the Old and New Testaments is entirely ignored; modern theology in the German Universities is referred to as the parent of unbelief and godlessness. The political future of modern Europe is forecast on the basis of Daniel's "ten horns," which were emblematic of ten kings destined to arise. England's part may interest English readers. "England aims at establishing a *Welt imperium* by seizing the world's trade and thereby possessing herself of the wealth and government of all the peoples on earth, and her instrument is her predominant fleet. This idea has won favour through her monstrous Colonial possessions

over the whole earth. But the aim is as impracticable as it is seductive. History shows that great world empires can attain permanence only where wide and continuous territory maintains peoples descended from the same stock, using the same language, and permeated by the same culture" (pp. 119, 120).

This prospect is not the result of exact exegesis, nor can we consider it a happy exercise of the eschatological imagination. To an outsider it appears that the author is more concerned in opposing Rome than in edifying Protestant Germany; and he will hardly secure the hearty belief and aspiration he desiderates by ignoring the results of recent biblical study. But these pages are pervaded by a spirit that has almost ceased to speak in recent literature; they anticipate a time when good will have vanquished evil, and they have something of the power and hope that spring from a definite doctrine of the last things.

St Andrews.

D. M. KAY.

AHASVER, "DER EWIGE JUDE," nach seiner urspruenglichen Idee und seiner literarischen Verwertung betrachtet, von *Eduard Koenig, Ph.D.* Pp. 74. *Guetersloh*, 1907. 1 M.

IN the Middle Ages, as we learn from Roger of Wendover, a writer of the first half of the thirteenth century, there was current a story about a certain Cartaphilus, alleged to have been the janitor of the Prætorium when Christ was led out to the Crucifixion. As a punishment for striking Christ and urging Him to go faster, he was said to have been condemned to remain in this world till the second coming of Christ, and was, in fact, at the time the story was recorded in the chronicle, residing in Armenia; and a bishop of that province was responsible for the transmission of the news to England.

In 1602, or possibly slightly earlier, a book appeared in Leyden, the subject of which was a Jew, Ahasuerus, who had cried out for the crucifixion of Christ and the liberation

of Barabbas ; he had never been able to revisit Jerusalem, but was still alive, had visited Hamburg, and was seen in Dantzic in 1599. Paulus von Eitzel, Bishop of Schleswig, related that this man was present at a service of the church in 1542, and subsequently explained that he had turned Christ away from his house when He was on His way to Calvary, whereupon Jesus had said to him : " I will stand and rest, but you shall go on." After witnessing the Crucifixion, Ahasuerus had found it impossible to return to Jerusalem, and had ever since wandered on the face of the earth, till it should please God to call him out of this vale of tears.

Dr Koenig discusses the relation of these two stories, which he decides to be independent creations, partly on the ground that there is no evidence of the survival of the story told in the English chronicle, partly because the Ahasuerus legend differs in several particulars from Roger of Wendover's account, and expressly claims to be a piece of news. This is a familiar attitude : it is surprising how often it is necessary to point out that a tradition may be very old and yet appear in literature very late, or, as in the present case, may not be recorded at all for centuries and yet survive among the people. The absence of written record is absolutely worthless as evidence. In like manner it is unimportant whether Roger of Wendover and the later work agree, for the simple reason that we do not know whether Roger's narrative was really the typical form of the story ; even if it was, there is no reason why the lapse of some centuries should not have changed it. In any case, contemporary variants of the same story are as common as blackberries ; but no one doubts that they go back to one root form.

Dr Koenig favours the view that Ahasuerus is a mythical incarnation of the Jews, who, like their counterpart, have had to quit Jerusalem and wander on the face of the earth. The name Ahasuerus is traced to the influence of an Ahasuerus-play at the Feast of Purim, of which, however, we have no evidence before the seventeenth century. This play was directed against the non-Jewish religions, and sug-

gested, according to Dr Koenig, the sketching of a counterpart, in which the Jews were figured by Ahasuerus.

The second portion of the work, from page 30 onwards, discusses the various studies of the Ahasuerus story, and its dramatic and literary exploitation. N. W. THOMAS.

London.

THE EPISTLES OF ST PETER, *by the Rev. J. H. Jowett, M.A. The Devotional and Practical Commentary. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1905. Pp. 345. 5s.*

THE title of the series to which this volume belongs prepares us for the absence from its pages of all reference to questions of introduction and criticism. The Petrine authorship is assumed throughout, and the only hint of any doubt as to the Second Epistle is in the last chapter (on 2 Peter iii. 18), which begins, "If these words, and indeed the nature and contents of this wonderful chapter, were not penned by St Peter, they were composed by his 'double' in the Spirit." Mr Jowett would have been fairer both to himself and his readers had he ignored the problem of authorship altogether instead of raising it only to dismiss it in such an inadequate fashion. The only suggestions as to the historical setting of the Epistles are those on p. 101 (on 1 Peter ii. 21-25): "I am glad that this superlative passage springs out of counsel to a slave"—and on p. 197 (on 1 Peter v. 8-10): "When the apostle wrote this letter the lion was about. Nero was at work." More of this kind of background would surely have been helpful. There is no doubt a timeless element in Scripture, but it may be questioned whether it is worth while to detach its books so completely from the circumstances of their origin, and to expound their teaching so entirely apart from the very conditions which throw most light on it, and give most point to it. But within the limits which have been imposed on him Mr Jowett has done his work well, as was to be expected. His chapters

form an exposition rather than a commentary. They are indeed of the nature of pulpit discourses, and have no doubt served their turn in this way. Preachers will read them with a certain envy of their author's homiletic gifts, and will find them fruitful in suggestions for independent sermons of their own. Many details of the text are necessarily touched upon lightly, or passed over altogether, but the leading thoughts of each passage are skilfully marshalled in some simple and memorable order. Occasionally one feels that the scheme is rather imposed upon the text than brought out of it. For example, the passage, 2 Peter i. 1-2, is expounded under the heading "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," but the last idea is not so obviously in the text as the other two. At times too the attractiveness of a homely illustration proves too much for exegesis. It is not enough to say of the "incorruptible inheritance" of 1 Peter i. 4, "It is beyond the reach of death. No grave is dug on this estate." As a rule the R.V. is followed, but in 2 Peter iii. 4 Mr Jowett evades the difficulties connected with the early Christian view of the Parousia by translating the word as "presence" instead of "coming." Such untenable Old Testament renderings as "the remembrance of his holiness," "the king's daughter is all glorious within," are quoted merely for verbal effect, and one is surprised to find an important illustration (pp. 283-84) based on the assumption that Isa. vi. and Isa. xl. are by the same writer. This is not to ignore criticism, but to defy it. Apart from such details, however, the exposition is faithful to the thought of the epistles, marked by an admirable command of cultured and nervous English, and by a graceful, antithetic, and richly figurative style. There are excellent remarks on foreign missions in connection with "the spirits in prison" (1 Peter iii. 19), and on prophecy, under 2 Peter i. 19.

A few misprints have escaped correction. The title of the section on 1 Peter i. 22-25 should obviously be "The Creation *and* Culture of Affection." On p. 8 near the foot the context requires us to read "without sympathy we can have leniency" for "without mercy we cannot have

leniency"; and on p. 325 (line 10 from bottom), "the presence of noise" should be "the absence of noise."

Burntisland.

JAMES PATRICK.

THE PRAYERS OF THE BIBLE, by John Edgar M'Fadyen, M.A. (Glas.), B.A. (Oxon.), *Professor of Old Testament Literature and Exegesis, Knox College, Toronto.* London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1906. Pp. xi, 388. 6s. net.

THIS book is a history of biblical prayer, and its main object is to trace the development of prayer in the Bible. The work consists of four parts: "The Prayers of the Bible," "Modern Prayer," "The Prayers of the Bible Collected," and "Bible Prayers for Modern Use." Its chapters take the form of essays, which are more or less complete in themselves, an arrangement which leads at times to repetition. Professor M'Fadyen must be congratulated on having provided a valuable contribution to the theological literature of the day.

In the opening chapter on "The Naturalness of Biblical Prayer," it is made clear that the writer does not propose to discuss the problems commonly associated with prayer, but simply to ascertain the place and meaning of prayer throughout the progressive course of Scripture revelation. No difficulty regarding prayer is ever suggested in the Bible. Just as the existence of God is assumed, so is the naturalness of prayer. In times of difficulty, danger, and death the Hebrew, believing in the existence of Almighty God, turned with growing confidence to Him. "What time I am afraid I will trust in Thee," that was the earliest conception of prayer.

In unfolding the nature of Bible prayer Professor M'Fadyen indicates that reciprocity is an essential feature of it. Prayer implies the speech of God to man as well as the speech of man to God. No appeal to God is in the Bible regarded as prayer which does not secure some communication from Him in return. The early prayers of

the Bible, it is noted, frequently took the form of a dialogue, of which a striking example is found in the record of the call of Moses on Mount Horeb. In connection with this subject the steady development of communion with God is traced from the easy, blunt familiarity of the ancient Israelite to the reverence and confidence of the child addressing God as a Father.

When the "Themes of Prayer" are examined, development is again recognised. The prayers of early times were for the most part appeals for material blessings, whilst those of later periods expressed with increasing emphasis desires for spiritual things. This point is expounded in a very forcible passage—"The weakness of the Old Testament religion is its materialism, but this is also its strength. Deprived for centuries of the hope of another world, it threw itself with passion upon the world that now is, and claimed it in its every part for God. . . . The earth was the Lord's, and He had given it to men; and there, if at all, they were determined and were bound to find Him. If He moved upon it, was it unreasonable to expect that His foot-prints would be visible? . . . History was but the march of divine purpose, and when virtue seemed to be defeated and vice triumphant, faith was put to a terrible strain. . . . Old Testament religion expected and found God in the world because it claimed the world for God. In the New Testament prayer is, as we might expect, predominantly for things spiritual. . . . Those whose ambition is to 'abide in Him' would not be sorely troubled by ambitions of a worldly kind" (pp. 51, 52).

In treating of "The Relation of Faith and Prayer" Professor M'Fadyen shows that the connection between prayer and personal religion became more close as Israelitish history advanced. The character of biblical prayer developed with the development of biblical religion. In illustration a comparison is made between the lives of Joseph and Daniel. Joseph was a man of distinct piety, and yet he is never said to have prayed. Daniel was a man of the same religious type, but the story of his life assures us that prayerfulness was a prominent feature of his religion. The

explanation is that the one record belongs to the ninth century B.C. and the other to the second century B.C. "The same great faith in God," says Professor M'Fadyen, "animates both narratives, but the one expresses itself in prayer and the other does not ; and this, together with many other facts, leads to the conclusion that prayer shared in the development which characterised the religion generally" (p. 74). Among the facts to which allusion is here made is the interesting one that in the Book of Chronicles there are associated with certain incidents prayers which are absent from the records of the same events in Samuel and Kings. The pre-eminence of prayer in post-Exilic as compared with pre-Exilic records is very noticeable, and can only be accounted for by the development of prayer as an expression of the religious life.

The chapter on "The Inward and Outward Conditions of Prayer" brings into view another phase of development. At first, when an anthropomorphic conception of God prevailed, prayer was offered with surprising familiarity. Then mankind were in the stage of spiritual childhood ; but growth in spiritual powers brought a gradual transformation of disposition in approaching God. Reverence, sincerity, humility, penitence, love to God and love to man, were more and more manifested, till at length there was attained that experience expressed in the appeal, "Our Father which art in Heaven." A prayerless believer was then recognised to be "no less of a monstrosity than a child who never spoke to his father." An interesting passage follows on submission to the will of God as an essential inward condition of an answer to prayer. "If the desire to have the will of God fulfilled in us and by us be the sovereign impulse of our lives, on the one hand, our petitions, whatever their concrete contents may be, will always be controlled and inspired by a passion for the will of God, and will always in their essence be a prayer that that will be done ; and, on the other hand, the answer to that prayer will be conditioned by a sincere and earnest desire to have that will fulfilled. This is the great circle from which there is no escape" (p. 99).

The discussion of "The Teaching and Practice of Jesus" presents conceptions of prayer very far in advance of those of early times. A prominent feature of His prayer-life was thanksgiving. His intercessions were not for His disciples alone, but also for His tormentors. In the hour of death His supplications for His crucifiers were of an infinitely higher type than the imprecations which the dying in past ages had so commonly uttered in giving rude expression to the desire that justice might be vindicated. Repeatedly He insisted that there must always be combined with the confession of sin the readiness to forgive. The petitions which He offered, and which He directed His disciples to offer, were largely of a spiritual kind, but He also taught that prayers for "bread" or for deliverance from the troubles of a "flight in winter" were appropriate desires to lay before the Father in heaven.

Professor M'Fadyen examines at some length the position taken by St Paul regarding prayer to the Lord Jesus, and his conclusions seem to be of a negative kind. He says, "It is altogether improbable that Jesus directly counselled or even countenanced the worship of Himself during His lifetime." This opinion might, however, be met by the consideration that our Lord during His ministry accepted declarations of reverence inspired by a sense of His moral majesty; that without expressing reproof He listened to the adoring confession of Thomas, "My Lord and my God"; that from the woman of Samaria He invited prayer for spiritual blessings, saying, "If thou knewest the gift of God and who it was that said unto thee, Give Me to drink, thou wouldest have asked of Him and He would have given thee living water," and that He never suggested that there was anything dangerous or unallowable in the prostration of human hearts and the bending of human wills before Him throughout the course of His ministry. It may be, as Professor M'Fadyen holds that "the only indubitable instance of prayer to Christ" (p. 168) on the part of St Paul is the prayer for deliverance from the thorn in the flesh; but the suggestion that might be associated with that statement is nullified by the record of the fact that St Paul

describes Christians as those who "call upon the name of Jesus Christ our Lord."

It may also be noted that in finally summing up "The Differences that Jesus Made," Professor M'Fadyen says, "Perhaps the most remarkable difference of all was the shifting of the emphasis from petition to thanksgiving." This view, which seems to depreciate the importance of specific petition in the Christian dispensation, might be modified in face of such constant appeals as these, "If ye shall ask anything in My name, I will do it"; "In everything by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving let your requests be made known to God."

Attention should be drawn to the fact that little or no reference in this work is made to the place and power of the Holy Spirit in Christian prayer. It is quite clear that after Pentecost prayer became more earnest, more frequent, and more prevalent, and that one of its distinctive features was the claim of the co-operation of the Holy Spirit on the part of the Christian Church. "The Spirit helping infirmities," "the Spirit making intercession for us," "praying in the Holy Ghost," are allusions which imply the highest form of communion with God, and which demand particular notice in a treatise on the development of prayer in the Bible.

Three concluding chapters are devoted to an exposition of "Modern Prayer." The first of these is on "The Nature and Extent of Prayer." In it the opinion is expressed: "It might be better to speak of the influence of prayer than the power of prayer. Power too easily deflects attention to external and material effects, and loses sight of that most mysterious transformation of the soul within" (p. 158); and the incident of the Transfiguration is recalled by the quotation, "As He prayed, the fashion of His countenance was altered." From this and other references throughout the book it appears to be held that the main value of prayer lies in its subjective effect. It should, however, be observed that the subjective effects of prayer largely depend upon belief in its efficacy. No one is likely to be personally "influenced" by supplication to God, if he be

not animated by the conviction that prayer can be heard and answered by a Personal Being of infinite power, intelligence, and love. To the question, Does God answer the specific petitions of His children? the Bible and the Christian Church give a distinct and decided reply.

A very complete collection of prayers from the Old and New Testaments is provided in this volume, and the value of an exceedingly able and interesting book is thereby enhanced.

Alloway.

S. MARCUS DILL

JESUS ALS CHARAKTER, eine Untersuchung, von
Johannes Ninck. Leipzig: 1906. Pp. 376. M. 3.50.

THIS book is worthy of attention, not only for its own sake, but as illustrating a new movement in the study of the gospel history. There have been many signs of late years that the "Leben-Jesu-Forschung" will soon require either to change its direction or confess itself utterly bankrupt. The Lives of Christ which appear from time to time are increasingly negative in their conclusions. They empty the history of its whole wealth and significance, and leave a doubt in our minds whether we have any authentic knowledge of it at all. One cannot but feel that this barren result is largely due to a radical error of method. The gospel records were never meant to be biographical in the modern sense. They simply convey an impression of a great personality, an impression which, taken as a whole, is harmonious and convincing, whatever inaccuracies may lurk in the several details. The attempt to construe a "Life" of the conventional pattern out of our gospel narratives is necessarily doomed to failure. Incident after incident refuses to adapt itself to the biographical plan. Little in the end remains of the great picture but a few blurred outlines.

The author of the book before us is concerned not so much with the details of the history as with the total

impression which it makes upon us. He maintains that "we cannot and dare not wait for our conception of Jesus until the countless problems of textual, historical, chronological, biographical criticism have been solved. The truth is, rather, that the investigator of these problems is only groping in the dark unless he has some distinct and adequate picture of Jesus before his eyes" (p. 11). He sets himself therefore to understand the character of Jesus, as it stands out clear, amidst all the apparent confusion of the historical narrative.

It follows from this mode of conceiving his subject that the author allows himself a free use of the available sources. He accepts sayings and incidents even when well aware that their literal accuracy has been called in question. He employs the Fourth Gospel sparingly, but does not hesitate to fall back upon it when it seems to define more clearly some feature indicated in the Synoptics. Criticism may raise objections to this method of using the sources; but it can, we believe, be justified, even on critical grounds. Details in the tradition which may themselves be unauthentic are yet valid for the interpretation of the personality of Jesus. In many cases they may be even more valid than undoubted facts, since they represent no mere accidental circumstances in the life of Jesus but the whole image of His personality as it had stamped itself on the minds of His disciples.

The book is divided into three main sections, bearing the respective titles of "Will," "Faith," "Love." A closing section sums up the results of the discussion in a general estimate of the significance of Jesus. Under the three large divisions we have a number of chapters—twenty-six in all—in which an attempt is made to determine the more specific traits of our Lord's character. Thus the section on "Will" is sub-divided into chapters on "Resolution," "Anger," "Veracity," "Authority," "Patience," etc.; and the other sections are likewise broken up into their particular heads. This method is necessary, perhaps, to exact and lucid treatment, but it involves a certain artificiality. No human character can be chemically analysed into its

constituent elements; and least of all can we separate one aspect of the character of Jesus from another or from the character as a whole. The author himself is conscious, more and more so as his work advances, of the intimate harmony in which all the various elements are woven together. He adheres, nevertheless, to his analytical scheme, with the result that the portrait which he presents is wanting in unity and impressiveness. The seamless robe is torn into fragments. The majestic personality neither awes nor attracts us, since it is never revealed to us as a whole.

The most suggestive chapters are contained, we think, in the first section, where the writer deals with those features in the character of Jesus which come within the range of ordinary psychology. Emphasis is rightly laid on the fundamental strength of our Lord's nature. Renan's picture of the gracious Rabbi, the popular conception of a mild and lowly Sufferer, are both set aside as utterly contrary to fact. Jesus, as our author sees Him, was cast in a massive, heroic mould, like the ancient prophets. He possessed an iron will, a capacity for strong passion. He was by nature imperious, prone to great outbursts of anger and indignation, and His patience under the contradiction of sinners was due to the very force of His will. A deep vein of asceticism ran through His whole character, the asceticism, however, not of the monk who flees the world, but of the hero who strives to overcome it. Thus far we may say that Jesus answered to the ideal of noble nature as it was conceived in classical antiquity. He has kinship with the men of Plutarch rather than with St Francis and Thomas à Kempis. But there were two original and unique elements in His character which possessed it so completely that all the rest became subordinate. The first was His invincible faith in God, who was as real and certain to Him as His own soul. The second was the love which was the very breath of His being—love to God, which expressed itself in an all-embracing love towards men.

In the two sections which are devoted to these distinctive aspects of the personality of Jesus we meet with much that

is beautiful and suggestive, but we do not feel that the author succeeds in setting any clear conception before us. Sometimes the treatment is wholly inadequate, as in the chapter dealing with the Messianic consciousness. The question here raised is cardinal to the subject of the book; it brings us face to face with that which was most individual and mysterious in our Lord's character, and might well have formed the starting-point for the whole discussion. Our author, however, brings it in incidentally and dismisses it almost at once as of little consequence. So far as we are able to understand him, he seems to regard the belief of Jesus that He was the Messiah as a curious instance of auto-suggestion, which may be practically discounted in the general estimate of His character and work. This refusal to grapple with the central problem detracts seriously from the value of the book as a scientific study of the mind of Jesus.

A word of praise is due to the literary merit of the work before us. It is written clearly and simply, and contains many passages of real poetic beauty. The interest is sustained not only by the skilful and sympathetic handling of the subject proper, but by the many illustrations drawn from characters and events in history. At times the illustrations tend to overwhelm the matter in hand, as when we are suddenly treated to eight or nine consecutive pages on Napoleon Bonaparte (80 ff.); but usually they are apposite and instructive. The book can be read with pleasure from beginning to end, and no one can read it without obtaining some new insight into the greatest of all subjects. We confess, indeed, that it has left us unsatisfied. It presents no single and harmonious picture of the character of Jesus, but only a number of studies, more or less disconnected. It conveys no impression of the mystery and unique grandeur of the character, and does not even attempt to explain them. But with all its deficiencies it is a book to be acknowledged thankfully, both for itself and for what it promises. We may hope that a time is beginning when the investigation of the life of Jesus will not mean merely a search for critical difficulties in the

gospel narrative, but a real endeavour to understand Jesus in His eternal significance to faith.

Prestwick.

E. F. SCOTT.

CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY IN OUTLINE, *by William Adams Brown, Ph.D., D.D., Roosevelt Professor of Systematic Theology in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906. Pp. xiv., 468. 10s.*

THE appearance of a System of Doctrine by an accomplished English-speaking theologian is an event so rare as to deserve the interest of all who care about theology. German systems, crammed full of rigour and vigour, are always with us, and no serious person will ever speak lightly of their worth; but a Dogmatic written by one who is skilled in English prose, and has thought his work out right in the midst of the influences that are shaping Anglo-Saxon opinion, has, I think, a special value. We want to see the theology we know best collect itself, and give its own mind a reasoned account of the modifications in the doctrinal forms of the past which have been made indispensable by later inquiry and criticism. If the work is done by an American writer, so much the better. His point of view is likely to have a freshness and directness which is not too common at any time, and is certainly unusual at the present moment, when Christian thought is a little overburdened by the new knowledge that pours in upon us in an unbroken flow. The book named above has this fresh and direct quality in a remarkable degree. The author showed in his previous work, the *Essence of Christianity*, all the gifts that go to the production of a manual of theology which people will read with respect and liking, and which will help them to readjust the mutual bearings of faith and knowledge. We congratulate him sincerely on the still more valuable contribution to Dogmatic he has now made. No more attractive work has been issued to theologians in recent years.

In what follows I have tried not so much to enumerate in detail the contents of the book, as to give an impression of its main characteristics, especially those which are distinctive. The first point that strikes me is the method Prof. Brown has chosen. He expresses the hope, justifiably I should say, that this feature of his book will receive some attention. His method may be described as that of the re-interpretation of old terms and inherited beliefs in the light of history. How do the great convictions which form the subject-matter of the Christian faith appear when regarded from the modern, that is to say, the scientific, point of view; how are we to relate the heritage which has come down from the past to the world of thought in which modern men are living?—these are the questions he tries to answer. He has had pioneers, doubtless, in particular sections of the field thus mapped out, but it is difficult to think of any one who has anticipated Professor Brown in this modern revisal of the whole. Of course one would like to ask for a more precise account of what is meant by the “scientific” point of view, and whether science as such can rise to any apprehension of that which is really distinctive of the Christian religion. Professor Brown appears, however, to mean by the word chiefly the science of history, or rather, perhaps, the mental attitude begotten of historical research. Yet even so, he is careful not to suggest that religious doctrine can be derived from sources which do not include the specifically religious experience. Thus it is futile to speak as if a mere study of the past will give us the facts of revelation, so far as we need to know them. By itself that does not even come within sight of the greatest things. As Professor Brown has himself put it, “the more earnestly we apply ourselves to historical study, the more inevitably we are led at last to questions which history as such cannot answer” (p. 327). Hence the message of the book—and it is a very real one—for minds that have been nourished upon science, is not an appeal to them to carry the conclusions and principles of science a little further, but to rise up to a plane at which we feel the necessity to interpret the universe by the

highest we know, namely, the personality of Christ. All this, it appears to me, is exactly right, and the position is one that has never been put better in English.

One singularly excellent feature of the book is its sidelights upon the history of Dogma. Some of the longer notes are models of their kind, flooding difficult or disputed topics with light, and educing with a fine instinct the religious meaning of dim, theological controversies now far away. The note on p. 142 dealing with Greek Christology, that on p. 309 about the physical or metaphysical conception of salvation, and another on p. 332 as to the distinction between orthodox and heretic in the Chalcedonian age are examples of what I mean. They contain precisely the kind of thing that is helpful not only to beginners but to older students; and the volume is full of passages like these.

The sympathies of the author are, on the whole, with the Ritschlians of the right; at least, if one is to yield to the specious custom of labelling a man with his tendency, this label fits better than any other. It is a mark of his affinities that everywhere the method of speculation and the method of authority are made subordinate to the witness of Christian experience. Yet he parts company with Ritschl at several crucial points; for example, when (pp. 86-7) he rehabilitates the idea of the Absolute as a notion for which Christian doctrine ought to make room, or when (p. 380) he protests against saying "that we have no direct communion with God in experience, and that all our knowledge of Him comes to us indirectly through inference from His historic revelation in Jesus." But his support is given independently to many of the best and most fruitful ideas of recent Dogmatic. "The Bible," it is said, "must be our chief source and the test by which all that calls itself Christian must be judged" (p. 16). In other words, no effort is made to be wiser than history, or to build Christianity at this time of day on an entirely new model. Scripture, however, and its outcome in Christian experience being thus established as supreme norm, it is urged that the available sources of true theological

ideas are many ; everything that lights up for us the world in which we live, and clarifies the developments of contemporary religious life, is welcomed as enabling us "to distinguish more accurately, in the case of any particular utterance of Christian faith, what belongs to the age and the surrounding, and what is of permanent importance for the race" (p. 20). The history and philosophy of religion, and the more careful psychology of to-day, are viewed as rich in the lights and colours of suggestion. The social character of the Christian message, and of the redeemed life it offers, are dwelt upon with impressive persistence ; and though now and then we may fancy that Professor Brown overstrains this idea, and has little reason to reckon it a fault in Calvin that he makes the significance of life to depend upon the attitude of God to individuals, still in due time he comes out unerringly at the right place, and declares with emphasis that "the true end is neither the individual alone nor society alone, but the full development and realisation of the individual in society" (p. 195).

I have found Professor Brown's innovations as to order particularly admirable. If it is the fact that now and then we discover familiar topics in unfamiliar places, this simply means that he uniformly insists on starting from the concrete instead of from conventional abstractions. Thus, Part I. of his book is a discussion of what he calls the postulates of the system, viz., the Christian religion, the Christian revelation, and the Christian Church. Obviously to have a clear idea of what the Christian Church stands for, what the types of historic Christianity have been, and how the ideals of corporate religious life are differently conceived by Protestant and Catholic, is an indispensable preliminary to fruitful exposition of the faith in which we live ; and it may serve as an instance of Professor Brown's principle of setting out from the concrete religious experience. The Church, on such terms, is not a mere footnote to a Christian life complete without it ; it is a vital pre-supposition of it, something apart from which that life could not be. So again the author's skill in marshalling his points comes out in an extremely fresh treatment of the

Christian idea of God, in which he explains that in dealing with the nature of God, His attributes, and the Trinity we are really occupied in each section with the same subject-matter, the only difference being in point of view. It is in such architectonic details as these that the master's hand is shown.

To traverse the whole ground is clearly beyond the province of a short review, but I may indicate various attractive features which stand out and claim our notice. Thus, the line taken in Theology proper, or the Doctrine of God, may be discerned from the closing sentence: "In God Christian faith finds the ultimate reality of which philosophy has ever been in search; the source of all life, the standard of all truth, the goal of all endeavour; but it fills up the vague outlines of the philosophic conception with the warmth and colour which come from the character and purpose of Christ" (p. 122). As we may put it, not the Absolute is God, but God is the Absolute. It is recognised that this argument or definition will tell in the case only of those who find the key of the universe in the ideal ends of life, and these ends incarnated in Jesus Christ. Three consecutive and most rewarding sections in this part analyse the elements in the Christian idea of God inherited from Israel, contributed by Greece, and derived immediately from the Christian revelation. And it is a rare pleasure to read Prof. Brown's historical exposition of the doctrine of the Trinity. Much of this has been published separately, but takes its place naturally here as part of a greater whole. Personally, however, I cannot say that I quite recognise the Christian Trinity in the synopsis given on p. 156 of "three different ways in which man may think of God." To say that God the Father stands, as a personal Distinction in the Godhead, for "the Absolute, the ultimate source of all being and life, Himself surpassing man's ability perfectly to comprehend," is, to say the least, to obscure the New Testament indications that Father and Son are strictly correlative ideas, and can only be or be conceived through each other.

Again setting out from what is concrete and experi-

mental, Professor Brown prefaces his account of the Person of our Lord with an extremely able and illumining chapter on the Christian idea of salvation. This is a path into which recent inquiry as to the growth of dogma has inevitably led us. After a historical sketch, the permanent elements in the believing view of Christ are set forth with admirable clearness. Professor Brown occupies a position which seems to me to resemble very closely that of Herrmann of Marburg. It is a position of clear and definite conviction. "To fail to see the divine significance of His person is to cut the spring of Christian faith" (p. 76); "We regard it as the chief task of modern theology to give its answer, in the terms natural to our modern world, to the old question with which Christian theology began—how God could be in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself" (p. 77); "Jesus is not only God's chosen instrument. . . . He is the one through whom God Himself enters humanity to manifest His own character and purpose in a human life" (p. 323); "If Jesus be in truth, as Christian faith believes, the expression in human form of the unseen God of whose redemptive influence all history is the scene . . . " (p. 372). This is accompanied, no doubt, as it is also in Herrmann's case, with a protest that we may as well veto speculative efforts to explain the mode of incarnation, and rest content with the *that*, since we can never hope to comprehend the *how*. It is not that we merely put Christ alongside of God, and argue from Him inferentially to the Father; we find God personally present *in* Christ; there we have and hold Him in the full assurance of faith; but the rationale of the matter is beyond us. I cannot say that this is a view which seems to me a possible resting-place for human intelligence—it is too like an appeal to stop thinking; but no one can deny that it is a view in which the purest and noblest Christian faith may get itself expressed. If there have always been those who claimed to accept the *fact* of Atonement in Christ's death while holding aloof from every set theory of it, no one can be forbidden to assume a similar attitude to the fact that in Christ God is personally manifest. Some of us indeed

may be convinced, with Bagehot, that the Trinitarian doctrine is the best account which the mind can render alike of the facts of the Christian revelation and the mystery of self-existent Spirit ; but that is a matter of strict theology rather than of personal religion. What I have just said regarding Professor Brown's Christological views enables us to understand his modern reading of such New Testament ideas as the pre-existence of Christ. Here again I believe that theological reflection will always tend to go a step further than he has gone ; but at all events he has seized and formulated the essence of our faith with all possible sureness and decision. "It is enough to know that the Master who drew men with such persuasive power while on earth still lives and loves those for whom He showed His care here ; that His Spirit still watches over His disciples, restraining them from evil and winning them to good " (p. 348).

Just and illuminating as Professor Brown's exegesis of other men's opinions is, I do not feel that his criticism of the Kenotic Christology is entirely fair. If it be true that Jesus, in Professor Brown's own words, quoted above, is "one through whom God Himself enters humanity," it is difficult to see how he can escape the edge of his own objection to Kenotic theories—the justice of which is questionable—that we cannot think away a single divine attribute without at the same time destroying God (p. 338). If God Himself enter humanity in Jesus, He does so either with all His attributes unmodified, or in such wise as to manifest only those divine qualities which are compatible with a real human life. Professor Brown's objection, in fact, is defective in that it proves too much ; it lays the axe to the root of *every* view of Incarnation. Furthermore, the Kenotic Christology has no vital connection, so far as I can see, with a dualistic conception of God and man in their mutual relation. Certainly in a theologian such as Principal Fairbairn there is no trace of anything of the kind. The truth is, the Kenotic theory must be allowed the full benefit, now generally accorded to Ritschlianism, of the cardinal distinction between a principle and the details of

its application. It will not do to reject as simply mythological an idea which, *in its inmost meaning*, is inseparable from the New Testament conception of Christ—the idea, namely, that, in whatever way, He brought His divine being down to the measures of our life, and became poor for our sakes. And no one can fail to note that the Christian mind does respond to the distinction between divine attributes like holiness, love, wisdom, and formal principles of being like omniscience or ubiquity. It regards the former as divine in a far higher sense. It does not find it impossible to conceive an omnipotent devil, though it may not believe in his existence; but a holy or loving devil is unthinkable.

Time fails me to speak at length of the stimulating pages devoted to the Atonement, which exhibit not a little sympathy with the ideas on that subject of the saintly M'Leod Campbell. The keynote of the whole is given in this memorable sentence: "In the last analysis, salvation belongs unto God; and we gain the full moral influence from the atoning death of Jesus, only when we look through Him up to the divine sin-bearer who through all the ages has been carrying the burden of the world's sin and suffering upon His heart" (p. 369). Other notable discussions in the book, which I can do no more than mention, are those on Miracle, on the psychology of sin, on the Church as a means of grace, and on Conditional Immortality. Perhaps Dr Brown tends now and then to set against each other things which may also be viewed as integral elements in a larger whole; *e.g.*, mystical and ethical religion (p. 149), speculative and experimental theories of the Trinity (p. 147), retributive and educational views of punishment (p. 205). But this is in some degree a question of words merely.

In conclusion, let me say again that Professor Brown's volume is a rich storehouse of modern, persuasive, ingenuous Christian thinking. The spirit that moves through its pages is a spirit of sweetness and light. The author has the enviable art of saying deep things simply, in crystal phrases that linger in memory. Dogmatic, it is sometimes

remarked, has for the time being fallen on evil days, but so long as it continues to produce books of this kind one may have perfect confidence that it will speak unashamed with its enemies in the gate. The only criticisms I feel tempted to make upon the work as a whole are two: first, that insufficient allowance is made for the fact that the Gospel leads us to regard the advent of our Lord as having changed, and not merely disclosed, the fundamental relations of God and man, or, in other words, that the relation of God to man has undergone a historical development, culminating in the expiatory death of Christ; and secondly, that Professor Brown gives less prominence than he might have done to certain great ideas of New Testament religion bearing on the service Christ has done us. "When we say that we approach God through Jesus," he writes, "we mean that in place of all external and legal devices for securing the divine favour we put the spiritual principles which He has revealed, and learn from Him the way by which the divine Father may rightly be approached" (p. 319). This is not the whole of Professor Brown's view, or it might be criticised as intellectualism, but it is a compendious description of the element in it which comes most readily to his pen; and I should submit that it scarcely does justice to the apostolic view of Christ's mediation. But one hesitates even to hint a fault in a work of great and obvious spiritual value, and I part from *Christian Theology in Outline* with the sincere hope that it will find a wide circle of students in our country.

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PERSONAL IDEALISM AND MYSTICISM (*the Paddock Lectures for 1906, delivered at the General Seminary, New York*), by *W. R. Inge, M.A., D.D.* London : Longmans, Green & Co., 1907. Pp. 186. 3s. 6d. nett.

CHRISTIAN FAITH AND HOPE: *Addresses by the Rev. R. W. Corbert, M.A., and the Rev. C. R. Shaw-Stewart, M.A.* London : Women's Printing Society, Ltd., 1905. Pp. 141.

THESE two volumes are written from substantially the same standpoint. What we have in both is religious mysticism based on a monistic philosophy. Professor Inge, who is well known as an exponent of Mysticism, in the volume before us deals with the subject in its philosophic rather than its religious aspect. The Christian Platonism, the claims of which he urges in opposition to certain anti-intellectualistic tendencies in modern theology (Personal Idealism or Pragmatism, Ritschlianism, etc.), may be described as an Idealistic Monism. Science and sound philosophy teach us that all nature is of one piece, animated in various degrees by one and the self-same spirit, and obeying the same laws. Nature includes man, and man at his best; it includes the divine life of Jesus Christ. There are no breaches of continuity. Creation in all its parts is an incarnation of God's eternal Word, though it is only in the higher life of man that God manifests Himself in His fulness.

The first three lectures are mainly historical. The idea of divine immanence, as embodied in the Logos speculation, is traced from Heraclitus through Plato, the Stoics, and Philo to its entrance into Christianity. It pervades the Christology of St Paul, who, though he does not take the step of identifying Christ with the Logos, yet conceives Christ as a cosmic principle. St Paul's leading thought is that the law of the universe is proved to be by Christ's death and resurrection, not the law of sin and death, but the law of redemption through suffering, ending in triumph over sin

and death. Stress is laid on the fact of his indifference to the details of Christ's life. Having accepted Christ's revelation of the cosmic law, he was independent of history; for what has happened once is and must be part of the law of the universe, which verifies itself afresh in each generation. The same idea of the world as an incarnation of deity is equally the key to the understanding of the Logos theology of the Catholic Church. The Logos, in relation to the Father, is the totality of His mind and will; in relation to the world, He is the Power that made it and sustains it in being, the Intelligence that guides it, and the Will that directs its life to a purposed end. The generation of the Son by the Father is represented, not as a single act in the past, but as a continuous process: the Son is always being begotten in the hearts of believers. In other words, the Incarnation, as conceived in the Greek creeds, is a cosmic process, the goal of creation. This Logos theology is, according to Dr Inge, the true intellectual expression of Christianity. And the type of personal religion that corresponds to it is mysticism. The soul of mystic piety is not a personal and ethical relation to God—not faith in the evangelical sense of the word—but something that the mystic considers deeper, the feeling, namely, that God Himself has become incarnate in him, the very life of his life. Our approach to the likeness of God is not an approximation to a copy of God. It is the transmutation of our personality into a state in which God can think and will and act freely through us, unimpeded by any wilfulness on our part. This sense of oneness with the glorified Christ, *i.e.* with the eternal Word, is the deepest element in the religion of St Paul and St John. In the mediæval mystics it found its classical expression. What significance for mystical piety has the historical Jesus? The incarnation of the Word in Jesus was not a solitary event, but only a unique illustration of a universal truth. Still He is more than a mere type of humanity as the eternal Son of God. His life teaches us that God reveals Himself most fully in the fullest and richest developments of being, that goodness does not need the accessories of power and omniscience in order to be divine,

and that divine goodness involves divine self-sacrifice. Through his influence others are led to recognise their own sonship. Dr Inge does not, however, admit that Christianity is dependent on the Jesus of history. It is not in the Gospels only that we have to look for the record of the Incarnation ; and the Christ whom the Church has worshipped is a fuller and richer revelation of the Son of God than the Jesus whom the Evangelists have depicted.

The last three chapters are occupied with a discussion of the more important problems that emerge in connection with a monistic philosophy. The first problem is that of personality. Personality, whether in man or in God, does not fit easily into a monistic system, and Dr Inge does his best "to reduce the crude antithesis between self and not-self to its proper insignificance." To regard individuals as "impervious spiritual atoms" would make the mystical union—which is the deepest thing in Christianity—an absurdity. That union means something much closer than an ethical harmony of will between ourselves and God. The higher life is impersonal ; the particular will is merged in the universal. For Dr Inge personality is one and the same thing as the unity of consciousness. The unity which binds us to the Logos he describes as that of a system in which parts and whole are equally real. The chapter on "Thought and Will" is one of the least satisfactory in the book. Dr Inge protests against the current anti-intellectualism, with its tendency to treat personality as the supreme category in the interpretation of reality, to subordinate the intellect to the will in the search for ultimate reality, and to seek the approach to God exclusively through the moral consciousness ; but his criticism is too vague and general, and his own theory of knowledge is left in some obscurity. His assertion that religion is concerned, not with values simply, but with the relation of values to reality, is one that no Ritschlian would contest. The question is as to the ground on which our belief in the objectivity of religious values rests. Dr Inge seems to say that the final appeal must be to the theoretical reason, as the faculty which enables us to take a world-wide view ; and he warns us against making man and

his interests the measure of all things. But if religious faith rests on a purely objective construction of fact, how account for the character of its certainty, which is not logical but moral? Moreover, the God who emerges as the result of such a construction is not the living God of religion, but only the Absolute. Even in philosophy, judgments of value determine the character of any system of thought to a far greater extent than Dr Inge admits.

The main value of the book lies in its attempt to bring religion, and even Christianity, into connection with a pantheistic type of thought widely current in present-day philosophical and scientific circles. There can be no question but that mysticism is the true religious correlate of such a view of things. Whether the essential doctrines of Christianity are preserved intact one may take leave to doubt. Certainly mysticism was not the religion of Jesus; it was an importation from Greece, and it owes more to Plotinus than to Jesus. The religion of Jesus is a matter of personal and ethical relations. The attempt to transcend these categories has, as its inevitable result, a lapse into categories that are purely mechanical. Dr Inge has the command of a brilliant style, and what he says is always stimulating and suggestive, even when one is unable to agree with it. He may be congratulated in having secured Mr Campbell, of the City Temple, as a disciple.

Under the title of *Christian Faith and Hope*, Mr Corbet and Mr Shaw-Stewart have published a series of addresses on the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, the Resurrection of the Body, the Symbolism of Spring and Autumn, and Inspiration. As already indicated, they move in the same circle of thought as the preceding volume, but they are less scientific and more popular in character. There is the same depreciation of external as compared with internal revelation. "All mediations of truth external to us," says Mr Stewart, "can but awaken us to find that which we seek within ourselves." "The truth that is in us is called in Scripture language the Christ; Christian faith is confidence in the trustworthiness of the Christ, the truth that is in us." It is certainly true that no external revelation

could be real to us if there was not something within ourselves answering to it; but surely the significance of Jesus for our faith consists just in the fact that we do find something in Him that we do not find in ourselves. The realities that awaken and sustain our faith are found not within, but without. We cannot but feel that it is an irreparable loss to religion when the Jesus of history is so overshadowed by the Logos-Christ as He is here. At the same time, these addresses are full of fine thought and feeling, and show a mind and heart open for the higher meaning of things.

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LA FOI DEVANT LA RAISON, Réponse à deux Évadés, *par M. l'Abbé Gayraud, député du Finistère. Paris, 1906. Pp. 268. 3 fr.*

APOLOGÉTIQUE CHRÉTIENNE, *par A. Moulard & F. Vincent, Licenciés-ès-Lettres, Professeurs à l'Institution libre de Combrée. Second Edition. Paris, 1907. Pp. 462. 3 fr. 50 c.*

LES DEVOIRS DU PRÊTRE, Conférences de Retraites *par Augustin Largent, Ancien Professeur de Théologie à l'Institut catholique de Paris. Paris, 1907. Pp. 233. 3 fr.*

INTELLECTUALISME ET CATHOLICISME, *par Albert Sueur. Paris, 1906. Pp. 64. 60 c.*

THÉODORE JOUFFROY, *par Michel Salomon. Paris, 1907. Pp. 64. 60 c.*

SOMETHING is stirring beneath the surface of the intellectual and religious life of the Catholic countries of the Continent. We have heard the cry "Los von Rom!" The relations of Church and State in France are at this moment in flux, and the struggle is attracting the attention of Europe.

The appearance of Abbé Loisy a few years ago in the department of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis showed that the movement was not entirely one of opposition to the

Church, but that something was stirring also within the Church. It is with interest, then, that we turn to a consignment of books, samples of French Catholic literature, published by the Paris firm of Bloud et Cie.

In these we find echoes of the movements away from and against the Roman Church, but they principally testify to the activity and life within the Church. First in our list stands a volume in which Abbé Gayraud examines, *seriatim*, the statements—one published, the other unpublished—of two priests who have renounced their orders. Naturally in these circumstances the book is rather prolix. We mention it mainly for the contention which is indicated in the title, and which is developed in a preliminary chapter. Faith is superior to Reason. The doctrines of religion are not capable of exact demonstration, but appeal to Faith; Reason cannot prove them. All that can be done is to advance considerations in support of them, and to show that there is no absolutely incontestable argument against them. The malady of present-day thought on religious questions is an arid intellectualism which will admit of nothing unintelligible, but confounds the incomprehensible with the absurd. Stated thus abstractly, the position is a strong one, but the difficulty really arises when we come to define the sphere of unintelligible mysteries. We cannot follow the course of the argumentation. The first point raised is sufficient to show the two positions. Commenting on the statement of one of the ex-priests, that "Hell is revolting to sentiment," the author raises the question of method, "Should we commence by the examination of the content of the revelation, or by that of its external evidence?" In the former case, the whole matter would be reduced to the estimation of the philosophical value of things revealed. "But the Catholic revelation presents itself to us in the face of it as a supernatural divine institution which it is our duty to accept from the hand of God." The ex-priests, having come under the influence of modern evolutionist thought, have presumed to sit in judgment upon the doctrines of the Church; the writer of this reply maintains that these doctrines belong to a sufficiently accredited divine revelation, which

must be accepted, even if not proved, and he further tries to show that in each case there are sufficient considerations to render them probable to reason.

Dependence upon the external credentials of the faith and of the Church is very evident in the text-book of Christian Apologetics which we have named second. It is a book admirably suited to its purpose, which is the instruction of students, and of young men and women of the higher classes of schools. It is admirably clear and well arranged. The arguments for the Catholic faith are shortly and clearly stated. Theories and modes of thought inconsistent with it are shortly, but with competent knowledge, summarised, and arguments advanced against them. The general method of the book is implied in this. It is in no sense an attempt to reason up to belief in the doctrines of Christianity. The authors take their stand upon the acknowledged faith of the Church, and seek to defend it against attack.

The Roman Catholic apologete has the advantage of definiteness in his task. He has a well-articulated, objective system of dogma to work round. There does arise, however, the question, What is "of Faith"? How far is doctrine fixed and defined, and how far is it left open to discussion? We get hints of this difficulty even in this text-book of Apologetics. For Catholics cannot deny—and happily none of the writers of the books before us show any desire to deny—that increase of knowledge and the growth of science have shown to be erroneous many of the opinions which at one time prevailed in the Church. So that the question does arise, Have these changes touched any doctrine which has been authoritatively defined and laid down as part of the faith? In answer to this we have to make clear what constitutes authoritative definitions of faith. It is not the expressed belief even of the most highly esteemed Catholic writers. Beliefs which have been widely, almost universally, accepted in the Church, may not be part of the faith. Neither the administrative acts, nor the written deliverances of Popes, are necessarily binding for all time upon the Church. For instance, the opposition to the Church

has frequently quoted as evidence of her hostility to modern thought and political aspiration, the Syllabus, a Papal Encyclical issued by Pius IX. in 1864. This, it is explained, was not an *ex cathedrâ* deliverance. It was simply a document issued on the responsibility of the Pope, giving instructions for the clergy, and guidance for the Church for the time being. In the same way is met the objection arising from the apparent condemnation of science in the person of Galileo, which is still often used as a reproach against the Church. The treatment of Galileo, it is contended, was by no means so cruel as opponents of the Church represent it. But in any case the condemnation of the theory of the earth's movement round the sun was not *ex cathedrâ*. It was an act of expediency, rendered necessary at the time by a wise regard for the faith of the great mass of believers.

The doctrine of the Church is only defined and removed from the sphere of permissible doubt and divergence of opinion when the question having been thoroughly discussed, those invested with the authority of the infallible Church issue their deliverance *ex cathedrâ*, and with that intent.

It may be questioned if this meets the real point of the objections of free-thinkers to the Church, for their objection really is that whatever may be the case in theory, in practice the Roman Catholic clergy is, and inevitably from their training must be, suspicious of and hostile to progress and freedom of thought. But in theory at any rate it is evident that a very large degree of liberty is allowed within the pale of the Church. We can understand then the tolerance and even cordial welcome which the Roman Catholic Church can extend to the conclusions of science. A regard for the weak faith of many of her members may make her cautious, but proved conclusions of science she can admit without difficulty. The inspiration and authority of the Bible must remain, but in the interpretation of the biblical text much latitude is permissible. It might be questioned if the biblical text will stand the stretching which seems to be implied, but in any case by these means modern science has been largely assimilated. In this text-book the nebular

hypothesis and the doctrine of the evolution of species for example are accepted as quite consistent with Catholic faith and acceptance of the Bible. The attitude towards science is frank and cordial. Science as the interpretation of the natural order of the world is within its bounds, and does not interfere with the doctrine of religion. But when science oversteps its bounds and becomes materialistic philosophy or naturalism, and denies the existence of God or the possibility of miracle, protest is raised. Roman Catholic doctrine is frankly supernatural. The Creator-God is behind all phenomena, and may at any time interfere with the natural order of the world. There is no inherent impossibility in miracle. It is a question of evidence whether they have taken place, and these writers regard as sufficient the evidence not only for the Gospel miracles, but for many others in all ages of the Church's history. The miracles of Lourdes are cited not only in this volume, but in several others which are before us, as conclusive present-day proof of the reality of miracles. The whole scheme of doctrine then is supernatural. Man is not a part of the natural order of the animal kingdom, he is a special creation. Christianity is supernatural in its origin, and that origin is attested by the external evidence of miracles for which the historical evidence is amply sufficient. The Church is a divine institution and is endowed with supernatural powers. On these points there is no concession to the modern spirit.

We do not follow the authors of this treatise into their defence of the Church of Rome as alone the true Church, which to Protestants will appear the least satisfactory part of the book. But accepting the Roman Church as it is, there are evidences of an earnest and active spirit amongst the French Catholics. The volume entitled *Les Devoirs du Prêtre*, bears testimony to this. It consists of thirteen Retreat Lectures, delivered at various dates and places to young priests and candidates for priestly orders. Pre-supposing, as they do, simple unquestioning acceptance of the doctrine and machinery of the Church, they inculcate an excellent spirit of devotion, and a sense of high privilege

and responsibility. They contain much sound practical sense, and become at times eloquent and impressive.

Another striking proof of the activity and life of French Catholicism is afforded by a series of booklets of which we have quoted the titles of two. This series of "Studies for the Present Time" is published under the general title "Science and Religion." Its object is partly apologetic, partly educative. It is, of course, impossible to characterise in detail the score or so of specimens which we have received, and these are but the later numbers of a series of which over 400 have already been published. They cover a large variety of subjects. Some are of a general character, dealing in a popular way with phases and movements of thought; others deal in a more special way with philosophical questions. A subdivision of the series is devoted to "Philosophers and Thinkers," and includes not only Catholic writers, but classical authors and modern philosophers and thinkers, indifferent or hostile to Catholicism. Science and the relations of science to theology are treated from the standpoint which has been characterised above, frank acceptance of the results of science, but rigid definition of its limits. Questions of theology and of the history of the Church are naturally treated of, and several numbers of the series deal with the history of the Liturgy and of the Church festivals. In these the idea of development is accepted, and it is shown how, for instance, the Roman Breviary has grown gradually by the absorption of elements from various sources, sanctioned and sanctified by the Church. These booklets are written of course from within the Roman Church, but there is little of the nature of special pleading in them. For the most part their treatment of their respective subjects is comparatively free from bias. They make no pretensions to originality, or to influence in the world of scholarship. Their aim is to popularise, and for this purpose they are well suited, being written with adequate knowledge, for the most part in a clear and succinct style.

We cannot but think that the publication of such a series as a sign not only of loyal devotion to the Church and a

desire to defend her, but also of some effort after a more truly Catholic spirit, and in that surely lies the hope of the Roman Church.

Wamphray.

RICHARD BELL.

BEITRÄGE ZUR GESCHICHTE DER IDEE. *Part I.: Philon und Plotin, von Gustav Falter. Vol. I., No. 2 of Philosophische Arbeiten herausgegeben von H. Cohen und P. Natorp. Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1906. Pp. 66. M. 1.20.*

THE later history of Platonism is a subject undeservedly neglected even by students of Plato. Hence one rather tends to think of the philosophical world after Plato's death as handed over to the influence of Aristotle on the one hand and of the Stoics and Epicureans on the other. Neo-Platonism, in spite of possessing in Plotinus a philosophical genius of the first rank, is far too little studied, even by professed philosophers. The failure to realise that Platonism was a living force even before its revival by the Neo-Platonists has led, *e.g.*, Zeller, into the mistake of supposing that Philo was mainly influenced by Stoicism. Dr Falter has little difficulty in showing that, on the contrary, the main influence was Platonic, though he goes perhaps rather too far in the other extreme when he implies that Stoic influence on Philo was almost solely verbal. Surely only strong Stoic influence could account for the fact that Philo's ideal man, as Dr Falter himself points out, is both "a socialist and a cosmopolitan" (p. 50). What would Plato have said to the idea of a single world-state with a democratic constitution? Why, it cuts at the very roots of his ideal of a small, closely-knit, "self-sufficient" city-state guided by philosopher kings. The author is more successful in tracing Philo's treatment of sense-perception, his insistence on the function of pure reason, and the idea of the systematic unity of knowledge to Platonic influence, though he has to admit that all these thoughts receive in Philo's hands a theological turn. For

Philo was a Jew looking for a philosophical defence of the Jehovah of his religion.

When we come to Plotinus, Platonic influence is very strongly marked. The crux lies again in the subordination of the world of sense-perception, the world of becoming and change, to the κόσμος νοητός where reason by its own activity apprehends the ἀληθινή οὐσία, because νοῦς and its objects are *one* (αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ἃ νοῦς, Enn. v. 9. 5). And on the ethical side the treatment of the relation of pleasure to the good runs on Platonic lines.

The main defect of this otherwise carefully-written little monograph is the author's persistent tendency to interpret the thought of Philo and Plato from the point of view of Kant's critical idealism—in and out of season. The most flagrant instance is, perhaps, to be found in his discussion of Philo's conception of God. God, says Philo, leads the world from chaos to order according to a preconceived plan (νοητὴ ἰδέα). Our author comments: This conception of a νοητὴ ἰδέα reveals God as a regulative idea in Kant's sense of the word (p. 54). And in support he quotes a passage from the *Critique of Pure Reason*, where Kant says that we must conceive the totality of possible experience *as if* it were grounded in a reason which is *as if* self-existent and creative; and *as if* all objects followed the plan (Urbild) of that reason. But Dr Falter himself is immediately forced to confess that after all Philo's νοητὴ ἰδέα and Kant's problematical "Urbild" have little in common: "the conception (in Philo) has a dogmatic turn. We miss the characteristic 'as if' (p. 55)." We do indeed! And after repeating once more in untranslatable German: "Philon subintelligiert hier den Begriff Gottes als heuristisches Prinzip" (*ibid.*), he finally sums up against his own case by admitting that Philo's God is not a regulative idea of reason, but "has fossilised, in accordance with the dogmatic nature of religion, into an absolute thing" (p. 56).

The author's translations of his quotations are not always as accurate as is necessary in dealing with philosophical terminology. Thus on p. 46 he translates αἰσθητικὴ οὐσία rightly as "sinnlich wahrnehmbares Sein" (being

perceptible by the senses—not being *perceived* by the senses), but the corresponding *νοητὴ οὐσία* is translated “gedachtes Sein” instead of “denkbares Sein.” The latter implies merely that the object is such that it can be apprehended by thought; the former, that the very existence of the object consists only in being thought. But these are two very different things.

St Andrews.

R. F. A. HOERNLÉ.

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Review

of

Theology and Philosophy

SURVEY OF RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE—DOGMATICS.

- (1) *The Use of the Scriptures in Theology*, by William Newton Clarke, D.D., Professor of Christian Theology in Colgate University (U.S.). Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1905. Pp. x., 170. 4s.
- (2) *The Gospel in the Gospels*, by William Porcher Du Bose, M.A., S.T.D., Professor of Exegesis in the University of the South (U.S.). London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1906. Pp. xiv., 289. 5s. nett.
- (3) *Christianity in the Modern World*, by the Rev. D. S. Cairns, M.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1906. Pp. xv., 314. 6s.
- (4) *Der Christliche Glaube (Dogmatik)*, dargestellt von D. Th. Haering, Professor in Tuebingen. Herausgegeben vom Calwer Verlagsverein, 1906. Pp. 616. 9 M.
- (5) *System der Christlichen Lehre*, von Hans Hinrich Wendt, Professor in Jena. Erster Teil. Goettingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1906. Pp. viii., 250. 6 M.
- (6) *Grundriss der Evangelischen Dogmatik*, von D. Otto Kirm, Professor in Leipzig. Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf., 1905. Pp. vii., 126 M. 2.20.

- (7) **Christian Theology in Outline**, by *William Adams Brown, Ph.D., D.D., Roosevelt Professor of Systematic Theology in the Union Theological Seminary, New York. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906. Pp. xiv., 468. 10s.*
- (8) **Der dogmatische Ertrag der Ritschlschen Theologie nach Julius Kaftan**, von *Professor D. Carl Stange, Greifswald. Leipzig: A. Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1906. Pp. 151. M. 2.50.*
- (9) **Moderne Theologie des alten Glaubens**, von *Th. Kaftan. 1905. Pp. 117. M. 1.80.*
- (10) **Studien zur systematischen Theologie**, von *Lic. R. H. Gruetzmacher, a.o. Professor in Rostock. Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsb., 1905. M. 3.40.*
- (11) **The Authority of Christ**, by *D. W. Forrest, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906. Pp. xvii., 437. 7s. 6d.*
- (12) **The Christian Doctrine of Salvation**, by *G. B. Stevens, Ph.D., D.D., LL.D. Yale University. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1905. Pp. xi., 546. 12s. nett.*
- (13) **Die Lehre von der Wiedergeburt**, von *Lic. theol. P. Gennrich, Konsistorialrat in Berlin. Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsb., 1907. Pp. vii., 363. 6 M.*
- (14) **The Growth of Christian Faith**, by *George Ferries, M.A., D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1905. Pp. xvi., 368. 7s. 6d. nett.*
- (15) **Dogmatische Zeitfragen**, von *Martin Kähler, D. u. Professor der Theologie. Zweite sehr vermehrte Auflage. Erster Band: Zur Bibelfrage. Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsb., 1907. Pp. x., 441. M. 8.50.*
- (16) **Die Kultur der Gegenwart, ihre Entwicklung und ihre Ziele**, herausgegeben von *Paul Hinneberg. Teil I., Abtheilung IV. Berlin und Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1906. Pp. 752. 8 M.*

IN cutting off a length or two of the web which scientific dogmatics has woven during the last few years, one must, of course, guard oneself against the supposition that the movement thus signalled has any inward unity, or, at all

events, any unity capable of being manifested in so brief a period of time. The most that one can look for is a certain general tendency, whether in new directions, or still further in directions previously indicated. And since in either case the significance of the movement we are observing now is only intelligible in relation to the past, I could have wished that it were possible for me to cast back to the more influential dogmatic works of the foregoing decade. The effect of their argument remains, and contributes to the theological point of view to-day. Obviously, books like Fairbairn's *Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, Moberly's *Atonement and Personality*, Simpson's *The Fact of Christ*, Denney's *Death of Christ*, Tennant's *Origin of Sin*, Tymm's *Christian Idea of Atonement*, and Scott Lidgett's *Fatherhood of God*, to mention English books only, still count for much with the serious student, and are not likely for some time to lose the value of really important modern discussions. But at present I can do no more than name them as considerable factors in the situation.

The brief work of Prof. Newton Clarke (1), which heads our list, is an admirably clear and persuasive plea for a use of the Bible in theology which shall frankly recognise the facts concerning it, and no longer employ its words for ends out of all relation to its original design. After announcing the problem, and illustrating the harm wrought to theology by the wrong using of the Scriptures, Dr Clarke lays down a principle which, he urges, informs us how we ought to apply the biblical writings to questions of doctrine. It is that the indispensable and formative element in Christian theology is the Gospel, or, in his own words, "the Christian element in the Scriptures"; and Christian doctrine is neither required nor permitted to receive any other biblical material as contributing to its substance. The whole duty of the theologian is to be in harmony with Christ. At the same time, the written statements of the apostles concerning God and Christ are a vital part of revelation itself, since they show us the Gospel doing its work, and thereby illustrating its nature. Negative results of using this principle are the liberation of theology from the supposed duty of taking in

the whole Bible ; in particular, from the felt need to include a certain historical view of the origin of the world, less than Christian ideas respecting God's will to save mankind, and the drapery of Old and New Testament eschatologies. But the positive results are far greater. For the Bible is now permitted to make its own impression on men, and to claim them with the undeniable authority of truth, of Christ, and of God. The little book has all the charm of its author's mind, and will bring light and restored confidence where it makes its way.

Prof. Du Bose's earlier work had scarcely prepared us for the independent power and freshness of his new volume, *The Gospel in the Gospels* (2). It is the first of a series, prompted by the conviction "that the variant conceptions of the Gospel in the New Testament, so far from being different Gospels, are consistent and mutually complete aspects of the one and only gospel." Our aim should be to elicit the truth latent in each. How much of gospel and salvation can we find between the two points of the birth and death of Jesus, leaving everything else, for the time being, aside? Whatever it amounts to, it will be the gospel of the earthly life, or the common humanity, of our Lord. Next comes the gospel of the Resurrection, as expressing the consciousness, native to Christianity from the first, that in Jesus there were transcendent factors, capable of raising our nature and life to planes otherwise beyond them. And finally, there is the gospel of the Incarnation, which declares that the work wrought in humanity by Jesus Christ was no mere human work, but a work of God Himself. These are the three parts of Du Bose's treatise. It is marked by a rare perception of the modern Christological problem, while at the same time it strives to carry into the new age, though with a different accent, the hard-won fruits of patristic controversy. Chapters on the Sinlessness of Jesus, the Mystery of the Birth, and the Incarnation, show us the writer thinking dogmatically, and reaching conclusions that are sometimes beautiful and deep and vague as the sky. Dr Sanday has pointed out the affinities between this book and Moberly's work named

above. Both certainly are at one in the familiar, yet baffling affirmation that the humanity of Jesus Christ was not that of an individual man, but somehow universal and all-inclusive. Does this aid us to be more frank and direct in our thoughts of the historic Jesus? Does it really help intelligence to be told that Christ is "the universal truth and reality of ourselves, and in ourselves of all creation, and in creation and ourselves of God"? Not that there is not a sense in which we can take these words helpfully, but (when in this way "universal" is opposed to "individual") they appear to me symptomatic of a tendency in this inspiring and (in part) perplexing book to weave ideas round the Person of Christ which obscure the figure presented in the Gospels, and point to ways of formulating the Divinity of our Lord that lie far enough away from the apostolic mind, as having in them some rather dubious metaphysic, uncontrolled by religious experience.

Christianity in the Modern World (3), by Mr D. S. Cairns, might in part be classed under Apologetics or Christian Ethics; yet it is animated by fruitful ideas which are of direct importance also for dogmatic. It means much, for example, if Mr Cairns is right in the conviction that it will in the long run be found impossible to maintain supreme reverence for the character of Jesus, and to reject the truth of His ideas (p. 19). So, again, the writer pleads that the Kingdom of God, as the commonwealth of redeemed humanity, must be made the central and all-determining conception in the dogmatic system; and I am free to confess that nowhere have I seen this view expounded more persuasively. The student of Christology especially will reap a rich harvest from this book. Mention should be made of the strong, fresh, penetrating criticism of Humanitarian theories of Christ, which occupies many pages in the third essay, and of the argument, by which it is accompanied, that the principle of Uniformity must not be utilised to discredit the transcendent and unique factors in the Person of our Lord. There is something more, Mr Cairns finds, in human history and in nature than merely an evolution of the immanent. It may be difficult to understand precisely

how the apostles became aware of the presence of God in Christ, but analogies from our own ethical and religious experience offer themselves as hints and indications. These suggestive points may be referred to, but the work as a whole is fascinating, and in few theological volumes is so much done by the imagination to breathe spacious airs across the field of argument.

Professor Haering of Tuebingen, whose *Dogmatik*¹ (4) is much the most important book in our list, has been known for several years as one of the most rewarding of modern writers on Systematic. He is among the few critics of Ritschl whom the master thought it worth while to notice respectfully. Up to last summer, a brief treatise on Ethics, containing perhaps the most valuable pages in German upon the social problem, formed his main contribution to theology; but at length he has published a full dogmatic system, in which we have not merely measured theological conclusions, but deep draughts from the purest spring of reflective piety. Not every year does such a work gladden the heart. As *wissenschaftlich* in its analysis as Frank, it has all the warmth and vitality of Herrmann. Its only fault indeed is a certain tendency to language of an opaque and cloudy character, whereby the perplexed reader is occasionally brought fairly to a standstill; although one ought to add that re-perusal of the offending paragraph never fails to bring light, and restore belief in one's own intelligence. Haering stands on the extreme right of the Ritschlian party, and looks out upon the movements of human thought with an exceptionally wide, calm, believing gaze.

The first third of the book, *more Germanico*, treats of Apologetic; it contains discussions, of course, one after the other, of the stock problems that habitually find a place in the defensive statement of Christianity; but the argument is at a quite unusual plane of knowledge and relevancy. A characteristic section deals with the relation of Christian faith to the modern mind, and there is an invaluable sketch of the history of Apologetic, particularly since Schleiermacher

¹ A translation of this book, to be published by Messrs Hodder & Stoughton, is being prepared by the Rev. John Dickie, M.A., of Tarland.

and Kant. The significance of knowledge within the sphere of religion is made the subject of an exhaustive debate. The impossibility of such a proof of Christianity as shall coerce the mind; the ethical freedom of faith; the degree of credibility we can predicate of the Gospel history; the living interaction between the Evangel as presented in records of the past, and the felt needs of the religious soul—these and other like questions are handled with subtlety, with quick and sympathetic feeling, and with a wholesome love of the concrete not always characteristic of German divinity. Everywhere it is manifest that the writer is trying to sit loose to the technical phraseology which the ages have heaped up; and the effort he makes to look at facts freshly, aside from the tyranny of words, merits and achieves notable success.

The larger part of the work is naturally an exposition of the Christian faith. As the late Prof. Reischle (his theological ally for many years) and others do, Haering divides the system in Trinitarian fashion, treating successively of faith in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. This method has its advantages; though it must always appear odd that the doctrine of sin comes in as a sub-section of the doctrine of God, and Eschatology as part of faith in the Spirit, rather than say under the doctrine of God the Father. In theology proper, I should be inclined to single out the discussion of Providence as particularly luminous, and nothing could be more helpful than the subsumption of miracle under the general question of living, personal fellowship between God and man. At the basis of faith in miracle, such as is inseparable from a live Christian faith, is the certainty that the reality which can be expressed in terms of natural law is not the whole of reality, that the system of the world is compatible with the real intercourse of God with us, and that things take place which, apart from such intercourse, would not happen at all. Still more valuable, however, is the second main division, on the Person and Work of Jesus Christ. Rarely have I studied a more impressive presentation of the case for the believing estimate of Jesus, or (with certain peripheral reservations)

a more Christian explication of that estimate in its inmost significance. Haering's method is to make a clear distinction, on the one hand, between what faith directly affirms about Christ, as it knows and grasps Him in personal experience of His salvation, and, on the other, the presuppositions and corollaries which we may see to be implied in this. The advantages of proceeding in this way are obvious. We are able to differentiate the religion of the matter from the theology; we can do justice to the unanimity of all believers in what really is their most instinctive and inalienable view of Christ; we apply seriously the essential principle that we can know who Christ is only when we know what He does for us. Hence in this section the Person and Work of Christ are interpreted in terms of each other. A doctrine of Atonement is presented which has many points of affinity—unconscious I should imagine—with the view of McLeod Campbell. The confession of Christ's Godhead, as an element in the distinctive faith of the Church from the beginning, is strongly vindicated, with the added note that we express it most fitly under the categories of experience. By a concession rather unusual in present-day German theology, room is found even for the idea of the pre-existence of Christ, and of His advent as a great act of sacrificial self-abnegation. A historical survey of the varied Christological problems and the solutions men have offered of them; an exposition of what faith in the exalted Lord means; a lucid, timely discussion of the self-consciousness of Jesus as Messiah—these are other features which attest Haering's apt and quick feeling alike for New Testament ideas and the convictions of the believing mind. I can do no more now than refer to the excellence of what follows; the doctrines of the Holy Spirit and the Sacraments especially are rich in sincere, reverent, personal thinking, and the Eschatology is much fuller than we are accustomed to look for in theology of a Ritschlian cast. But Haering is far more than a member of this school or that. His pages have the same glow and thrill that I always feel in Herrmann's *Verkehr*, and he advances from point to point with an orderly consecutiveness and progress

that Herrmann has not always. It may be predicted with confidence that this is a book which those will appreciate and respect who think deepest and know most.

Prof. Wendt of Jena, author of the well-known *Teaching of Jesus*, has begun the publication of a *System of Christian Doctrine* (5), the first part, extending to the close of the doctrine of sin, being issued separately. As his numerous readers know, Wendt writes with much force and directness; and though I should not myself class him as among the greatest of the Germans, yet it is undeniable that he puts his mind to a subject in a vigorous and persistent way, and has a good chance of solving problems that can be solved by common-sense. His intention in composing this work, he tells us, is to promote the elaboration of a dogmatic which shall be a rounded, transparent, and scientific whole. One of Wendt's principles is that the separation of dogmatics from Christian ethics has been a pure mistake, though for temporary reasons of exposition men may have connived at it in the past. He has therefore written this new system on the plan of binding the two into a living unity. I cannot say that the result appears to be in any marked degree formally distinguishable from systems constructed on the more usual plan. It is possible, however, that what is as yet concealed may become more evident in the Second Part. Under the heading of First Principles one notices with interest the reiteration of a principle which Wendt set forth in a spirited way as long ago as 1893, viz., the principle that the Gospel as proclaimed explicitly by Jesus is the norm of genuine Christianity. There always seems to be something legal and mechanical in telling the Christian mind that it ought to restrict itself to the Synoptics for Christian truth in its purity, and may only accept with caution whatever light the Apostles try to cast on the revelation given in Jesus. Further, it produces the one-sided impression that Jesus is primarily the first and greatest believer, instead of being mainly, what the Christian society has always viewed Him as being, the object of the Church's faith, and the organising centre of its doctrine. Wendt's book, however, has many individual merits. In particular,

it gives as impressive a statement of the argument from Christian experience as could be desired. The relation of God to the world, the reality and true function of conscience, the religious significance of miracle, the place and meaning of evil in the world; these and other subjects are handled with admirable firmness and perception. Exegetical digressions occur now and then, and are always welcome for their high quality. Nothing could be more timely than the section (p. 169 ff.) where Wendt treats of human personality, and lays down the following basal convictions as essential to the Christian view of man: (1) that the individual soul is a reality; (2) that the soul is independent of the terrestrial body; (3) that, in spite of its immersion in a world of sense, the soul is capable of a divine life. It is especially when he is discussing topics such as the Trinity or Election that the writer appears to me to do the subject and himself less than justice.

The third German Dogmatic on our list (6), by Prof. Otto Kirn of Leipzig, is considerably shorter than the others, but its fine quality more than atones for the brevity indisociable from a class manual. Dr Kirn is Ritschlian in his general attitude, yet with a thoroughly independent mind. His conception of the source of revelation, for instance, is not Ritschl's. "We have no ground at all," he protests, "for saying that Christ alone reveals God, and that apart from Him the world contains no data whatever for religious knowledge" (p. 16). In the preface we find the shrewd observation that theologians ought not to make it their main object to harmonise Christian faith and "the modern conception of the universe," for the simple reason that this modern conception, so far, at all events, is an unfinished and wavering thing, which has not yet taken final shape. The idea of the Kingdom of God figures here as the *principium divisionis* of the dogmatic system, its presuppositions, its realisation by Christ, and its final consummation being the three chief sections of the whole. Under each topic are stated, first, the biblical data; next, the traditional doctrine of the Church; and lastly, Kirn's own rendering. All inconsequent mingling of the three is avoided, and the sense

of historical movement is preserved. This is a book, in short, to be unreservedly commended. It is fair, lucid, simple, scholarly, and deeply impregnated with the spirit of personal religion. We are not surprised to find that in little more than a year a second edition became necessary.

Prof. Adams Brown's *Christian Theology in Outline* (7) has been noticed by the present writer in another issue of this *Review*, and need not now be dwelt on. It is a permanently useful contribution to the modern expression of the Christian faith.

In the next volume—Prof. Stange of Greifswald's criticism of Ritschlian theology, especially as formulated by Kaftan (8)—we have a specimen of that odious doctrinal polemic which is happily now very rare, and can never be revived without certain boomerang-like consequences to its author. Not that Stange has not mixed plenty of ability with his invective. His book is in various respects a model of acute, if relentless, scrutiny. When he is exposing the empiristic confusion of Kaftan's philosophical pre-suppositions, or the semi-utilitarianism of his view of Christianity, or his frequent misunderstandings of Schleiermacher, one is more than half-inclined to go along with him. His complaint that Kaftan is insufficiently aware of the metaphysical character of the ideas with which he operates, and tends to substitute a psychological report on the origin of an idea for a demonstration of its validity, only says right out what one had often felt in a less articulate and indignant fashion. But the dissection is too cruel and cold to do good. Before long, as one might expect, exaggeration lifts its voice, and an unpleasant tone of innuendo creeps into the writing. To say, for example, that for Kaftan the redemptive significance of Jesus Christ vanishes, is pure caricature. Hardly better is the obviously unsympathetic account of Kaftan's view of our relation to the risen Saviour (p. 119). The famous Berlin professor is in no sense beyond the reach of fair critical examination, but I cannot help feeling that Prof. Stange, whose distinguished gifts are well known, has largely wasted his time in writing this book, and that some day he will regret its issue.

The two works by Theodor Kaftan and R. Gruetzmacher (9) and (10), may be taken together. They indicate a movement in the conservative theological circles of the Lutheran Church towards a statement of the faith which shall attract and hold the modern scientific mind. Of this party, Seeberg of Berlin is in some sort the leader. Kaftan, a brother of the better-known Julius Kaftan, pleads for "a modern rendering of the old faith"; Gruetzmacher, more polemically, for "a modern positive theology," a phrase which seems to contain the unfair implication that the theology of the day is purely negative. Both writers are opposed to the school represented by men like Wernle and Bousset. What Kaftan urges against them is that Jesus is made only the subject, instead of the object, of faith; whereas Gruetzmacher will have it that they are not nearly modern enough, breathing as they do the spirit of Kant and Goethe, who lived a century ago, instead of the very newest influences, like Tolstoi, Ibsen, and Nietzsche. According to Kaftan, the old faith in its new dress holds, and will always hold, to three supreme Christological certainties—the Divine Sonship of Jesus, His Mediatorship, and His Resurrection; according to Gruetzmacher, the immediate problem of a positive theology is to work the two great ideas of Evolution and Revelation into a living unity. They part, however, on one important point. Kaftan had contended that modern thought rightly builds upon the Kantian distinction between the theoretical and the practical reason, and the primacy of the latter. He had argued strongly that this is in line with the Reformers' idea of faith, as well as with the gospel of the New Testament. But his former comrade will have none of this, and fears that Kaftan is in imminent peril of sinking into Ritschlianism, or at least into a fatal dependence on philosophy. So far, one's sympathies are on the whole with Kaftan, but it may be that the friendly controversy is not yet closed.

The next four or five books under review are important discussions of single themes. Among them the place of honour belongs, one feels, to Dr Forrest's *Authority of Christ* (11), which forms a worthy sequel to his richly

suggestive work, *The Christ of History and of Experience*. Here we are concerned mainly with the first two chapters and the last of the new work. In the first chapter Dr Forrest advocates the position that our grounds for acknowledging Christ as the Incarnate Son are chiefly two, His sinlessness and His Mediatorship or Lordship. As to the former of these, it is argued with great force that even as historians, and irrespectively of any judgment of faith, we are obliged to accept the Apostolic belief in the sinless perfection of His life, because "the facts concerning Him must have been such as to sanction and necessitate the interpretation." This is a needed corrective to some rash things that are frequently being said. In chapter ii., entitled "The Illegitimate Extension of Christ's Authority," after some incisive criticism of the Chalcedonian definition, and an emphatic declaration that the Gospels exhibit Christ to us as placed in a definite historic succession, in a *milieu* upon which He was truly dependent for His self-realisation, the writer unfolds a Christology which may be said to belong, in general, to the Kenotic type. Perhaps as powerful a piece of theological reasoning as any in the book comes at the close of this chapter, where Dr Forrest is replying to those "who seek to disparage the idea of the Son's self-limitation by asking what became of His cosmical functions during the incarnate period," or by other irrelevant inquiries. If, as theologians, we are bound to furnish a speculative solution to all questions that spring from the conception of a historical incarnation, this difficulty, no doubt, would be fatal; but no such obligation is laid upon us. We are free to decline an excursion into a region where we are without facts. The limitations inherent in an incarnate life being thus established, the argument proceeds to treat of Christ's authority as exercised in various fields of human life, and closes with a chapter designed to prove "how vital is the illumination of the Spirit, operating through the best activities of men's minds and hearts, for the discovery of what Christ's authoritative message really is." The book is one of intellectual distinction, and its masculine and luminous thought not merely invests the

most technical subjects with a new attraction, but aids genuinely in the elucidation of the central problem.

The Christian Doctrine of Salvation (12) is the last piece of theological work done by the lamented Prof. G. B. Stevens, of Yale, and fitly crowns the series of important contributions to sacred learning made by that strenuous and truth-loving scholar. The subject, being regarded as one for historical and inductive investigation, is discussed in the frankest spirit. According to a convenient plan, three successive parts of the volume treat of the Atonement, biblically, historically, and constructively. Now and then the tone is unduly polemical, and one can see that the author has modified views previously expressed, and is much concerned to justify the change; but this in no way lessens the interest of the whole. Purely as a matter of exegesis, however, it seems an utterly hopeless task to prove that the writers of the New Testament did not regard the death of Christ as the ground on which sin is forgiven; and Prof. Stevens more than half concedes this, at least as regards St Paul. But his prepossessions hardly admit of his being quite fair to Anselm, or of his perceiving that persons who emphasised what he calls "God's appetite for punishment" had mainly at heart the imperial supremacy of the ethical order of things, that divine righteousness which, in the poet's fine phrase, "preserves the stars from wrong." His own view is very much Ritschl's. Christ's death is not the fountain of mercy, but its outcome and expression. The divine righteousness is not retributive justice (does not even include it, apparently); it is the justice of God to His own nature. Men are saved, not by any transaction outside of themselves, but by being led into fellowship with God, and delivered from sin and recovered to goodness; and to do this, rather than provide an antecedent condition of it, is Christ's work. This sounds at first like not merely abandoning the New Testament doctrine, but almost taking away its Christian character; but when we go on to read that "the work of Christ is a transcript of the eternal passion of the heart of God on account of sin," and that "He was substituted for men in the sense in which perfect love takes the place and bears

the burdens of its objects," we are led to ask whether the distance between the theory of this book and that, say, of Dr Dale is so immense after all. However that may be, Dr Stevens' work will long remain as a classical and profoundly earnest statement of the view sketched above.

Herr Gennrich's book (13) is a thoroughly German production, scholarly, interesting, and leaving nothing unsaid that might be said regarding the history and meaning of the Christian doctrine of Regeneration, which, for the writer, ranks as the central doctrine of the gospel. For it expresses the absolute nature of the Christian religion: its unique power, that is to say, of giving us real manhood, and lifting us out of the drifting, aimless current of mere phenomena. In doctrinal history, however, regeneration has too often been described as a quasi-physical change in the soul's substance, unmediated by ethical experiences; and Gennrich is able to conclude, from his survey of these erroneous opinions, that we are certain to go wrong unless we keep regeneration and faith in the closest unity, and in a very real sense identify them. The two, he says, are interchangeable ideas: they denote, if they do not exactly connote, the same thing. To be born again—which is just to be a Christian—is to have experienced the power of the risen Saviour in His Word, and received that Word in faith. Beginning with a full and careful investigation of the New Testament data, the book ends with a review of the Indian theory of transmigration, the most imposing modern rival of Christian thought; and between these two limiting points, so far apart, nothing that is really relevant has been omitted. It is with a wonderfully firm step that the writer leads us through the mazes of this labyrinth, and the work he has done will probably keep a standard place for years.

Dr Ferries' work, *The Growth of Christian Faith* (14), has much of the solid power of a German treatise, and deals with a series of problems which have recently been taxing the best minds of the Ritschlian school, in their endeavour to lead those who have been trained in modern science, and have parted with religion, to a full, personal acceptance of

the Church's creed. All through Dr Ferries' tone is that of an independent and cultivated thinker, deeply versed in philosophical theology, and above all in religious psychology on its intellectual side, and bent on lending aid to the struggling spirit of our new time. How men who have a real respect for Jesus Christ, and some knowledge of His career and teaching, are to be helped to the believing apprehension of His divine nature and His death for sin, and through what stages and stadia this developing faith will move; what it means for a modern Christian to have fellowship with the exalted Lord; the eternally convincing features in the *Charakterbild* of Jesus; the place of miracle in an ethical revelation; and the theological interpretation of the plain fact of experience that men do have the forgiveness of sins through Christ—questions like these are handled at some length, and always fruitfully and with impressive decision. Dr Ferries takes long views in the region of personal faith; he will hurry no man; better honesty and solidity of conviction than facile credulity. The Atonement is the greatest fact in the Universe; how should we hope to master it intellectually except by slow, patient reflection? Like Herrmann, the writer makes frequent use of the principle that our faith in Christ is mediated, normally if not universally, through our trust in Christlike men, the best members of the Church being "the means of preserving hope, enthusiasm, faith, in those who are behind them in the life-struggle." Personally, I should say that Dr Ferries' distaste for crisis and convulsion in religion is extreme. As Starbuck and James have taught us, phenomena of that kind are tolerably normal to the psychologist, nor can one see why they should excite much alarm or mistrust in the breast of the theologian; for emotion is a true part of human nature, and sentiment and sentimentality are quite different things. At the same time, most of the principles formulated in this book as guiding maxims for the Church's practice, will approve themselves as being those which wise men instinctively follow in preaching and in pastoral work. But few men could have expressed and correlated them with Dr Ferries' exactness and sense of proportion. There

is a specially valuable note at p. 242 on the place of Christ's death in the full revelation of God.

The venerable Prof. Kaehler, of Halle, now in the evening of life, has resolved to correct and revise his shorter theological publications, and the first of three volumes (15) is before us. It deals with questions relating to the Bible, and includes a hitherto unprinted History of the Bible in its influence on the Church. Five brief treatises, all issued within the last twelve years, make up the bulk of the volume. Their immediate bearing on Dogmatic, Kaehler would say, is Christological. Is the picture of Christ in the New Testament a trustworthy one? If it is, what are its main lines, the lines which exhibit Him as Saviour, and the object of redeeming faith? Especially in the first, third, and fifth of these essays do we find material for an answer to such questions; so, for example, in some deeply thoughtful pages on Jesus' infallibility and His use of the Old Testament (143-64). In everything that Kaehler writes, as in his spoken lectures, there is a recognisable strain of what may be called theological genius; and it is a subject for real regret that his literary style is so intricate, and so full of compressed idiom, as to make the task of rendering him into English all but hopeless.

In the monumental, composite work, *Die Kultur der Gegenwart* (16), and in the volume of that series devoted to the Christian religion, Prof. Herrmann, of Marburg, has written a brief sketch of Protestant Dogmatics. Out of 47 pages, 32 are given to the history of the subject; and here, as we might anticipate, the characteristics of the systems from Melancthon to Ritschl are described and estimated in a most incisive and penetrating way, as well as with a sympathy and justice that cannot have come quite easily to one who holds his own views with the intense conviction of Professor Herrmann. In the remaining pages, which are marked by a noble passion, he expounds what is, in his judgment, the most urgent task of modern Protestant Church theology, and the means by which it may be accomplished. It is to inquire into the living origins and genesis of faith, as evoked by contact with the historic Jesus.

Nothing else than such contact, he repeats with emphasis, will save religion from the two evils now preying on its vitals—worldly absorption in things that perish with the using, and fatuous trust in the logicalities of Creeds and Confessions. Everything must be swept aside that hinders our getting into touch with the one infinite fact of Jesus' inward personal life, and feeling the power of God that is in it. For sincerity in dealing with facts, above all with *this* fact, is the last, deepest spring of true religion. The essay closes with a searching, almost a stern, review of the "positive" and "liberal" schools which so largely divide German theology to-day. Its truth and power will move many, though they may feel at times that more allowance ought to have been made for quite defensible varieties of opinion.

Edinburgh.

H. R. MACKINTOSH.

PROPHETENIDEAL, JUDENTUM UND CHRISTENTUM, von *Eduard König, Professor an der Universität, Bonn.* 8vo. Pp. 1-92. *Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.* M. 1.40.

IT is characteristic of Protestantism to find in the prophets the highest type of Old Testament religion. The religion of the Spirit does not find itself at home in the Pentateuch. Professor König draws a distinction between the confused religious ideas of the multitude and the spiritual aspirations of the select souls in the nation. Assuming that Old Testament religion is at its best in the prophets, he seeks to determine where the true answer to prophetic anticipations should be found. Has the logic of events confirmed or rejected the prophetic ideal? Is official Judaism or is Christianity the legitimate heir to the goodly fellowship of the prophets?

The prophets who have left their words in writing can be studied face to face. They communed with a living God, who spoke His will to them. They reproached their fellow-countrymen with bad habits, and declared that an evil future would follow persistence in idolatry and cruelty. Obedience to the divine instruction (Torah) would secure

health to Israel and consequent enlightenment to the whole Gentile world. The duty of Israel was to establish a spiritual realm of true religion which would transcend earthly political divisions. The future Ruler of this realm was to have a supernatural equipment. Man's right attitude was to be one of obedience to a law written on the heart, and faith and hope ought to dominate his temperament.

Such being the prophetic ideal, how did it fare after the prophets were dead and gone? Ezra and Nehemiah embodied something of the prophetic spirit in the canonical law. By means of some 613 regulations, negative and positive, they made provision for all conceivable conditions of life, and in so doing they inadvertently excluded the freedom of outlook which was prominent among the prophets. Later literature exalted the Law at the expense of the prophets. Even the Messiah could make no alteration on the Law. There is no early or late, nothing temporary or evanescent, in the Law. The wisdom-literature transferred the power to obey the Law from the will to the intellect. Professor König makes a detailed examination of Rabbinical Judaism, of the various sects in Palestine during the Apostolic age, and he finds in Christianity the necessary protest against a mechanical formalism, and the true evolution of the prophetic ideal.

This essay is free from all petty prejudice ; it marshals the evidence on which its verdicts are based in a clear and convincing fashion. It is a welcome pronouncement of mature scholarship and reflection on a problem which must have an interest for Christendom, so long as Judaism survives. For practical purposes, however, a less metaphysical synthesis of law and prophecy seems indispensable. A missionary to an African tribe would do no good by proclaiming this lofty freedom to follow an inarticulate spirit. The prophet Ezekiel prized pure living as highly as any reformer ; but he did not disdain to frame a symbolism fitted to evoke and sustain the religious life. What kind of religion is it that has no external form at all ?

St Andrews.

D. M. KAY.

SERMONS IN ACCENTS. *Studies in the Hebrew Text, by Rev. John Adams, B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906. Pp. i-vi., 1-200. 4s. 6d. nett.*

LIKE a modern Arabic newspaper, the Old Testament was written without symbols to represent short vowels. So long as Hebrew was a living language, the omission of vowel signs caused no great inconvenience, but by the time the Old Testament Canon was completed only a few rabbis remembered the sounds of the spoken language. Hence the necessity for the elaborate system of vowel signs, which were invented from the fifth to the eighth Christian centuries.

"One's first glance at a Hebrew Bible," says Mr Adams, p. 31, "is anything but reassuring. Instead of shedding light on a difficult and unfamiliar script, the system of notation seems only to have made confusion worse confounded, by sprinkling a formidable array of points and strokes all over the text." But the Hebrew student is not to be dismayed by the accentual system—"it was only food for babes." Mr Adams is well aware that the natural man, or even the Bachelor of Divinity, is reluctant to master the signs that guided the intonation of the synagogue. He therefore binds up with severe technical explanations "a full sheaf of expository outlines," and promises the "hard-driven sermon-maker" that the discourses suggested by the accents will make his pulpit preparation "an inspiration and a joy." He even advises that the works of the Puritan divines may be sent to the second-hand bookseller, if the vacant places be refilled with Baer and Delitzsch's texts, Wiches and Ginsburg.

Our author might pertinently be asked whether the vowels of the Old Testament have any claim to inspiration. Indeed, he seems to take the liberty of Jerahmeel in regard to the consonants themselves. "The consonants," he says, "are not unlike Sherlock Holmes' dancing-men. You can move them about and rearrange them in all conceivable combinations, until they mean anything or nothing; and it would be a most serious loss to those of us who occasionally engage in this pastime, if there were no men left to dance" (p. 2).

A Critical Commentary on the Book of Psalms 759

This is a brave book and a pleasant author, and none but Scottish divines could be called by this method to so arduous an enterprise.

D. M. KAY.

St Andrews.

**A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY,
ON THE BOOK OF PSALMS, by C. A. Briggs,
D.D., D.Litt., and Emilie Grace Briggs, B.D. T. & T.
Clark. In 2 vols. Vol. II. Pp. viii., 572. 10s. 6d.**

IN my notice of vol. i. of this work I expressed the belief that in vol. ii. the author would probably discuss questions usually canvassed in the introduction to commentaries on the Psalms which in vol. i. had not been touched upon. The present volume deals exclusively with the Psalms themselves, but one can hardly make any complaint on that score, as, had it been otherwise, the author's notes on the individual Psalms—introductory, exegetical, and critical—would have had to be considerably curtailed. It should be pointed out, however, that many of the critical notes are far too elementary and trivial to deserve a place in commentaries of the series to which the present work belongs. Of a verb in Ps. lvii. 9, the author tells us it is the "Qal. impv. cohort."; any junior Hebrew student of a few months' standing could say this much at a first glance. Of a clause in Ps. cxxvii. 1, which begins with the Hebrew word for "if," we are seriously told that it is a "conditional clause"! We are informed that one word in Ps. cxxviii. 3 is in the "construct plural," and that another word is the less usual form of the "Hebrew feminine participle." But what tyro in Hebrew would need this information? Similarly, a common, though poetical, form of the construct plural of the Hebrew word for "mountain" is parsed for the reader, though no reader who has worked for two or three months at Hebrew would be likely to need the help thus given him. If in lieu of many commonplace notes of this kind, Dr Briggs had given references to grammatical authorities in cases of real difficulty, his work, already valuable, would have been yet more valuable.

A welcome feature of this work is the full and carefully collected information concerning the use of words. If a term discussed occurs a few times only, the passages are named, and the several shades of meaning required by the several contexts indicated. When the meaning of a word is uncertain, the author brings before the reader such light as its use elsewhere furnishes. *Hapax legomena* are invariably marked as such, the cognates being frequently referred to for any light they can give: see the notes on Ps. cxxix. 6 for an illustration of this. The evidence of the versions, and in particular of the numerous Greek versions, has never been more fully or more accurately brought together than in this commentary. I have not before seen the textual variants in the many Greek versions given with equal completeness. Field's edition of what remains of Origen's *Hexapla* has evidently been made good use of.

The author makes many original contributions to the exegesis of the Psalms, and to the emendation of the text, which I think are among the things that will remain.

In Ps. cxxix., for "ploughers" he reads "the wicked" (as LXX., Vulg.); for "their furrows" he reads "their iniquities," and in ver. 4 he substitutes "backs" (*gabbot*) for "cords." "Yahwe cuts (= ploughs?) the backs of the wicked," as "the wicked plough (cut) the backs" of the righteous.

Dr Briggs' view that in Ps. cxix. each strophe contains the same eight synonyms for God's law may be quite original to him, but it has been previously put forth by D. H. Müller, Duhm, Baethgen, and Cheyne (see also the *Century Bible*). It is rather strange that the author of the present commentary does not mention previous writers holding the same opinion; but I am not aware that he has been preceded by any one in the attempt to explain the principle or principles determining the order in which the eight terms recur in the several strophes. At p. 418 there is a table showing at a glance the way in which the synonyms are distributed in this Psalm, according to the text adopted by the author, and, on the whole, by most recent critics.

Briggs is often very arbitrary in altering the text, generally at the bidding of what he considers the requirements of metre. In Ps. cxix. 138, he transposes the first two words without the slightest need. Making the change which he proposes, vers. 137 f. would each begin with words cognate, and almost alike in pronunciation, an arrangement which would be probably cacophonous to the Hebrew ear. The changes he makes in ver. 140 of the same Psalm appear to be wholly unnecessary. בָּנִים ("sons") in Ps. cxxvii. 3 is omitted by Briggs for the metre. But the sense seems to me to require it, and the metre as well; and its retention is supported by parallelism. Change of the text of any ancient writer should be the last resort of a critical expositor, though, if the grammar or sense or even literary form really demands it, there can be no objection. Our canons of taste and even of grammatical accuracy, must differ much from those of the ancient East; and we have to be on our guard against reading Oriental texts through occidental spectacles.

The numerous and carefully constructed Indexes will be found very useful, especially when Briggs' two volumes on the Psalms are used for reference. We have a Hebrew Index, an Index of Persons, and an Index of Subjects. But there are some omissions in the Indexes, and I have found two mistakes. "Isaac" should be "Meric Casaubon" at 563, and at p. 570, after "Rock," read "136" for "183" (the latter refers to the Psalm, and not to the page; it is the page which is otherwise given).

At p. 46, l. 9, Hebrew בָּרִךְ, must be read for בָּרוּךְ, the latter being manifestly a typographical error.

At p. 47, l. 29, "We" occurs for "He," in a rendering quoted from Hupfeld, etc.

There are mistakes in the volume more serious than those indicated above, because they are apt to mislead, or at least to puzzle the Hebrew student who is not far advanced in the language.

At p. 159, l. 10, for יָשְׁבוּ Briggs means, judging by his translation, הִשְׁבִּיתוּ. The word as given by Briggs would be generally read as Qal. impf., meaning, "they will rest," or

"cease," though, of course, it may be Hiph., defectively written, having the meaning, "they will cause to cease," or "they were causing to cease." Briggs' own rendering is, "they made . . . to cease," the tense of the verb ("they burnt") in the M.T.

In Ps. cxxii. 1, the words rendered in the English version, "when they said," consist of a preposition (*b*), and a participle, and retaining the M.T. the only possible rendering is, "(I rejoiced) at those who said": so the LXX. Briggs retains the Hebrew text, and translates "(I am glad) when they say," a rendering which the Hebrew cannot give, as any good Hebraist will see. Briggs needs for his version a slightly amended text, changing the participle (on which he makes a comment useless here, even if correct) into the infinitive. This change, very slight, even if in unpointed Hebrew a change at all, is made by most modern scholars and by some Greek translators (see Field, *Originis Hexapla*).

Briggs has a critical note on Ps. cxxxii. 3, which is equally opposed to Hebrew grammar. The אם which introduces the terms of an oath (when negative) does not in classical, or in any good Hebrew, take the verb after it in the voluntative (cohortative, jussive), but in the imperfect indicative. Briggs will not find, I am persuaded, one instance in the Old Testament of what he says is the rule, but he will find a plethora of instances of the contrary, even in Hebrew, which is neither late nor corrupt: *e.g.*, 1 Kings i. 51; 2 Kings iii. 14; Ps. lxxxix. 36; cxxxii. 3 (אם is correct; what Briggs gives as classical Hebrew אם is not Hebrew at all); and ver. 4 in this last Psalm. We have the same mood of the verb (indicative) following אם which, after an oath expressed or implied, heads an affirmative sentence in 2 Sam. xix. 24; 1 Kings xx. 23; Isa. xiv. 24. The author would have been saved from this mistake had he remembered either the origin of the idiom,¹ or the usage in classical Arabic, in which the mood endings are

¹ W. Wright has, however, a different explanation of the idiom. He thinks the אם = "that not" after an oath is a different word from the אם = "if." He compares Heb. אם ; see his Arabic Grammar, vol. ii. § 158 (third edition).

retained. In the phrase in question ("I will not enter," etc.) what gives emphasis to the verb is not the verbal form (voluntative), but the conjunction **וְ**, and that which it stands for.

In his critical note on Ps. lvii. 10, Briggs says that **וְיָחַד**, being cohortative, would have had the cohortative form but for the presence of the verbal suffix. This is a mistake. The cohortative without the suffix is **יָחַד**, and the ordinary imperfect (indicative) is not different. In pointing out the above mistakes I am very far from suggesting that they are due to the author's ignorance of Hebrew grammar; they were caused, no doubt, by inadvertence, and would have been corrected by the author himself had he paid sufficient attention to them. Briggs passes by the rendering "Steer of Jacob," for what he translates "Mighty one of Jacob," in Ps. cxxxii. 2, without the slightest notice. But it has been adopted by some of our best scholars, including Cheyne, Gunkel, and the late deeply lamented Stade (died last December), and in so large a work one would expect some reference to this view, and an explanation of the underlying thought, as also a fuller statement regarding the obviously false vocalisation of the M.T.

In Ps. cxxvii. 2, Briggs takes no notice of the particle **כֵּן** in his translation or in his notes. The English versions render it "so"; I think it should be regarded as a noun: "He gives His beloved *what is necessary*" (see *Century Bible*).

In ver. 5 of the same Psalm the last two verbs require to be read (with most moderns) as singulars, since it is the father (not the children) who is the subject of both: "*He* shall not be ashamed (foiled) when *he* speaks with (his) opponents (at law) by the gate" (where law was administered). The first of these two verbs is singular in many of the best Hebrew MSS. and in all the Greek versions (LXX., Aq., Sym., Theod.).

The Hebrew particle **עַד**, usually Englished "until," has often, like the corresponding particle (*hattay*) in Arabic, the sense "in order that" (= the Greek *ἵνα*), and it seems to me to have that meaning in Ps. cxxiii. 2, "So that He may be gracious to us" (*cf.* Hos. x. 12).

Briggs has the habit of ignoring in the translation preceding his notes verses which he regards as spurious. The version which he thus gives is not, therefore, one of the Hebrew Psalms, but of as much of them as he thinks genuine. In some cases he rejects what is usually accepted, as in Ps. cxxviii. 4-6 and cxxxii. 17 f. It would be far better to give translations of the whole, enclosing, say in brackets, portions considered by the translator to be later additions.

Briggs is not able to decide whether the cave of Adullam or that of Engedi is referred to in the titles of Pss. lvii. and cxlii. He ought, however, to have added that most modern scholars (Wellhausen, Budde, Nowack, H. Preserved Smith, etc.), on excellent grounds, read in 1 Sam. xxii. 4 and 2 Sam. xxiii. 14 "fortress" (not "cave") "of Adullam"; and it is a singular confirmation of this emendation that most recent Psalms commentators on quite other grounds favour the view that it is the cave of Engedi that is meant in the above titles.

It would be a manifest advantage to most readers if, in the general remarks to each Psalm which follows the translation, Briggs had found it convenient to say a word about the titles, when the Psalm has one, or to refer to that part of vol. i. where the titles are discussed in a general way; this he has done in some cases, but only in a small number of them.

It must not be concluded from the freedom with which I have criticised Dr Briggs' great work that I have other than a high opinion of its value. It represents an enormous amount of careful study, and will be consulted by generations of grateful Bible students. That so much should have been written and so few errors made is one of the most wonderful things about these two volumes. I trust that a new edition will be speedily demanded, and that in that case the able author will omit unnecessary notes, add others that are necessary, and purge the whole of such blemishes as remain, notwithstanding the pains taken by Professor Briggs and his accomplished daughter. I need hardly add that criticism and correction could be extended greatly if I had the time

and the space. But, of course, it does not follow that my criticisms are invariably right and Dr Briggs wrong.

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THE GOSPEL HISTORY AND ITS TRANSMISSION, by *F. Crawford Burkitt, M.A., F.B.A., Norrisian Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge.* Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906. Pp. 359. 6s. nett.

THIS is a singularly fresh and living book, and guides the reader who desires to know what is really to be thought about the Gospels, and what amount of true history they contain, by an attractive path to what he seeks. The lectures of which it is composed were first delivered, we are told, as the Jowett Lectures at the Passmore Edwards Settlement. The name of Jowett is appropriately connected with them, for Jowett saw very clearly in what direction the solution of the question of the Gospels was to be looked for; and Mr Burkitt fulfils in a marked way some of his anticipations on the subject. The lectures were also given by Professor Burkitt as his inaugural course at Cambridge, and one can only rejoice that true guidance on the theme should now be found in one of the great English Universities. Professor Burkitt is singularly well equipped for dealing with this subject. Besides an attractive style and great historical knowledge and fulness of ideas, he has the advantage that he comes to the study of the Gospels through the Eastern gate. His intimacy with the Gospels in Syriac and Old Latin gives him a firm touch in matters of textual readings and of idiom; and what is even more, his knowledge of the Eastern form of Christianity sets him free from many a prejudice of Western orthodoxy, and lets him see the gospel as a larger and broader thing than Roman or Anglican theology has made it. Many a saying in this book suggests that the writer is in a privileged position, and can say what he thinks. All which is very

good. The result is a book which sums up for the English reader what may fairly be regarded as ascertained knowledge about the Gospels, and also shows him in what directions the study is being carried further. With many of its conclusions I am unable to agree, but the book as a whole is a very wholesome, very useful one, and a really scientific contribution to a great subject.

It will be more difficult for writers of books on the Gospels, having Professor Burkitt's lectures before them, to account for differences between the Synoptic narratives by references to the personal situation and aims of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. That has been customary hitherto, and no doubt it will still be done. But the true way of regarding such things has of late been prevailing rapidly. One is glad to recognise in many a new book (see, *e.g.*, *Lux Hominum*) a recognition of the truth that the Gospels must be judged by their contents, examined, cross-examined, and compared, and are not to be judged, in the first place at least, by the traditions about their authors. The documents, which can be proved, are taking the place more and more of the authors, regarding whom there is so little certainty; and Professor Burkitt's book will help towards this result. He accepts to a certain extent the traditions about the persons of the Evangelists. Of Matthew as evangelist, it is true, he claims to know hardly anything; the Apostle of that name drew up a collection of Old Testament proof texts, which are used in the first Gospel, and so far entitle it to be called "after Matthew." Mark's connection with Peter is upheld, and certain parts of his Gospel said to be based on information drawn from that Apostle; and like Harnack, whose *Lukas der Arzt* he read after this book was written but endorses in the main, Professor Burkitt holds fast to Luke the Physician, companion of St Paul, and writer first of the diary in Acts, and then of the third Gospel and of Acts. But he had read Josephus—of this our author is convinced, like Blass and Schmiedel—and so cannot have written his Gospel till about 95 A.D., when at least seventy years of age. Of the fourth Evangelist Professor Burkitt claims to know but little. He believes on the

strength of Eastern Calendars of Saints, as well as of Church tradition, that John the Apostle became, like James his brother, a martyr in Palestine, and so could not have written the Gospel. Thus our writer comes to the study of the Gospels pretty unencumbered by tradition. His chronology on the other hand must have been a trouble to him. He is compelled by his view that Luke had read Josephus to place the third Gospel at the end of the first century. He also places the fourth Gospel, as Harnack and others do, at the beginning of the second century. The result brought out on pp. 262-63 is that the third and fourth Gospels are almost, if not quite contemporary; but the objections to this, both from Church tradition, which from the first asserts the later origin of the fourth Gospel, and from the adoption by that Gospel of so much of the history and the ideas of the other three, appear to be insuperable.

Our author, however, places little weight on anything known about the authors of the Gospels from without; his argument is based almost entirely on the inner literary relations of the works. The assured result of criticism that the second Gospel was known to the writers of the first and third, who followed its order but treated its statements and its language very freely, all in complete independence of each other, is set forth in a brief but convincing statement. The question of Urmarcus, *i.e.* whether Matthew and Luke had Mark as we have him or in an earlier text, which would account for their agreement in differing from him in a score of passages, is decided against that shadowy entity; it is practically our Mark that was their source. From expressions used at this point the reader might infer that having recognised in Mark one source of the Synoptic Gospels, our author refused to recognise any more sources of them. This turns out to be not quite the case. Professor Burkitt recognises the second source from which Matthew and Luke drew the discourses they have in common. Like Wellhausen, he calls it Q, from the German "Quelle"; and it will certainly be convenient for scholars if English writers use the same symbol for it as their German brethren. Mark xiii. is also recognised as a source,

a piece the Evangelist found ready to his hand. Further than this Professor Burkitt refuses to go. Some pieces of the tradition, he allows, had probably assumed form before they were written down, but it is vain to try to distinguish them. The composition of Mark, therefore, is a question he does not consider at all. In chap. iv. he refuses to admit that the same writer cannot well have penned the words, "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear," which imply that an attentive listener could make out for himself the point a parable was meant to suggest, and the words, "To those outside it all takes place in mysteries," with the statement that the parables were intended to conceal the truth, and so to lead to the punishment of those hearers. Schmiedel may have postulated too many sources in this passage, but we need not be so blind as to refuse to distinguish any.

Our author leaves us, therefore, with scarcely any guidance as to the procedure Mark followed in writing his Gospel, as to the state in which his materials came before him, and the manner in which he worked them up. He has hardly any view on this subject. He tells us that Mark's Gospel is not to be treated as a chronicle, but in one instance he appears to me to treat it just in that way, and to be led thereby to very doubtful ground. Working as a historian, as he does all through his book, and on the outlook for definite historical facts in the Gospel, he seeks to show how the story Mark tells fits in to secular history, and so proves Mark to deal in solid historical matter, and to be really acquainted with the sequence of events in the life of Jesus. With this view he tells us that chap. iii. 6 reports to us Jesus' definite breach with the synagogue, or rather the breach of the synagogue with Him. After the Sabbath cure of the blind man the Pharisees enter into alliance with the Herodians, the court party, to bring about Jesus' downfall. From this point onwards Jesus is in retirement, and devotes Himself to the training of His disciples. Ver. 7 says that He withdrew to the sea with His disciples. He no longer preaches in synagogues: that at Nazareth in chap. vi. is an exception. He gives up trying

to rouse the country, and becomes instead of a revivalist a *pastor pastorum*. This construction of the history, on which Professor Burkitt lays great weight, depends on the position of the verse iii. 6 in Mark's narrative. But if that verse is to be regarded as summing up the result of the whole series of encounters, ii. 1—iii. 5, a composition which Mark found ready to his hand, and which, as it had no date, he placed where it seemed good to him in his book, carefully dovetailing it into his narrative at either end—and this, as I showed in my book on Mark, is the probable origin of this section—then the verse iii. 6 will not bear the weight our author lays on it. He places the withdrawal from the synagogues, I think, too early: if there was preaching in the synagogue at Nazareth after this point, then why not in others, though Mark had no more synagogue stories to tell? He certainly did not give up preaching, as many texts show; and when the attention of Herod was turned to Him (vi. 14), it was not because of informations laid by the Pharisees, but because of Jesus' increasing notoriety. There was no doubt a period of wandering and of seclusion when publicity was avoided, but Professor Burkitt makes it begin too soon. This, however, hardly affects his argument, that in this matter Mark does record a truly historical development. I need scarcely say how gladly I see the second Gospel put with such clear historical insight, and such freedom from theological confusion, in its right position, as being nearest to the facts, and affording the most authentic information as to what Jesus was and did. As to the Gospel miracles it is difficult to make out what our author thinks of them. Few will now question his conclusion that the occurrence of miracles in Mark's narrative does not deprive it of historical value, or the cautious dictum he quotes from Dr Sanday, that if accounts of what happened had been transmitted by scientific witnesses, they would not have been the same as those in the Gospels. But while he alludes to the question in several passages, he does not discuss it.

Professor Burkitt says several times in the course of his book, that the second Gospel, as we have it, is incomplete.

He allows that we have no MS. evidence that it ever contained the conclusion, now lost, after xvi. 8, which, he thinks, must have stood there at first, and he accounts for this by saying that all our copies of Mark are to be traced to one mutilated copy ; and a Gospel which only existed in one mutilated copy must, he thinks, have been on the point of disappearing altogether, which leads him to regard it as a great wonder that the second Gospel was adopted by the Church, and found a place in the Canon. This seems to me to be a very difficult theory to uphold. The presumption that the second Gospel once contained a conclusion of an original nature after xvi. 8 is based on the passages xiv. 28 and xvi. 7, which show the writer to have been acquainted with occurrences in which Christ met His disciples in Galilee after the Crucifixion. I once thought he must have put them in his book, but I now doubt this, chiefly because Matthew (and Luke), who used Mark so much, affords no evidence of the original conclusion in question. The fact that Matthew and Luke, independently of each other, and in countries far apart, each made Mark the basis of his Gospel, surely shows that Mark was not at that time (80-100 A.D., according to our author) a mutilated book held in little value, or tending to disappear, but, on the contrary, filled an appreciable position in Church life. And if Matthew, at least, had Mark with its termination at xvi. 8, then our external evidence suggests that this was the form of the book from the first. No doubt it was felt to be in many ways defective. Papias' presbyter tells us how, and so, in fact, do Matthew and Luke ; and when the Gospels of the latter appeared, they would soon grow far more popular than their humble predecessor. But the success of these would tend to preserve Mark, in many ways so like them, and an additional witness to their story. Nor can it be denied that the conclusion of Mark at xvi. 8 has, as Wellhausen suggests, great impressiveness, and, in a very early writer, some likelihood of originality.

I cannot think that the author is right in concluding that the evidence of the Synoptists is, on the whole, against the view that Jesus ate the Passover with His disciples.

On the treatment of the first and third Gospels there is

less need to speak. Professor Burkitt can hardly be said to show us how the writer of either of them set to work; he only establishes a few critical facts with regard to each, without aiming at any completeness. On Matthew's historical position he follows Wellhausen, placing this Evangelist in Palestine, and making him deal with Palestinian tradition. While declaring that some of the narratives which Matthew alone gives, that of Peter's walking on the water, of the earthquake, of the guard at the tomb, are not to be taken as serious history, yet with regard to the discourses peculiar to this Gospel he is less bold than Wellhausen, admitting that it is one of the most delicate questions in the whole subject whether these pieces are to be regarded as actually spoken by Jesus, yet concluding that, to a large extent, they are. This discussion appears to me full of sound sense and insight.

The picture of the third Evangelist, drawn by Professor Burkitt, is necessarily vague. Holding on the one hand to Luke the Physician, who, in the middle of the first century, was the companion of Paul, and wrote the journal; and on the other to Luke, who in the end of that century read Josephus, and then wrote his two works from sources which he followed pretty closely, only making stylistic changes and minor alterations—he has a figure somewhat difficult to fill up, and he scarcely tries to do so. If Luke the companion of Paul is to be retained, it seems as if his connection with Josephus must be given up, as it appears to be given up by Harnack. The first and third Gospels, using the same sources, yet quite independent of each other, must surely have been written about the same time. If Matthew's date is 80-90, Luke must be earlier than Josephus. Nor does either Gospel or Acts give the impression of having been written by a quite old man, looking up materials some of which were half a century old.

Professor Burkitt evidently feels the ground more solid under him when he is dealing with sources. Though he protests against the notion that any of the sources of the Gospel, except Mark, can be fully known to us, he yet operates pretty freely with Q, as an old book now come

to our knowledge, and giving independent testimony. He is not so certain as Harnack is in his new *Sprüche und Reden Jesu*, where Q is entirely reconstructed and put in our hands; but he uses Q along with Mark as two separate witnesses for sayings of the Lord, which, being doubly attested, deserve special confidence, and are, as it were, ground-pillars of our knowledge of Jesus' teaching. He also puts forward the speculation that the story of the Passion in Luke, so different from that of the other Gospels, may have come from Q. Both Wellhausen and Harnack make a point of the observation that Q has no Passion story, and is not pervaded by the idea of the Passion. The latter fact is entirely true, and our author would need to explain how, if Q had a story of the Passion, like other Gospels, the shadow falls so little on the main body of its narrative.

A chapter on the fourth Gospel is added to those on the Synoptists. Like other writers at this time,¹ Professor Burkitt regards the historical side of the fourth Gospel as being of less importance. It contains some historical fact; but many of its statements, such as the raising of Lazarus, are not historical at all. Fact is deliberately sacrificed to idea in this work. What is of more importance than its history, both to its author and to us, is its doctrine—more particularly its doctrine of the Person of Christ, which was needed when the book was written. Some genuine ideas of Christ are yet to be found in it.

The last three chapters of the book justify the latter part of its title. We are here told how it came that these Gospels, which deal with matters which entered so little into the thoughts and interests of the early Church, were yet chosen by the Church as her own Scriptures. The chapters are on the Gospel Canon, on Marcion, and on the Rivals of the Canonical Gospels. They are confined to what is vital in a great and somewhat dry subject, and are extremely interesting. We differ from the writer now and then. To say that Justin used our four Gospels is scarcely accurate

¹ See *The Fourth Gospel*, E. F. Scott, M.A., B.A., and the present writer, on "The Character of Christ in the Fourth Gospel," in *Lux Hominum*.

without some explanation of the different use he makes of the fourth from that of the Synoptic Gospels. With the statement that Mark's Gospel was nearly lost we have dealt above. The account given of Marcion contains some fresh matter, and will take its place as perhaps the best brief statement that has been written on the subject. And one has to agree, although reluctantly, in the verdict on the extra-Canonical Gospels, that they add very little to our knowledge of Jesus. The Church, Professor Burkitt considers, was driven to adopt the Gospels as her Scripture by the danger threatening her from Docetic teaching. It was necessary for her to counteract the tendency to remove the figure of the Saviour from its historic basis and from its truly human character by adopting the books which set Him forth as a man. The danger, it is evidently felt, is one which tends to recur; the study of the Gospels, and especially of Mark, is still the best corrective of the excesses of a one-sided Christology.

ALLAN MENZIES.

St Andrews.

THE TRUTH OF CHRISTIANITY: An Examination of the More Important Arguments for and against believing in that Religion, by Lieut.-Colonel W. H. Turton, D.S.O. Sixth Edition. Pp. 570. London: Wells Gardner, Darton & Co., 1907. 2s. 6d. nett.

THE TEMPTATION OF OUR LORD (*the Hulsean Lectures, 1905-1906*), by H. J. C. Knight, B.D., Principal of the Clergy Training School. Longmans, Green & Co., 1907. Pp. 210. 4s. 6d. nett.

MR TURTON'S Apology for Christianity is written, not for scholars, but for the people, and it has the best qualities of popular exposition. Bright, tolerant, and well informed, it is worthy of its success.

In his lectures on the Temptation, Principal Knight follows the usual course in bringing it into close connection with the experiences of the Baptism, and in interpreting it from the standpoint of our Lord's public ministry. It represents, he says, Christ's final human sanction of laws

governing the accomplishment of His work of establishing God's kingdom, and His adoption of means in harmony with these laws. But in working out the details he frequently takes a line of his own. The first Temptation touched Christ's Person as the agent of redemption. Conscious of being God, He yet subjected Himself to the preparation of the forty days' fast, thereby accepting the law of human discipline in spiritual experience, and maintaining the integrity of His human nature. His refusal to do homage to the devil was His final sanction of the Kingdom of God as an order in which all things should be restored and God be all in all, and of His death as the means for establishing the Kingdom. The third Temptation relates to the manner of His appeal to those He came to save. Its issue was His rejection of the idea of crushing the human will by an overwhelming manifestation of Himself, and His final sanction of the great law of faith as the law under which the knowledge and benefit of His work would be imparted.

The temptation is not an easy subject to write about, and I have not felt that Principal Knight has succeeded in making it real. What he shows us is not the Jesus of history wrestling with Messianic conceptions which the time pressed upon Him, but the Christ of the two natures debating within Himself questions of high theology. Nevertheless, there is much in the book to admire, not the least being the spirit of deep reverence in which the author approaches the subject.

Tarbolton.

W. MORGAN.

JOHN'S REVELATION, being the Vision of St John
Interpreted, by J. S. Foster Chamberlain. London:
Elliott Stock, 1907. Pp. 126. 1s.

THIS little volume contains a new translation of the Apocalypse, arranged in semi-dramatic form, with some brief notes at the end. Few books of the New Testament gain more, or perhaps lose less, in translation than this one, and Mr Chamberlain's rendering frequently throws a pencil of

light upon some obscure verses, though, *e.g.*, his substitution of "harpies" for "dogs" in xxii. 15 cannot be pronounced particularly happy. The notes are partly exegetical, partly homiletical. The author does not seem to have any theory of the literary construction of the Apocalypse, beyond the haphazard suggestion that one or two passages, like *are seven mountains* (xvii. 9) and the *iri* and *iv* of xxii. 16, are interpolations. His main concern is to point out the meaning of difficult passages in the successive visions of this Jewish-Christian seer, John, whom he considers to have been an uneducated man as compared to Paul. It cannot be said that the interpretations, as a rule, are of any serious value to the student. Their exegetical basis, for one thing, is too precarious, that is, when they have any such basis at all. Thus, the "angel of Jesus Christ" does not mean "Jesus Christ Himself," nor are the seven stars "the lights which" the seven churches "emit"; and it is homiletical application, not historical exegesis, when Mr Chamberlain takes the beasts of chap. ix. to be the modern mental disease of "nerves," as yet only in its infancy—a disease which is "the result of science, which has totally altered the conditions of life during the last century, and which will alter them yet more," producing a distorted and restless frame of mind. Science is indeed regarded as the antagonist of God. The little book, which is sweet in the mouth but bitter in the belly, means that "the discoveries of science seem pleasant at the moment, but the result is bitterness." And so on. Subsequently we learn that the first beast of chap. xiii. is Mammon or Money, while the scarlet harlot turns out to be official Catholicism, the ten horns being Evangelicalism or Protestantism. Reliance upon the power of the State is pronounced the crime of both, which may be sound Voluntary doctrine, but has as much relation to the Apocalypse as the hundredth Psalm to the tune of Greensleeves. It is useless to follow the author further. His volume, with all its honesty of purpose, represents a method of treating the Apocalypse which we had hoped was decently buried in these days of sober, historical investigation.

Broughty Ferry.

JAMES MOFFATT

FORSCHUNGEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DES NEU-TESTAMENTLICHEN KANONS UND DER ALTKIRCHLICHEN LITERATUR, herausgegeben von Theodor Zahn. VIII. Teil. Historische Studien zum Hebräerbrief. I. Heft.: Die ältesten lateinischen Kommentare zum Hebräerbrief, von D. Eduard Riggenbach. Leipzig: Deichert (Edinburgh: Otto Schulze & Co.), 1907. Pp. x., 243. M. 6.80.

THE comprehensiveness of Zahn's celebrated series, in which various items of the highest value have appeared, could hardly be better illustrated than it is by the last two parts—the work of Hjelt on the Syriac Versions of the Gospels, published in 1901; and the work of Riggenbach on the earliest Latin commentaries on Hebrews, issued in March of the present year. It is regrettable that the volumes of this series appear at such long intervals. Whether this fact be due to the position of Zahn as a critic of the cautious conservative school, which is not the most prominent in the German universities, it is not possible for a foreigner to say. But this he can say, that it would be a very unfortunate thing for learning if Zahn and his school were to cease publishing the works of consummate erudition which we expect from them.

The stupendous difficulties under which Riggenbach's works are produced, difficulties which would crush most men, give him all the greater claims upon our gratitude and reverence, and by the present work he has achieved for himself an undying reputation. As will be seen in the sequel, he has solved more than one literary problem for all time; and yet this is only one of two preparatory studies. Riggenbach is engaged to do the commentary on Hebrews for the series of commentaries on New Testament books edited by Zahn. In the course of his study he has found that two preliminaries are in an unsatisfactory state—one, the condition of the text, with which he will deal later; the other, the history of the early mediæval commentaries on the Epistle. What each age finds in the Bible is the measure of its character, and it is therefore sad to remember

the general neglect with which otherwise well-equipped historians and commentators have treated early exegesis. Bishop Westcott was a notable exception, which makes it all the more regrettable that the introduction to his recently published commentary on Ephesians should ridicule one of his favourite studies by professing to enumerate the patristic commentaries of the first six centuries, and leaving out of the enumeration those by Ambrosiaster and Pelagius. Riggenbach has gone beyond even Westcott, for whereas Westcott, for example, quoted the so-called Primasius commentary as if it were Primasius, although he had read it sufficiently to have known better, Riggenbach takes one commentary after another, and, by painstaking examination of them, both in their printed and manuscript forms, has reached striking results.

The insecure position which the Epistle to the Hebrews had in the West is reflected in the history of exegesis. It was not till the ninth century that a commentary on it formed a necessary part of a complete commentary on the Pauline Epistles. The two early Western exegetes Ambrosiaster and Pelagius, left it uncommented on—the former, because he did not regard it as Pauline; the latter, in spite of the fact that he did so regard it, probably because he had no earlier commentary from which to borrow. The first attempt in the West to supply the want was, as far as we know, that made by Cassiodorus in the middle of the sixth century. He employed one Mucianus to translate the Homilies of Chrysostom on that Epistle into Latin and adapt them for Western use. Later commentaries depended either on that work or on *collectanea* from the writings of other Fathers, or on both together. These various compilations were generally issued anonymously. This, in ancient times, made it possible to plunder them in whole or in part; and, in modern times, constitutes a great difficulty for the investigator into their authorship.

Among translations of Greek commentaries, Riggenbach first prints some quotations in Latin, which Zmaragdus, in his *Expositio Libri Comitis*, compiled in the early years of the ninth century, cites under the name $\overline{\text{OR}}$ or $\overline{\text{ORI}}$ (symbols for

Origen).¹ He decides rightly, no doubt, that the portions of these extracts which are not Chrysostom are derived from a collection of patristic extracts accessible to Zmaragdus. After a word or two about the Chrysostom-Mucianus Homilies, he proceeds to the other Latin commentaries. The first is the Pseudo-Jerome, contained in some MSS. of Pseudo-Jerome on the Pauline Epistles, and seldomer by itself. A Trier MS. of this latter form, which no longer exists at Trier, might be found either at Ghent or at Berlin (as part of the Görres collection sold at Munich in 1902). Dr Riggensbach's search seems to have been confined to Trier. He is mistaken in his guess that Paris *B.N.* 653, of the ninth century, is a MS. of Pseudo-Jerome (see also p. 205). It is quite anonymous, and considerably longer than Pseudo-Jerome on the genuine Epistles, but apparently shorter on the Epistle to the Hebrews. He does not mention also that the text of Hebrews commented on in MS. 653 is an unknown Old Latin one, not the Vulgate. Unfortunately, it reaches only to the third verse of the fourth chapter.² He is right about MS. 1853, which is a brother of the Epinal MS. 6, which he also mentions.³ These are both MSS. of Pseudo-Jerome, and both copies of the same lost original. He also deals with other comments attributed to Jerome in mediæval authorities. He might have added the Ghent MS. No. 446, No. 316 (77 suppl.) of the twelfth or thirteenth century (p. 15). He next turns to collections of extracts from Augustine and Gregory (the Great). The collection of extracts from Augustine is attributed to Bede, but is generally regarded as due to Florus of Lyons, who lived a century after Bede. It is uncertain whether Riggensbach is aware (p. 16) that Eugippius is published (for example, in the *Vienna Corpus*). Two collections have been made from the works of Gregory, one by Paterius, his contemporary and secretary; the other by Alulfus of Tournay, in the end of the eleventh century. Of these, both are meagre, the former more so than the latter. Then follows a useful study of the

¹ I have seen no MS. in which the simple O suggested by Riggensbach (p. 7) occurs.

² Of this text I am having a copy made, and hope to publish it soon.

³ I should rather date it tenth than ninth century (as on p. 206).

commentary which is found in some MSS. of the Ambrosiaster. To the details given by Riggenbach some might be added from the present reviewer's list in *A Study of Ambrosiaster*, pp. 14 ff. He traces the history of this commentary in the Middle Ages, and proves that it was written by our countryman Alcuin, and is word for word identical with his commentary as printed in his works. It is symptomatic of the backwardness of research in this department that this discovery is now made for the first time. To remove all doubt that Alcuin is the real author, he proves that it is already cited by Hrabanus Maurus in the ninth century under the name of Albinus (*i.e.* Alcuin), and that it appears in more than one library catalogue of the same century. It is sometimes found in MSS. of Claudius of Turin's commentary, and it is based on the Chrysostom-Mucian. The next discovery which Riggenbach makes is again very striking. Claudius of Turin, who flourished in the second half of the eighth and the first third of the ninth century, issued commentaries on Galatians, Ephesians, and Philip-pians, compiled with frank acknowledgment from Jerome, Augustine, and others, about the years 814 to 816. Later he wrote commentaries on all the other Pauline Epistles, but among his printed works those on Galatians and Philemon alone appear. The commentary on Hebrews exists in a number of MSS., and is identical word for word with that attributed to Hatto of Vercelli, who flourished in the first half of the tenth century. Riggenbach, besides making this striking discovery, proves that Claudius, and not Hatto, is the real author. The proof consists of a convincing combination of external and internal evidence. Riggenbach leaves the question open whether the commentaries on the other Epistles found under Hatto's name are also the work of Claudius, and only points out that the commentaries on Philemon are identical, while those on Galatians are not so. The probability, however, is that the whole set belong to Claudius. The commentary on Hebrews is shown to be based on Chrysostom-Mucian and Alcuin, as well as extracts from Gregory. The original part constitutes a minimum. Claudius wrote in the beginning of the ninth century, and

beyond this century Riegenbach does not go. It was an age of tremendous productiveness in exegetical literature. But productiveness here does not mean originality: most of this work was elaborate compilation. Hrabanus Maurus, Walahfrid Strabo, and Zmaragdus follow on Claudius in our author's treatment. Hrabanus, pupil of Alcuin, compiled his commentary from Chrysostom-Mucian, Alcuin, Cassian, Jerome, and Gregory. Riegenbach shows that some of the Chrysostom comes through Alcuin. Of these five sources the first and second alone are commentaries. The commentary of Hrabanus, written between 836 and 842, was soon followed by that of his pupil, Walahfrid Strabo. The printed editions of Walahfrid are most unsatisfactory, and must be corrected from the manuscripts. This commentary, known as the "glossa ordinaria," was so widely used in the Middle Ages that a reliable edition of it is much to be desired. Walahfrid's principal source in commenting on Hebrews is Alcuin. Zmaragdus did not write a commentary on Hebrews, but in his previously mentioned work he collected earlier comments on three parts of the Epistle. It may be noted that in dealing with the third part (Migne, *P.L.* cii. col. 544), Zmaragdus does not mention his authority.¹ The commentary of Friculfus (Freculf of Lisieux), which appears to be mentioned in a library catalogue of the twelfth century, has not yet been discovered.

Riegenbach next passes into a region of especial difficulty, and emerges from it triumphant. It is the long-standing (Primasius)-Remigius-Haymo difficulty. There is a commentary on Hebrews printed under three different names, in each case as a part of a set of commentaries on all the Pauline Epistles. It has been a great satisfaction to the present writer to clear away some part of the difficulty, by proving that the part of the "Primasius" commentary which is concerned with the other Epistles is really the revision of Pelagius' commentary made by Cassiodorus and his pupils in the middle of the sixth century,² and that the commentary

¹ Neither in the printed text nor in any of the nine MSS. I have collated.

² *The Commentary of Pelagius on the Epistles of Paul: the Problem of its Restoration* (Proceedings of British Academy, vol. ii.), (London, 1907), pp. 20 f.

exists in one twelfth-century MS. only, where it was originally anonymous, and where the commentary on Hebrews appears in the same place as it does in the printed edition, which is a copy of this MS. The commentary on Hebrews is, however, no part of the original Cassiodorian work, and it must therefore be considered in conjunction only with Remigius and Haymo. Some manuscripts attribute to Remigius, some to Haymo. The difficulties are not done with here, because there were more than one Remigius and more than one Haymo in the ninth century. In pursuing his investigation into this problem Riggensbach has not confined himself to the Pauline commentaries, but has studied the other Remigius-Haymo commentaries also. The whole collection forms a large set of biblical commentaries. There are commentaries on the Apocalypse, the Prophets, the Song of Songs, Genesis, and Psalms, as well as a number of homilies and a work on the Lord's Supper. These works are compilations, but not in the same sense as those already mentioned. They bear the impress of a personality, and show throughout the same characteristics, such as a philological interest and a knowledge of Greek. Space will not permit us to follow the author in detail through this investigation, though it occupies by far the greater part of his book. Suffice it to say, that as the result of a connected, and in our opinion flawless, argument he shows that the author was Haymo, a monk of Auxerre, whose authorship was first suggested by Traube, the learned palæographer of Munich.

The present reviewer may be permitted to add some notes which have been suggested by various details of the argument. The genuineness of Bede's commentary on Acts is wrongly denied (p. 63, n. 1). The passages attributed to Ambrosius, which the author cannot find in Ambrosiaster, may, some of them, come from the Latin Theodore of Mopsuestia (p. 65). The passage comparing the benefit of fasting for the soul to that of medicine for the body (2 Cor. vi. 5) (p. 70) is derived by Haymo through Zmaragdus from the Pseudo-Augustinian *Quæstiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, cxxvii., quæst. 120 (p. 362, l. 8, of my forth-

coming edition).¹ The passage about murmuring (p. 72) is mostly from Ambrosiaster's commentary on the passage (1 Cor. x. 10). The symbol "Vulg.," which the first editor of Zmaragdus used to indicate one of the sources of the work (Riggenbach, pp. 117 ff.), has no MS. authority. The manuscripts give either \bar{v} , $\bar{v}I$, or $\bar{v}IC$, pointing to Victor. At 20B only one of my MSS. gives anything, and it gives \bar{v} ; at 21A some give \bar{v} , some $\bar{v}I$; at 72B all give \bar{v} ; while two which give \bar{v} at *Magos* (72B) give \bar{F} at *Alii* (72B), where the others give nothing. An interesting parallel to the use (p. 123) of portions of the Haymo-Remigius commentaries for public reading is afforded by the case of the Ambrosiaster commentaries. Two Italian MSS. of these, the Paduan and Harleian, both of the ninth century, bear evidence that they were used in this way. The Remigius manuscript mentioned on p. 153 is still at Florence, where I have handled it. The Harleian one, mentioned on the same page, bears the name Remigius, but over an erasure, and in a hand of the twelfth (?) century (cf. p. 166). The valuable argument from the occurrence or absence of MSS. of Haymo-Remigius in catalogues of mediæval libraries (pp. 162 ff.) is confirmed by the fact that they are absent from the voluminous Murbach catalogue, dating from about 840 (published by H. Bloch, in the *Strassburger Festschrift zur 46. Philologen-Versammlung* (1901), pp. 276 ff.), while some of them are present in the Gorze catalogue, dating from the middle of the eleventh century (published by Dom Morin in the *Revue Bénédictine* for 1905, pp. 1-14). In the Gorze catalogue the homilies, the Isaiah, the Apocalypse, and the Song of Songs are attributed to Haymo, while the Genesis and the Psalms appear under the name of Remigius. These facts slightly affect a paragraph on page 166, where we must now substitute a genuine case of Haymo for the "Hecino" known to Riggenbach. The two cases of the Song of Songs attributed to Haymo in the eleventh century now become three. The "once," when Remigius on

¹ Zmaragdus also uses this passage at 120B, where the printed edition gives it to Ambrose, but all my MSS. to Augustine. The form of the citation shows that Haymo took it from Zmaragdus, and not from the *Questiones*.

Genesis and on the Psalms appear in the eleventh century, now becomes "twice." The subject of pages 185 ff. is touched in the *Johannes Scottus* of E. K. Rand (München, 1906), pp. 83 ff., which perhaps appeared too late to be used by the author.

The rest of the book is devoted to Irish and cognate expositors, who wrote before the tenth century. Among these the anonymous commentary discovered and published by Zimmer in his *Pelagius in Irland* (1901) is first discussed. It cannot be earlier than the seventh century, as it quotes Gregory. He next turns to the Pseudo-Jerome commentary already alluded to, and prints some extracts from it for the first time. It is closely related to the other, and both appear to be adaptations of a common original. The third commentary he discusses is that of Sedulius Scottus. This learned Irishman, who flourished in the middle of the ninth century, indicated his authorities in the margin in the same way as Zmaragdus. He uses Alcuin, Gregory, and others. As an appendix to this chapter Riggensbach discusses the Würzburg and Vienna glosses to the Epistle to the Hebrews. These show a relationship with Zimmer's MS. and also with Sedulius. This great book ends with notes on some commentaries of the tenth to the twelfth centuries, and with a bibliography. We congratulate the author, and look forward eagerly to the publication of his further studies.

Oxford.

ALEX. SOUTER.

A HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION, by Thomas M. Lindsay, D.D., LL.D. (*International Theological Library*). Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1907. Two vols. 22s. 6d.

THE first volume of this work deals with the Reformation in Germany, while the second is devoted to the Reformation in other lands. The fact that Luther was a German, and that in Germany the Reformation of the Church in parts was effective before the movement spread to other countries, justifies the space given to the history of the people who

first severed themselves from Rome. It was fitting, in the advance of civilisation, that the Germans, who had been so long associated with the Italians in the Roman Empire, should be the chief actors in the ecclesiastical contest with Rome. From the days of Otto the Great to those of Henry III. the Germans protected the Papal Church by ruling it; but from the reign of Hildebrand till the fall of Boniface VIII. the Bishop of Rome governed the Church of the West, and sought to dominate the politics of every territory where the ecclesiastical imperialism was established. It was in vain that Frederick Barbarossa strove to maintain, in reality to found, an independent Holy Roman Empire; and Frederick II., the astutest sovereign of the mediæval world, struggled without success for the autocratic control of the Empire, which suffered from the power of the Roman priest. The Hohenstaufen were the accursed of Rome, and must perish; and Frenchmen with invitation and welcome entered Italy that they might crush them, as they did. The fourteenth century saw the Papal Court in Avignon, and the Roman Empire with its Teutonic element was but a name or a memory. At Constance, in the fifteenth century, where a Council was gathered for the healing of the nations, a German Emperor posed as if he were a second Constantine in another Nicæa. Though the schism ended, the Empire was beyond restoration; and the revival of the Papacy in the years of the Humanist Popes was at its best an artistic glorification of the city of Rome, to which the Germans with the people of other nations were compelled to contribute. There was an enmity of many centuries between the Germans and the Italians, as keen as the old enmity between the Scots and the English; and the German Reformation, the first revolt from Rome, was something more than a mere accident of circumstance or a trick of fate. It is conceivable that a French or English Martin Luther could have moved his nation to ecclesiastical rebellion; but he did not appear, and his coming and his revolution alike belong to that world of possibility where there is an alliance with improbability.

The history of the Holy Roman Empire, which from unceasing strife over conflicting interests might be called

the Unholy Roman Empire, does not in itself explain the inception and progress of the Reformation in Germany; and yet the analysis of the events which make the Reformation shows the significance of that history, and gives it pre-eminence among them. There were other causes besides resentment to the Italians which led to the Reformation in Germany, and these are set forth in this book in admirable style. Principal Lindsay traces the effects of the quickening spirit of Humanism in Germany, and presents a picture of family and popular religious life in the decades before the Reformation. The picture is given in outline in Dr Lindsay's article on Luther in the second volume of *The Cambridge Modern History*, but in this book it is enlarged. In dealing with the religious and social life of Germany before the advent of Luther, and, indeed, with any element of the environment of the Reformer and with the main events of his progress, Dr Lindsay refers specifically to authorities, and they are a multitude, and thus increases the value of his work. The same use of authorities is made in the accounts of the Reformation in countries beyond Germany, with the result that we admire and almost wonder at the great learning of the author of these two volumes. The wide field in which the learning is displayed and the various subjects treated in this book may be appreciated and understood from these words in the Preface: "A History of the Reformation, it appears to me, must describe five distinct but related things—the social and religious conditions of the age out of which the great movement came: the Lutheran Reformation down to 1555, when it received legal recognition; the Reformation in countries beyond Germany which did not submit to the guidance of Luther; the issue of certain portions of the religious life of the Middle Ages in Anabaptism, Socinianism, and Anti-Trinitarianism, and, finally, the Counter-Reformation."

The most skilful historian is incapable of dealing, in the space of two volumes of *The International Theological Library*, with all his subjects in adequate detail; and Principal Lindsay is to be excused rather than blamed

for the short space assigned to the discussion of important, though minor, historical points. Describing papal exactions, he devotes a page to *annates*, and records that John XXII. began to appropriate them for the purposes of the Papacy. He explains that from the beginning of the twelfth century the incoming incumbent of a benefice had to pay over his first year's income for local uses, or as a solatium to the heirs of the deceased incumbent; and he proceeds to say that after the annates were made a permanent tax, averages were struck as to its amount. Quoting from an unnamed authority, he says: "They consisted of a portion, usually computed at one-half of the estimated revenue of all benefices worth more than 25 florins. Thus the Archbishopric of Rouen was taxed at 12,000 florins, and the little see of Grenoble at 300." Brady, in his *Episcopal Succession*, and Eubel, in his *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Ævi*, give the amount of the tax fixed for each see. The prelate of Glasgow, to take the example of the city where Principal Lindsay's lot is now happily cast, was required to pay 2500 florins *auri de camera*. The difficulty of the subject of annates is illustrated by the fact that in 1487 Blackader, the first Archbishop of Glasgow, was authorised by the Pope to raise a *caritativum subsidium* from the chapter, collegiate churches, monasteries, priories, and beneficed persons, and to retain half of the first year's fruit of all vacant benefices in the diocese (*Theiner*, 499). According to the statement of the dean and chapter, these fruits belonged—by the custom of Scotland—half to the executors of the deceased incumbent and half to the successor (*Reg. Glasg.*, 456).

Immediately after giving the quotation from the unnamed authority, Principal Lindsay makes the statement, in reference to papal exactions, that "archbishoprics were subject to a special tax as the price of the *Pallium*, and this was often very large." The statement requires some modification, as the pallium was not given to every archbishop. In the case of Glasgow, to return to it, when the see was elevated from episcopal to archiepiscopal rank, Blackader did not receive the pall; and the Pope in refusing it or abstaining from giving it was probably influenced by the opposition

of William Schevez, the Archbishop of St Andrews and Primate of Scotland (Robertson's *Statuta*, i. 122).

The influence of the Renaissance on the Reformation is a subject of supreme historical importance, and Principal Lindsay does not fail to deal with it. The effect of Humanism on Luther himself is also of interest ; and it is admitted by every one that while he read many of the Latin authors and made some progress in Greek, he was in no way touched by the libertinism which was often associated with Humanism. He was, however, while a student in Erfurt, in the atmosphere of Humanism, which meant freedom from the stale customs of thought, and revolt against ecclesiastical authority in things intellectual. Principal Lindsay refuses to see in the doubt which led to Luther's sudden entrance into the Augustinian convent any result of his contact with Humanist teaching. "Luther doubted," he says, "whether he could ever do what he believed had to be done by him to save his soul if he remained in the world." Dr Lindsay's words are not convincing, though there are no facts to prove them wrong, as there are none to raise them above conjecture. It is hardly possible, it might be asserted, that Luther with his keen intellect was not affected by inquiries into the validity of exercised authority, especially as he was in the days of his youth, as always, deeply religious, and also as he was a student of law, which involved the ideas of authority and right. Doubt of some kind came to him. It may have been, as asserted by Dr Lindsay, doubt as to his ability to do the things needful for his salvation ; but why could it not have been doubt regarding the Church's exercise of authority, which in things intellectual, at least, had been assailed by the Humanists? A religious youth, alarmed for the effect on his faith of the attack on the Church, might in his weakness seek refuge from distraction by flight to a convent. The analysis of this fact of Luther's experience can lead to no definite result, and it will remain a question whether Luther in his great rebellion was working under the spell of an influence consciously or unconsciously received, when he was a student at Erfurt, where Humanism had its votaries.

In the Preface to the second volume of this History the author says: "The field covered in this volume is so extensive that the accounts of the rise and progress of the Reformation in the various countries included had to be very much condensed. I have purposely given a larger space to the beginnings of each movement, believing them to be less known and more deserving of study." There is always a demand for short historical accounts of great movements, that the man in the street or some other place outside the study may understand them; but the man in the study, though not generally eager for mere length, desires fulness of historical treatment, especially when he meets such a competent writer as Principal Lindsay. It may be said very distinctly that though the chapters of this volume are small studies on great subjects, they display the calm judgment, clear insight, and great learning of a skilled investigator. In dealing with Scotland Dr Lindsay repeats the well-known story of the corruption of the Church in this most distressful country, as it was before the Reformation. He is well aware that through schools and universities education was advanced, and that by means of them and through intercourse with France and the Low Countries Scotland was prepared for the Reformation. Such preparation was in itself an indication of civilisation, and the degradation which satirists asserted is difficult to explain. Students who were to be clerics went in numbers to Oxford and Paris, and in Scotland itself there were three universities founded within one century. St Andrews had one college in the fifteenth, and two were added in the first half of the sixteenth century. Archbishop Beaton, Cardinal Beaton, and Archbishop Hamilton, though they are counted worldly ecclesiastics, fostered theological learning in St Mary's College. Dr Lindsay says: "The Church, wealthy so far as acreage was concerned, had become secularised to an extent unknown elsewhere, and its benefices served to provide for the younger sons of the great feudal families in a manner which recalls the days of Charles the Hammer." On another page he writes: "The Romish Church in Scotland was comparatively wealthy, and the

rude Scottish nobles managed to place their younger sons in many a fat living, with the result that the manners of the clergy did little honour to their sacred calling." In spite of these statements it is a fact that rich students went to St Andrews University; and St Leonard's College was specially founded for poor students, that they might not be crowded out. Many illegitimate sons of Scottish nobles were promoted to benefices. They were not, however, promoted without educational qualifications, as may be seen from the names in the lists of students matriculated in Paris. Benedict XIII., the papal founder of St Andrews University, recognised a scale of prerogatives, based on university standing, in expectations for benefices; and he made mention of Scotland as a country in which attention was to be paid to these prerogatives (Ottenthal, *Reg. Canc. Ap.*, 135). It is worthy of note that very many of the men chosen for reserved benefices were holders of degrees in theology or law, especially law (Papal Petitions, I.; Papal Letters, VII.). Principal Lindsay admits, as others have done, that the Scottish people, especially of the middle class, were for their day well educated. The intellectual characteristics of the clergy, however, have not yet been shown in clear light.

The book which we have been examining is probably the best we have in English on the Reformation.

St Andrews.

JOHN HERKLESS

AUS RELIGION UND GESCHICHTE: gesammelte Aufsätze und Vorträge, von Reinhold Seeberg. Erster Band. Biblisches u. Kirchengeschichtliches. Leipzig: A. Deichert (Otto Schulze & Co., Edinburgh), 1906. Pp. vi., 400. M. 6.50.

REINHOLD SEEBERG is an Ordinary Professor in Berlin University, already favourably known for his systematic and historical studies of Christian doctrine. He can hardly claim to occupy so large a place in the mind of the reading public as his colleagues, Professors Pfeiderer and Harnack, whose work covers the same field, and with whom in conse-

quence he at once challenges attention and comparison. And with reason. Seeberg's ability, distinguished as it is, is of a distinctly inferior order from theirs. He has neither Pfleiderer's philosophical grasp and insight nor Harnack's historical originality, *i.e.* he lacks precisely those endowments that are to-day indispensable to the well-equipped historian and expositor of theology. He has their erudition but not their power. He shows with them a thorough command of his material, but without a characteristic method; and while endeavouring, in their spirit, to relate and reconcile ancient attainment with modern impulses, he is too appreciative of the former and too suspicious of the latter to be able to do anything like adequate justice to the one or the other. He has not escaped the influences which have moulded their thought, but has received so little impetus from them that he can still stand much nearer to traditional views than they, and much closer to the Lutheran consciousness.

Seeberg at the same time possesses merits of a conspicuous kind. His eye is keen for detail and the significance of facts. Established institutions attract him—less indeed in their ideal aspects, but all the more in their active impressiveness, which he is quick in discussing and apt in describing. Spiritual verities he may not appraise in their speculative ventures or experiential varieties, but he can well portray what is best in their practical and social operation and in their symbolical expression—a feature of religious history at present too often treated too slightly. Powerful personality he easily estimates, an estimate in every case founded on the most painstaking discrimination and offering impressive conceptions. Seeberg's work, if it never indicates a mind of brilliant genius, always testifies to a character of high integrity. These qualities we have before learned from the author's earlier books, the *Grundwahrheiten der christlichen Religion*, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, *Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte*. We find them exemplified in this slighter volume of *Essays and Contributions from Religion and History*. The author sends it forth as the first of two volumes of occasional papers designed for the thoughtful

laity, less technical and more popular than those above mentioned, having been moved to the undertaking by "the precedent of several theologians in recent years, and in deference to the wishes of many friends," who presumably had heard them delivered. In this, the first volume, the essays are mainly historical and biographical, and range through the whole period of Christian development, affording a "glance through the history of Christianity." Seven discuss subjects pertaining to the early period, viz., "*Evangelium quadraginta dierum*"; *Worte Jesu*; *Paulus und Jesus*; *Zur Charakteristik des Apostels Johannes*; *Kuss und Kanon*; *Über das Reden der Frauen in den apostolischen Gemeinden*; *Warum ver folgteder römischer Staat die Christen?* Two furnish glimpses of mediæval life and experience, viz., *Hermann von Scheda*; *Heinrich Sense*. Two discourse of Luther's and Melancthon's importance in the history of the Reformation, *Luther's Stellung zu den sittlichen und sozialen Nöten seiner Zeit*; *Die Stellung Melancthons in der Geschichte der Kirche und der Wissenschaft*. One deals with Pietism in the person of Spener, *Zur Gedächtniss Speners*. Three describe aspects of the modern Church, in *Papst Leo XIII.*, *Schleiermacher*, and *Franz H. R. von Frank*. There are two out of the general stream, viz., *Die Nachfolge Christi*, and *Nikon, Patriarch von Russland*.

The "Gospel of the Forty Days" has importance as filling up the interval between the life of Christ and the work of the apostles. The discourses of Himself to His disciples which were in that interval made were the sources of the motives and convictions determining the apostolic work. They were the following: (1) the conviction of His heavenly might and glory; (2) the certainty of the necessity of His death for men's salvation, and the relation between His death and resurrection; (3) the conception of the Spirit not only as object of the Divine Gift but also as Divine Subject; (4) the Trinitarian formula, "Father, Son, and Holy Ghost"; (5) the fact of the institution of baptism into Christ's name; (6) the conviction that the gospel is to be preached to all nations; (7) the preliminary sojourn in Jerusalem; (8) the

fixing of the doctrine, which as "tradition," "Word," "Gospel," "command" of Christ, was accepted, and which included the doctrine of His Deity. In the "Words of Jesus" there is an interesting study of extra-canonical sayings of Christ, the nett result being that every so-called "Saying" is so doubtful that we must confine ourselves solely to the four Gospels for His authentic utterances. "Paul and Jesus" controverts the views of those who assert that their teaching is not in harmony. "The Characterisation of St John" affirms the authenticity and unity of the Johannine writings, and the visionary and prophetic character of the author, his contemplative spirit, and yet his practical ecclesiasticism. "Kiss and Canon" seeks the meaning of the observance of the "holy" or "love kiss," mentioned in five Epistles, as following the reading of the Epistle. It is argued that the Epistle was read before the Communion, to prepare the hearts of the worshippers for the presence of the Lord, whom in Communion they expected, and in this expectation they kissed one another. In the "Speaking of Women in the Apostolic Congregation" we have reference to a Corinthian movement of women suffragettes. The point of the controversy was not their "speaking" (prophetic utterance, prompted by the Spirit), the right to which was conceded as in the case of men, but their discarding the veil, the symbol of their subjection to men. The women of Corinth desired not only to "speak," but to speak like men, without their covering; against this the Corinthian males rebelled, and St Paul sided with them. The essay, "Why persecuted the Roman State the Christians?" brings out two points—(1) It was a struggle for the very existence of the Roman State; (2) It was needful for the Church herself to enable her to maintain her exalted ideals and come to a proper consciousness of her central principles. "Hermann von Scheda" is a fascinating romance of the conversion of a Jew, giving a delightful insight into mediæval manners.

"Heinrich Sense" exhibits all Seeberg's intimate understanding of the men and movements of the Middle Ages, of which he has a quite exceptional knowledge. For the

most part he lets this "Friend of God" speak for himself, and inspire our heart by his tender breathings. The studies of Luther and Melanchthon are characteristic, and render apparent the forces of unrest in all departments of life let loose by the mighty upheaval of their days. The difference between "reformation" and "revolution" in the one case, and the difference between "nature" and "science" in the other is worked out. How the "gospel" of the one and the "pure doctrine" of the other supplemented each other, and how both were the direct issue of the previous development and formative of new developments, is described in detail. The chapter on "Spener" emphasises the "moderate" and orderly element in his genius in contrast with the überspannte and Utopische (exaggerated and utopian). In "Schleiermacher" and "Frank" we have a disappointing examination of the work of the services of these great religious thinkers. The "modernity" of both is asserted. Probably both secured the influence they did, not by their modernity, but by piercing beneath the superficialities of contemporary reflection to sources of spiritual experience secret from it. In tracing the evolution of "The Imitation of Christ," the author is at his best. The title is taken from Thomas à Kempis' famous booklet. But the subject receives a larger treatment, and becomes the history of the idea of "following Christ," in its stages, viz. (1) "Follow Me," of the Gospels = Obey Me, where Jesus is Teacher in the sense of those days, not simply the intellectual instructor, but the authoritative guide of the whole life; (2) "Imitate Me," of Apostolic and Patristic thought, where the two natures are clearly differentiated, Christ the God and Jesus the man, and men are called to reproduce the human qualities of the second; (3) "Die for Me" of the martyr and monastic temper, where not the human but the divine nature of Christ determines the attitude of His follower, an attitude which in varying expression holds sway throughout the Middle Ages, to be broken by Luther, who reintroduces the original, (4) "Follow Me," not to be sure of the Christ in the flesh, but of the Christ present in the conscience, enjoying constant

faithful service in all the ordinary and natural relations of life and duty. In (5), Pietism, the poverty and meekness of the man Jesus was the ideal to pursue; in (6), Mysticism, His union with the Father; in (7), Rationalism, He was the teacher of virtue. More recently (8), the "Imitation of Christ" has come to include a significance at once religious and moral; religiously, it is "communion with Christ," in whom we experience interior saving power; ethically, it is the impulse to the obedience of His will wrought in us by that communion. "Nikon" and "Leo the Thirteenth" are incursions into the Greek and Papal Churches, of more interest from their novelty to Protestants than from their intrinsic merits. These essays are admirably lucid, various, and suggestive. A. S. MARTIN.

The Manse, Scone.

PIETISTEN, von Pfarrer Lizentiat J. Jüngst. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1906. Pp. 80. 50 Pf.

THIS little book gives a careful account of the origin and historical relations of Pietism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Pietism may, in a general way, be described as an intellectual and spiritual reaction against the intolerant orthodoxy then prevailing—an orthodoxy which sought to prescribe, even in trivial matters, what ought to be believed or disbelieved. The manly faith of Luther, with its culture of heart and conscience, had already been all but forgotten. Doctrine was regarded as of more worth than practice, and the universal priesthood of believers was in danger of being again lost. Pietism, by creating a new interest in ethical conduct and the culture of the inner life, and by emphasising the distinctive features that are common to all in fellowship with Christ, did much to arrest this process of degeneration. It helped to show that the Church is a centre of living activity as well as a depository of dogma; that church membership consists not in current belief, but in holy living; and that ecclesiastical divisions, and accentuations of individual convictions regarding secondary matters, are evils that ought not to be perpetuated. Above all, it did good

service in the cause of the union of all Christians on the ground of loyalty to the one Lord and Redeemer. To this extent Pietism may be viewed as a distinct advance in the development of Protestantism—a development which if slow, like the motion of the glacier, is still perceptibly onwards.

But, as the author shows, Pietism is not peculiar to Protestantism: it found also a place in Roman Catholicism. The movements set afoot by Jansen, the Abbess Arnauld, Madame Guyon, Fénelon, Quesnel, Molinos, and others, were all pietistic in spirit. That they did not exercise a greater influence was due to the hostility of the Jesuits. The new aspirations were crushed out in France by means of the ban and Bastille; in Spain and Italy by the machinery of the Inquisition. Pietism is thus, it would seem, a peculiar form of Christianity—a mystical, ethical assertion of the human spirit, conditioned by the state of the Christian Church itself not less than by the intellectual tendencies of the age. The Protestant Church laid stress on creed; the Roman Church emphasised ceremonial; while the “Aufklärung,” or philosophy of “enlightenment,” advocated the claims of the subjective and the practical. The Churches were drifting from their ideals; and the thought of the time, in as far as it was philosophical, was becoming self-centred and bewildering. Earnest men could not find in their own religious communions either guidance or scope for the natural growth of the intellectual and moral life, so they sought what they wanted elsewhere, in direct fellowship with Christ and their own souls. They became a Church within the Church (*ecclesiola in ecclesia*). While not breaking with the Church, they had ceased to associate religion with the recognised ecclesiastical institutions. Religion had become a private matter or concern of the heart. That they sometimes erred, or were led into fanatical extravagances, was inevitable; yet the movement they initiated exercised an active and salutary influence, not only in Germany, but in many lands.

The greater part of the book is devoted to sketches of the labours and opinions of Spener, Francke, Arnold, and Zinzendorf, the chief representatives of Teutonic Pietism. These four illustrate distinct types of the spiritual tendency, and

from the delineation here given it is possible to form an intelligent estimate of the aims, achievements, and limits of the entire movement. The Church owes much to Pietism. It was in its "maternal bosom" that Schleiermacher was nurtured, and its ideals are not yet obsolete. Here, for example, are Spener's six remedies for the betterment of the spiritual life:—(1) The cultivation among the people of a more intimate knowledge of the Scriptures, by means of private meetings, in which gifted laymen as well as the clergy should take part; (2) the utilisation of the spiritual priesthood of all believers in promoting the good of the community; (3) a constant inculcation of the fact that Christianity is not a creed, but a life; (4) that in religious controversy false doctrines should be met, not by a warfare of words and the violence of passion, but in the spirit of charity and a consistent life; (5) that some practical training in religion and morals is as essential to theological students as knowledge of the subjects taught in the ordinary academic curriculum; and (6) that preaching should never have as its aim the glorification of the speaker as a rhetorician or scholar, but the building up of the hearers in the knowledge and practice of the Christian life.

Herr Jüngst's study—one of the useful series of "Religionsgeschichtliche Volksbücher für die deutsche christliche Gegenwart"—forms a reliable introduction to a deeply interesting and significant phase in the Church's history and development. It is written with taste and discrimination, covers the whole ground in short compass, and can be heartily recommended.

ROBERT MUNRO.

Old Kilpatrick.

RUDOLF EUCKEN, *Grundlinien einer neuen Lebensanschauung*. Verlag von Veit & Co., in Leipzig (Edinburgh: Otto Schulze & Co.), 1907. Pp. viii., 314 4 M.

IN volume i., p. 664, of this Journal I had the pleasure of reviewing Eucken's book on the *Truth of Religion*; in the February number of the present volume, p. 503, I gave a

brief account of the volume of exposition and appreciation of his *Philosophy of Life*, written by Mr W. R. Boyce Gibson. In the book now under review Eucken himself gives an outline, not of a system, for he regards such an undertaking as premature, but of a standpoint in philosophy. The contrast between the fruitful activity of the age outwards, and its inward insecurity and vanity, he holds, demands a standpoint which will be independent of and superior to the age and its intellectual confusion; and this standpoint can be won only by a renewal of the life in its inmost meaning and aim, a process which is not merely intellectual, but involves the whole personality in strenuous effort. Eucken addresses his appeal to the young. "Above all, we trust in the young, who among all cultured nations are moving more vigorously in the direction of a deepening and ennobling of life. The more such a movement advances, the sooner shall we press through from confusion to clearness, and from semblance to truth, and again reach in ourselves, in contrast to the eddies of appearances, a firm footing" (Preface, vi.). The book consists of three divisions, an *introductory part*, dealing with *the current views of life*; a *fundamental part*, containing *the sketch of a new view of life*; and a *turning to the present*, stating *inferences and requirements*.

In the *first division* he gives an exposition and criticism of the older and the newer orders of life, those of religion and cosmic idealism on the one hand, and of rationalism, socialism, and artistic subjectivism on the other. It is not necessary to follow this in detail, but his conclusion may be quoted: "All these attempts prove themselves inadequate, inasmuch as they lead back to the position of uncertainty, which is to be overcome. Their negation, however, implies a certain Yea, which prescribes in some measure to the investigation its main direction. No superficial compromise, but a securing of a higher standpoint, which gives to each its right without weakness; no flight into history, but a working out of the present, but out of a present not of the mere moment, but of world-historical labour; no preference of a single point or realm, but a conflict for a new whole; no turning to personality before there is given to it a firm

foundation from the All. We must—all combines for this—strive for a new order of life. That is not an impossibility, because, as we saw, the order of life is not laid upon us by fate, but it must come forth from our labour. If those hitherto attempted do not suffice, why could not mankind fashion others? Or is it proved that the current orders of life have exhausted all possibilities? A common defect of these orders was a too narrow conception of life; its fulness escaped from the attempted confinement, and at the same time these fall among themselves into an irreconcilable contradiction. Should not a synthesis be possible which should be more just to the whole range of life, which should not need to deny and exclude so much, and should find an understanding for what at first sight appears a complete contradiction? Assuredly the unification could not be so directly found, and the life here growing would need to take up into itself certainly many strains and movements, it would appear less homogeneous than in the current orders; also it would need, while striving for the greatness of man, to recognise at the same time his limits" (pp. 79, 80). In this condemnation Eucken includes the Christian religion as currently conceived and practised. "Religion has become uncertain for us, not only in single doctrines and institutions, but in the whole of its existence, in its main view of life; and what in its traditional form it offers, no longer satisfies the life awakened to greater breadth and freedom" (p. 11). He does not at this stage of the discussion raise the question whether the Christian religion is not capable of adapting itself to the new situation—an omission which is to be regretted.

In the *second division* Eucken traces the process by which man as a natural being rises above nature, and becomes a spiritual being. While this discussion is full of valuable suggestions, acute criticisms, and stimulating reflections, it seems to me to be somewhat too diffuse and involved for the author's own purpose. One cannot see the wood for the trees. It may be passed over in order to fix attention on the author's confession of philosophical faith. He calls his creed *activism*. "The order of life here developed receives

its peculiar colour and tone by putting in the forefront the fact that we do not originally belong to a world of reason, which is to be changed only in perception and enjoyment, but that we must press through to such a world, and need a revolution of the first situation. The standpoint of true life is always to be striven for afresh, and action in particular always contains a decision from the whole to the whole. Only in ceaseless activity can life preserve the height attained: after the special character of the activity is also measured what it experiences and receives. With such prominence of doing, such activity, this system of life may be called *activism*" (p. 210). To put the system in a phrase, as a man acts, so he thinks. By gaining a new life, essentially spiritual, he gains a new philosophy. This close connection between life and thought is expressed in the words of Jesus as recorded in the Fourth Gospel: "If any man willeth to do His will, he shall know of the teaching whether it be of God or whether I speak from Myself" (vii. 17). This position, too, has affinity with the Ritschlian doctrine of value-judgments.

Eucken is careful to distinguish his standpoint from points of view akin to it. "With such inner elevation and with such demand of a new world, *activism* separates itself from all mere *voluntarism* and *pragmatism*, near to which it seems to stand, and with which in truth the negation combines it. For it shares with them the refusal of an intellectualistic conception of life, which leaves knowledge out of one's own capacity to find and to bring truth to the rest of life; with them it demands the basing of truth on a more original and essential doing. But the flight to the will is more a recoil than a conquest; it does not yet yield a new world and a conquering power, unless unobserved it changes the mere willing into a self-activity embracing the whole compass of life. Also pragmatism, which has recently among the English-speaking peoples and beyond them won an influence, shapes the world and life more out of the position and the necessities of man than it raises the spiritual activity to independence over against man, and carries out from this position a trial and sifting of his life-result. But

this cannot be renounced after the experiences of the world-historical movement. After it has recognised in man a particular, measured, and limited character, he cannot serve in the position in which we find him, as the starting-point of the effort after truth, but there must be an elevation above the mere man into a world-life of spiritual character. But *activism* aims at nothing else" (pp. 211, 212). From Hegelianism this philosophy distinguishes itself by emphasising the ethical activity of man as a spiritual being in a way in which cosmic idealism, with its stress on the metaphysical process, cannot. That it is opposed to the philosophy of æsthetic contemplation is obvious.

The spiritual life to which man's activity raises him is not merely subjective and human, but objective and divine. "There goes a movement toward a world-transcending, and with the world-transcendence first of all victoriously inward life, through the soul of the individual as through the effort of mankind: only such an inwardness offers a firm footing, a spirituality unconfused by the complications of the world-agitation; it is not otherwise possible than by the participation of man in a world-transcending, a self-contained absolute, spiritual life; this life must become man's own life, and the spirituality must therewith in himself ascend to divinity" (p. 228). Christianity has secured the victory for the view that makes, not work in the world, but the relation to a world-transcending spiritual life the chief concern." While Eucken recognises that "the type represented by Christianity has effected a great turning of the life inward," and therefore the Greek attitude of world-absorption is now impossible, yet he maintains that "it does not suffice for the formation of the whole life" (p. 236). It does seem to me that it is not Christianity that is defective, but Eucken's view of it, for the Christian life, as leaven, light, salt, is world-permeating as well as world-renouncing.

In the *last section*, Eucken indicates the changes which this new standpoint brings with it generally in the character of civilisation and in the organisation of the labours of civilisation, and specially in religion, morality, and education, science and philosophy, art and literature, social and in-

dividual life. In this section, again, Eucken says much of great value, but limits of space demand that attention be drawn to two points only—his demands regarding religion and philosophy. "We demand with all high esteem for Christianity a new form of Christianity; it must develop itself more vigorously to a religion of the spiritual life in contrast to that of mere man, more energetically exclude the antiquated and what has become a burden, and instead all the more work out simple fundamental features of imperishable kind, and therewith give life a sure direction and a true content" (p. 276). My conviction is that the new form demanded can be found in the original form, detached from later accretions; but that Eucken fails to recognise. For philosophy he demands "a closer connection of its work with the process of life, and a firmer foundation on an independent spiritual life" (p. 293). His last words deserve quotation. "A more potent concentration of life in itself is the first condition of transcending that chaos, and of not sinking into a weary decadence within amid a strained activity outwards. For the rest the word of Plotinus holds good, 'To the path and the journey goes the teaching, the seeing belongs to him who wills to see'" (p. 310). As might have been expected from the distinctive character of the philosophy, there is more of the personality of the author in its exposition than other modes of thinking would demand, and it is heartily welcome. The atmosphere of the book is bracing morally and spiritually, as well as intellectually. The need of right living for true thinking, the need of rising above the world to the spiritual life, the need for the spiritual life of contact and communion with God—these seem to me the postulates of this philosophy. The claims of morality and religion in determining our philosophy are emphasised against the arrogant pretensions of science. It is in this direction, I am confident, philosophy must move; and *activism*, as an element in the movement, has, I venture to think, proved its superiority to two other elements, *voluntarism* and *pragmatism*. The author's appreciation of the Christian religion seems to me inadequate, but this is in no way necessarily involved in his

philosophy, which may be commended cordially as not only consistent with, but even as displaying features closely akin to, the Christian faith.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

London.

HUME'S DIALOGUES CONCERNING NATURAL

RELIGION: *Reprinted, with an introduction by Bruce M'Ewen, D.Phil. Cr. 8vo. Pp. cviii., 191. William Blackwood & Sons, 1907. 3s. 6d. net.*

APART from their strong internal interests the Dialogues, now reprinted, have two attractions for the student of philosophy and of theology. There is the well-known fact that it was Hume's thinking which awakened answers in the famous philosophies of Kant in Germany and of Reid in Scotland. And the Dialogues represent Hume's latest thinking; presumably, therefore, they may be taken as the high-water mark of his philosophy. But they themselves contain, as Dr M'Ewen points out, the elements of the reply made by the Scottish school. The other interesting fact centres round the history of the manuscript, and of the printed form of the book. The plan of the Dialogues was completed in 1750, after Hume's contributions to general philosophy were finished. But, in addition, the manuscript lay in the author's drawer for twenty-seven years. What was the exact degree of revision which it underwent seems a matter of discussion. However, the author did not publish it, though he left instructions and money for its publication. This duty was refused by Adam Smith, and by Strahan, a London publisher, and finally was carried out by a nephew of Hume.

The printed history of the book has been very similar. It has been disregarded and neglected; it has been curtly and frigidly treated both here and in Germany, through the disinclination of writers to have their names connected with it. For as the Introduction shows, the traditional treatment of the Dialogues has been to identify Hume simpliciter with the sceptical disputant Philo; so the *Gentleman's Magazine* in 1779, Priestley, Kant, and a

modern consensus, including Mr A. J. Balfour. On the other side are single voices, such as Dugald Stewart, Campbell Fraser, and there should also be added the name of Professor Calderwood. On specific statements of his own, and on intrinsic grounds, Hume is rather to be identified with the accurate philosophic turn of Cleanthes. In his mouth is put the sentiment that the most agreeable reflection which it is possible for human imagination to suggest, is that of genuine Theism, which represents us as the workmanship of a Being perfectly good, wise, and powerful, who created us for happiness, and who, having implanted in us immeasurable desires of good, will prolong our existence to all eternity, and will transfer us into an infinite variety of scenes in order to satisfy those desires and render our felicity complete and durable.

The pre-supposition of the discussion is the belief in the existence of God ; and the motive lies in the explication of His attributes and His relation to the world. On this from their different standpoints the three disputants are quite agreed. But the movement of the drama of the argument necessitates an examination of the traditional arguments. These with one exception are put aside as invalid ; and the drama moves on to the routing of Demea, who finally, deserted by Philo, withdraws from the study of Cleanthes, where the scene is laid. It is the argument from design which alone issues unscathed from the tests applied. The remaining disputants, Cleanthes and Philo, carry on the discussion, having by mutual criticism attained to fundamental agreement as to the statement and validity of the inference to Design in the universe.

Demea is the representative of religious Agnosticism, a position tenable enough from a practical religious point of view, but one which has great difficulties on the theoretical side. And when driven to argument it hovers between Mysticism and Scepticism, with—in the present case—a yearning for a form of the Ontological argument.

Philo is the sceptic, carrying his reasoning to a logical issue as against all thought outwith experience, to the point of indifference of decision. In the end, however, he

yields to Cleanthes in the final resting-place of belief in the inference to Design.

Cleanthes represents the belief in the power and validity of reason within experience as tested by her own laws. Reason as against scepticism in Science, or Philosophy, or Religion, is the thesis ably maintained by him; and Cleanthes, according to the author, approached nearer the truth than either of the others.

In his exhaustive introduction Dr M'Ewen analyses and summarises the contents of the Dialogues, and deals fully with questions of interpretation, answering these in the way already indicated. It may be thought that even allowing for legitimate movement of the drama of argument, considerable doubt attaches to the exact meaning of the pre-supposition of all three disputants. In Hume's mind the category of bare existence adds only small significance. But also explanation may lie in this, that Hume means that while the idea of divine existence is psychologically found present, yet its validity can only be reached by discursive reasoning. The style of the Dialogues is charmingly simple and direct, and they are extraordinarily modern in their grasp and treatment of many fundamental points. While the foundation which the Dialogues lay for Theism in the inference to Design is clear and firm, it is of course painfully meagre. But that only serves to accentuate the unique character and value of Teleological reasoning.

Dr M'Ewen points out how the old arguments restated—perhaps unrecognisably so—and with a much wider sweep bear fruit still for Theism. It is only on the basis of a newer Epistemology and a corresponding advance both in Psychology and Ethics that a broader foundation than that left by Hume is attained for Theistic reasoning. Dr M'Ewen's book is a welcome work well done.

Ardentinny.

A. W. MITCHELL.

L'ORDRE NATUREL ET DIEU : Etude critique de la Théorie moniste du Dr L. Buchner, sur les Principes de l'Ordre naturel de l'Univers, et Réfutation de "*Kraft und Stoff*," par L'Abbé Alfred Tanguy. Paris: Bloud et Cie, Éditeurs, 1906. Pp. xii., 369. 4 fr. 50.

BUCHNER'S *Kraft und Stoff* has still to be reckoned with. It has exhausted endless editions in his own country, and this *Refutation* by L'Abbé Tanguy is contemporary with an eighth edition in France alone. It has, in fact, made the tour of the world, and its point of view has been further emphasised by Haeckel. The present writer had some years ago a German friend, a rank materialist, and a very able, high-souled, clear-headed man. His final effort in proselytism was the production of Buchner's volume, which he guaranteed would lay low any vestige of argument on the other side.

To the ordinary Protestant reader it is not easy to understand how a consistent Roman priest can successfully counter the attack of Buchner or Haeckel; and the Abbé's "Critical Study" of Buchner does not much help us to do so. The book is laden with quotations, and laborious in argument and in appeal, but it is difficult to classify it. It is apt to suggest a battle between a lion and a whale, if the comparison is not too complimentary to the Abbé. The two combatants hardly ever get near one another. They move in different atmospheres. When the Abbé seems to make some direct attack on the scientist, it is with the scholastic weapons of St Thomas Aquinas that he fights; and when he attempts to meet the argument from the immutability of the laws of nature his single and sufficient word of reply is " Lourdes " ! Miracle is possible, for there it is before your eyes—real, authentic, patent ! The book is mainly for the popular ear. Its aim is the most worthy one of preserving the faith of the faithful, and its author writes with the vivacity and eloquence of the Frenchman, and all the loyalty of the orthodox Christian. He does not hesitate to point the finger of scorn and horror at the blatant atheism of Buchner; and when one thinks of the irreligious and immoral condition of the youth of France, as deplored by their own best writers, one

cannot wonder at the fervour of the Abbé's appeals. But one has to look deeper and further back than the influence of Buchner for the real causes of this evil. Buchner but adds fuel to the flame. Who can acquit the Abbé's own beloved Church of blame for the deplorable picture which he here draws? The Roman Church, as is too well known, has gradually estranged the intellect of France, and as she has been the only embodiment of Christianity among them, it is not surprising that the faith of the people has been weakened and alienated. Even in this very book, in the full face of latest science, the same non-possumus attitude is still attempted, with the same hopeless result for both Church and people. How can the Church ever hope to regain the sympathy of reasonable Frenchmen when Cuvier, of nearly a century ago, is cited in support of the 6000 years of the age of man, and when the Abbé tells his readers that "this is still the opinion of most of the real savants of our day"?

The Abbé's chapter on "Final Causes in Nature" is very happily condensed in an incident which (he relates) took place at Baron Holbach's table. It was a gathering of the intellectuals of the day, the fine flower of French materialism. Diderot, to sharpen the conversation, proposed to choose "un avocat de Dieu." Galiani, being called upon, began thus to plead: "One day at Naples," he said, "a man in our presence took up a box with six dice, and bet that he would throw a running sweep of six. He threw it the first time. 'That chance is possible,' I said. He threw it the second time. I said the same thing. He replaced the dice in the box three, four, five times, with always the same result. 'Sangue di Bacco!' I cried, 'the dice are loaded!'" And they were. "Philosophers," proceeded Galiani, "when I consider the ever-recurring order of nature, the infinite variety and yet unvarying constancy of her movements, and this one sole chance of a world such as we see around us, which returns unceasingly, spite of a hundred thousand other chances of disturbance and destruction, I cry, 'Of a certainty Nature is loaded!'"

The general contention of the book may be said to be

summed up in these words of the concluding chapter: "Atheists are as unreasonable in denying God because there exists a natural order of things, as we would be in denying that same natural order because God exists." And if we could quite accept the Abbé's point of view, he well deserves the apostolic "† Imprimi potest" and the flattering letter of Cardinal Merry del Val which accompanies the Holy Father's authorisation and blessing.

Greenock.

A. S. MORIES.

LEIB UND SEELE: Darstellung und Kritik der neueren Theorien des Verhältnisses zwischen physischem und psychischem Dasein, von Rudolf Eisler. Leipzig: Barth, 1906. Pp. 217. M. 4.40.

THIS book gives a concise yet tolerably thorough, and withal a clear and interesting treatment of its subject. Its special feature lies perhaps in the succinct expository and critical references to the views of the chief thinkers (including all the most recent) who have dealt with the question. The author distinguishes two aspects of his problem—the question of the distinctive nature of body and soul, and that of their functional relation. Dealing with the former, he discusses in turn the dualism for which mind and body are two disparate and mutually independent realities, and the materialism which escapes from the difficulties of dualism by regarding the soul as an unreal appendage of the body. Rejecting these, Dr Eisler takes up at greater length the hypothesis that the two are in some way only different modes of being or of appearance, of one and the same reality. The view he finally supports, after a rapid critical survey, is that the underlying reality is of the nature of *will*. Consciousness as subject is will; as object it is psychical contents (*Vorstellungs- und Begriffsinhalte*) expressing the relations between individual subjects or wills. But material or physical existence is likewise to be interpreted as an objectification of the reality manifested in consciousness. It is the appearance which this reality takes, not as a being for itself, but as apprehended in sense-per-

ception, and as regarded from the view-point of the abstract or mechanical sciences. Hence *will* is the common ground of the physical and the psychical. Soul and body are distinguishable only as the immediate or subjective, and the mediate or objective aspects of a single actuality or activity. More specifically, the distinction between them corresponds to that between sense and intellect as provinces of the psychic organism, or between impulsive and volitional action as will-functions.

Passing now to the second part of the problem, Dr Eisler formulates it in the brief query: Interaction or concomitance (*Wechselwirkung oder Parallelismus*)? The conclusion to which his discussion leads—partly on methodological grounds relating to the nature of causal connection and the principle of the conservation of energy, and partly in view of the results attained in the first part—is that, while there is a functional dependence between soul and body, so that the two are essentially and indissolubly connected with each other, the nexus is not that of reciprocal action, but of regular and thorough-going correspondence without any causal influence. This doctrine is so far that of psychophysical parallelism. But the peculiar merit of the form of it which Dr Eisler advocates, is, he claims, that it gives at the same time a real meaning to the counter-doctrine of interaction. For, although body and mind, as such, are not to be considered as acting causally on each other, what is taken for such mutual influence is explicable as, on the one side, interaction between different regions of the body, more particularly of the brain and nervous system, and on the other side, between the sensory and the intellectual functions of the soul. And further, the soul is itself in interaction—though not with the physical as such—with the reality (*An sich*) of the physical, which is not itself physical. In fine, while the physical and the psychical must, for the purpose of accurate and detailed scientific treatment, be regarded strictly as two causally independent series of events, the former series being only the objective appearance or phenomenal presentation of the reality manifested subjectively in the latter, yet underlying this concomitance there is mutual

action and reaction of living and energising individual will-centres.

Dr Eisler follows up his discussion by a concluding section in which he indicates its bearing on the problem of immortality. The correlation of mind and body would seem to carry with it the conclusion that the individual consciousness ceases with the death of the bodily organism. But this is not at all because the soul is a perishing accompaniment of the body, but contrariwise, because the body is only the outer, phenomenal existence of that which in its inner being is the soul. Thus the psychical, as such, is imperishable—having the permanence of which the indestructibility of matter is the objective counterpart. And further, since consciousness or being-for-self is essentially individual will or activity, the thoughts and feelings and strivings which constitute the actual life of the individual continue their influence on other individual beings, even although the special psychophysical organisation in which they have been manifested ceases to exist. Thus we can affirm that though the individual (*Individuum*), in the sense of the psychophysical organism, perishes, yet individuality (*Individualität*), as the determinate and active ground of its existence, endures.

Appended to the book is a short bibliography referring especially to recent publications on the subject.

St Andrews.

T. M. FORSYTH.

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